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PATRICK SARSEFIELD.

Earl of Lucan?

**THE
HISTORY OF IRELAND.**

ANCIENT & MODERN.

taken from the most authentic records,

AND

DEDICATED TO THE IRISH BRIGADE

BY THE ABBE^{James} MAC-GEOGHEGAN.

Translated from the French

BY PATRICK O'KELLY ESQ^R

D U B L I N

PUBLISHED BY JAMES DUFFY, 25 ANGLESEA ST.

1844



THE
HISTORY OF IRELAND,
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TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH,
BY PATRICK O'KELLY, ESQ.,

Author of a History of the Irish Rebellion of 1798, &c.

"Let Erin remember the days of old,
Ere her faithless sons betray'd her :
When Malachi wore the collar of gold,
Which he won from the proud invader ;
When her kings, with standard of green unfurl'd,
Led the Red-Branch Knights to danger ;
Ere the emerald gem of the western world
Was set in the crown of a stranger."

MOORE.

DUBLIN :
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1844.

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PREFACE.

ONE of the most important works that have ever been written respecting Ireland, is the history of the Abbé Mac-Geoghegan. It may be a matter of surprise to the unthinking, that this most valuable and interesting history has not before this been translated into English; but this surprise must be lessened when we reflect, that, besides the distracted situation of this country, and the passions that have agitated her different sects and parties, there were other more powerful causes which might have prevented the publication of the great truths contained in this rare history of Ireland.

Under such circumstances it cannot be wondered at, that an impartial history, which has made known to France and to the Continent the wrongs and the sufferings of Ireland, and one that has accurately displayed the conduct of her enemies, and the struggles of her friends, should, even to this period, be unknown to the English reader.

The elegantly written calumnies of Hume have been generally circulated, while the plain truths of Mac-Geoghegan have been suppressed.

The circumstances which have given an impetus to the circulation of fiction, and the discountenancing of fact, are now at an end. The bad passions of Irishmen are subsiding, and the settlement of a great question, (Catholic Emancipation) has taken away from all parties, an interest in the concealment of what was just, while it has given to the people of all classes an inducement to know the truth alone, and nothing but the truth. With these objects solely, the translation of the work of the Abbé Mac-Geoghegan has been undertaken.

The history of Ireland is generally complained of even in Ireland, while the ignorance of it in England, has entailed upon Irishmen great and innumerable calamities. It is only by a knowledge of our country, that Englishmen can know how to estimate its worth, and until a full and accurate knowledge of all its circumstances are attained, can the country expect justice to be done to it. Those, therefore, should be deemed the best friends to Ireland, who exert

themselves to induce their fellow men to study her character, to know her situation, and to appreciate her value. .

With such objects has the author of this Translation undertaken the risk of giving to both countries, the work of the Abbé Mac-Geoghegan; and from Irishmen at least, he looks with confidence for that support and patronage which patriotism alone should induce them to afford him.

He begs the liberty, therefore, of subscribing himself their very humble and devoted servant,

PATRICK O'KELLY.

N.B. Some portions of this valuable history were unavoidably omitted in the former edition, translated by Mr. O'Kelly, but they shall be inserted in this edition which has been carefully revised, and corrected by the Translator.

DEDICATION.

TO THE IRISH TROOPS IN THE SERVICE OF FRANCE.

GENTLEMEN,

To you I owe the homage of my labour; you owe to it the honour of your protection. The history of Ireland belongs to you, as being that of your ancestors; it is their shades that I invoke in a foreign land; it is their glory that I recal. The records of their exploits and virtues, which fill a space of so many ages, I here bring to your review.

Among all the virtues, whereof you shall see so many brilliant examples, you will remark two that were peculiarly dear to your ancestors, viz., an ardent zeal for the true religion, so soon as they were made acquainted with it, and an inviolable fidelity to their kings: such are the qualities, gentlemen, which still characterise you.

Europe, towards the end of the last century, was surprised to see your fathers abandon the delights of a fertile country, renounce the advantages which an illustrious birth had given them in their native land, and tear themselves from their possessions, from kindred, friends, and from all that nature and fortune had made dear to them; she was astonished to behold them deaf to the proposals of a liberal usurper, and following the fortunes of a fugitive king, to seek with him in foreign climes, fatigues and danger, content with their misfortune, as the seal of their fidelity to unhappy masters.

France, which among so many virtues, (of which she is a model) places in the first rank loyalty to her kings, was delighted to see those strangers dispute with her the glory of it: she gladly opened to them a generous bosom, being persuaded that men so devoted to their princes, would not be less so to their benefactors; and felt a pleasure in seeing them march under her banners. Your ancestors have not disappointed her hopes. Nérinde, Marseilles, Barcelona,

Cremona, Luzara, Spire, Castiglione, Almanza, Villa Viciosa,* and many other places, witnesses of their immortal valour, consecrated their devotedness for the new country which had adopted them. France applauded their zeal, and the greatest of monarchs raised their praise to the highest pitch by honouring them with the flattering title of "his brave Irishmen."

The example of their chiefs animated their courage; the Viscounts Mountcashell† and Clare,‡ the Count of Lucan,§ the Dillons, Lees, Rothes, O'Donnels, Fitzgeralds, Nugents, and Galmoyes,|| opened to them on the borders of the Meuse, the Rhine, and the Po, the career of glory, whilst the O'Mahonys, MacDonnells, Lawlesses, the Lacys, the Burks, O'Carrols, Craftons, Comerford, Gardner, and O'Connor, crowned themselves with laurels on the shores of the Tagus.

The neighbouring powers wished to have in their service the children of those great men; Spain retained some of you near her throne. Naples invited you to her fertile country: Germany called you to the defence of her eagles. The Taffs, the Hamiltons, O'Dwyers,¶ Browns, Wallaces, and O'Neills, supported the majesty of the empire, and were entrusted with its most important posts. The ashes of Mareschal Brown,** are every day watered with the tears of the soldiers, to whom he was so dear, whilst the O'Donnels, Maguires, Lacys, and others, endeavoured to form themselves after the example of that great man.

Russia, that vast and powerful empire, an empire which has passed suddenly from obscurity to so much glory, wished to learn the military discipline from your corps. Peter the Great, that penetrating genius and hero, the creator of a nation which is now triumphant, thought he could not do better than confide that essential part of the art of war to the Field Mareschal de Lacy, and the worthy daughter of that great emperor, always entrusted to that warrior, the principal defence of the august throne, which she filled with so much glory. Finally the Viscount Fermoy,†† general officer in the service of Sardinia, has merited all the confidence of that crown.

But why recal those times that are so long past? Why do I seek your heroes in those distant regions? Permit me, Gentlemen, to bring to your

* M. de Vendôme, called the Chevalier de Bellerive who had a particular esteem for that warlike nation, at the head of whose sons he had fought so many battles and gained so many victories, confessed that he was surprised at the dreadful feats that these army butchers (as he called them), had performed in his presence.—*Camp de Vendome*, p. 224.

† M'Carthy.

‡ O'Brien.

§ Sarsfield.

|| Butler.

¶ General O'Dwyer was commander of Belgrade.

** He was nephew of General Brown.

†† Roche, otherwise de la Roche.

recollection that great day, for ever memorable in the annals of France ; let me remind you of the plains of Fontenoy, so precious to your glory ; those plains where in concert with chosen French troops, the valiant Count of Thomond* being at your head, you charged with so much valour, an enemy so formidable ; animated by the presence of the august sovereign who rules over you, you contributed with so much success, to the gaining of a victory, which, till then, appeared doubtful. Lawfeld beheld you, two years afterwards, in concert with one of the most illustrious corps of France,† force entrenchments which appeared to be impregnable. Menin, Ypres, Tournay, saw you crown yourselves with glory under their walls, whilst your countrymen, under the standards of Spain, performed prodigies of valour at Campo Sancto and at Veletri.

But whilst I am addressing you, a part of your corps is flying to the defence of the allies of Louis,‡ another is sailing over the seas to seek amidst the waves another hemisphere, the eternal enemies of his empire.§

Behold, gentlemen, what all Europe contemplates in you ; behold herein the qualities which have gained esteem for you, even from your most unjust enemies. Could a compatriot to whom the glory of Ireland is so dear, refuse to you his admiration ? Accept, gentlemen, this small tribute of it.

Honour with your support a history, which the love for my country has caused me to undertake ; your protection and patronage will render this work respectable, and may merit some indulgence for its defects ; it should have none, were my labour and zeal equal to render it worthy of those to whom I dedicate it.

I am, with profound respect,

Gentlemen,

Your very humble and most obedient servant,

J. MAC-GEOGHEGAN.

* At present Mareschal of France, Knight of the Order of the Holy Ghost, Commander of Languedoc.

† The King's Regiment.

‡ The regiment of Fitzjames, composed of Irish cavalry, in the army of the Prince of Suabia, distinguished itself at the battle of Rosbach, against the Prussians.

§ General Lally, with his regiment, embarked for Pondicherry.

INTRODUCTION.

To observe order and system in writing this history, I have thought proper to divide it into three parts, the objects of which appeared to me equally interesting. The first comprises the times which had passed from the establishment of the Scoto-Milesians in Ireland, down to the first century; that part, therefore, during which the island had been buried in the darkness of paganism, I call "Pagan Ireland."

The second commences with the beginning of Christianity in that country, in the fifth, and continues until the twelfth century: this part I call "Christian Ireland."

Lastly, the third comprises the different invasions of the English, their establishment in that country, and all that has occurred down to our time.

In the first part, or pagan Ireland, will be seen, first, the natural history of the country; second, a critical essay on the antiquities of the Milesians; third, the fabulous history of the Gadelians; fourth, the religion and customs of the Milesians; fifth, their civil and political government; sixth, their domestic and foreign wars; seventh, the different names under which that country has been known to the natives and to strangers; eighth, its general and particular divisions, its dynasties, and territories; also, the names and origin of those who were the proprietors of it.

In the second part, or Christian Ireland, will be seen, besides its profane history, the great progress that religion and learning had made from the fifth to the ninth century; the confusion caused to the state, and the disorder which prevailed in the church for some time, by the invasions of the Danes; tranquillity restored, and the exercise of religion re-established in its ancient splendour, after the final defeat of those barbarians, which happened in the beginning of the eleventh century, until the arrival of the English towards the end of the twelfth.

Lastly, in the third part shall be described the manner in which some English colonies came to establish themselves in Ireland, in the twelfth century; the wars which they made upon the old inhabitants of the country during four hundred years; the re-union of the two people in the reign of James VI. of Scotland and I. of England; finally, we shall conclude by giving a detail of the strange revolutions which have, since that time, arisen to Ireland.

HISTORY OF IRELAND.

PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE.

THE nation which forms the subject of this history, is, without doubt, one of the most ancient in Europe.

An idea of its history must be agreeable to such as are desirous of exploring its antiquity. The situation of Ireland having rendered it difficult of access to invaders, her inhabitants lived during many ages free from all insult from their neighbours. They cultivated the arts, sciences, and letters, which they had borrowed from the most polished people of their time, the Egyptians, and Phœnicians; and the patronage which their princes afforded to learning, joined to the esteem in which they held those, who made a profession of it, contributed much to its advancement. A system of government founded on the laws of nature and humanity, influenced their morals. Some princes, possessed of a justice worthy of the first Christians, appeared like so many stars in an obscure night, from time to time upon the throne, and gave vigour to the laws enervated by the weakness of their predecessors.*

Ollam Fodla, one of their monarchs, summoned a triennial assembly at Teamor,† in order to regulate the affairs of the state, and to examine into the genealogies of families. He established schools for the cultivation of literature and philosophy, which the people had received from the ancients. Ugane-Mor, Aongus Tuirmeach, and Eocha Felioch, who had re-established the pentarchy, rendered jurisprudence vigorous, added new lustre to the laws, and granted a particular privilege to learning. Fearadach the Just, Feidlim the Legislator, Cormac Ulfada, and Cairbre the Second, surnamed Liffeachair, followed the example of their predecessors. The learned in jurisprudence who flourished in the different reigns, assisted the princes by their counsels.

Learning was not the sole occupation of the Scoto-Milesians; without mentioning their domestic wars, they often measured

their arms not only with the Picts, the Britons, and neighbouring islanders, but with the Romans themselves, who were then the masters of the world. The expeditions of Eocha the Second, of Aongus Ollbuagach, son of Fiacha the First, Aongus the First, Ugane-Mor, Criomthan the First, Nial the Great, Dathy, and the dreadful devastations which they committed among the Britons, (of which Gildas complains), furnish sufficient proofs of it.

The warlike character of the Scoto-Milesians appeared again, with splendour, in the long wars which they maintained against the Danes, and which lasted with doubtful success, from the beginning of the ninth century, till 1014, when those barbarians were totally defeated at Clontarf by the valiant Brian Boroimhe, the monarch of the island; while they abandoned to them some other provinces, to free themselves of so formidable an enemy. Merit was not left unrewarded amongst them: the nobles were distinguished from each other, and they again from the people, by the number of colours, which each wore according to his rank. Enna the First ordered silver shields to be given to those chiefs who distinguished themselves in war; Muinemon added to them chains of gold, and Aldergode decreed gold rings, as a reward to those who would distinguish themselves in the arts and sciences.

Lastly, the antiquaries, doctors, bards, or poets, called also, "Fileas," were rewarded with lands, which had been assigned for them.

During the fifth century, Christianity presented new scenes in Ireland. That nation, so attached to the superstitions of paganism and idolatry, and versed in the theology of the druids, became afterwards, by the preaching of the Gospel, the theatre of religion, and a seminary for strangers, while Gothic ignorance spread itself over the face of Europe. Thus, it may be said, that the four first ages of Christianity, were the most brilliant, both of the ancient and modern history of that people; but the harmony of the

* Ante c. 720.

† Afterwards called Tara.

government and glory of Christianity became eclipsed in the ninth century, by the frequent invasions of the northern barbarians, who had overrun about the same period, the greatest part of Europe. Their incursions continued for two centuries with doubtful success; the barbarians were often defeated, and in the end totally expelled.

The constitution of the state had been so shaken by this war, that it could never be re-established, notwithstanding the efforts which had been made; a decay in religion, and corruption in the morals of the people, from their intercourse with the barbarians; the interruption to the legitimate succession to the throne, which occurred about the time of Malachy the Second, by the intrusion of the provincial kings; and the different factions always attendant upon usurpation, brought insurmountable obstacles to its re-establishment, and were favourable circumstances to the ambition and cupidity of a neighbouring nation.

Although history was cultivated among the Scoto-Milesians, more than amongst any of their contemporaries, notwithstanding also their great care to preserve to posterity the remembrance of their exploits; yet that people were but little known to the learned before Christianity. Strabo, Pomponius Mela, Solinus, and other writers have made their ignorance appear, by giving arbitrary descriptions of this island, and by their exaggerated representations of the rudeness and barbarity of its inhabitants.

The English, having, in the twelfth century put an end to the Irish monarchy, and wishing to give a colour of justice to their usurpation, and to the tyranny which they exercised against the inhabitants of the country, have, without any other title than a fictitious bull of Adrian the Fourth, and the right of the strongest, represented the Irish as savages, who inhabited the woods,* and who never obeyed the laws, as if these titles were sufficient for stripping them of their properties.† What! that people so renowned in the first ages of Christianity for their piety and learning, and amongst whom the Anglo-Saxons themselves went, according to their own historians, to be instructed, during the centuries which preceded the invasion of the English, are all of a sudden reduced to the condition of savages!‡ The metamorphosis is too difficult to be admitted,

and at the same time too obvious for us not to feel how absurd such an accusation must be. A nation that wishes to enslave others, generally treats those who will not submit to its laws, as savages: a little attention however paid to the state in which Ireland then was, and to the pretensions of the English, will easily destroy the imposture. More than two thousand years had already elapsed, during which that people, commanded by native princes, were governed by their own laws; consequently they would not receive those of strangers, in whom they discovered neither character to inspire them with awe, nor power to make them obey. Although part of Ireland had at first submitted to the English, still more than two-thirds of it, far from bending under a yoke that seemed odious to them, were always under arms, to defend both their lives and properties against those tyrants. If he that repels an enemy, who comes armed to invade his patrimony, should be treated as a barbarian or a savage, the most polished nations and the most magnanimous, merit the same appellations. Gerald Barry, a priest, and native of the country of Wales in England, called in Latin, Cambria, (from whence is derived the name of Cambrensis, under which he is known), was the first stranger who undertook to write the history of Ireland, in order to perpetuate the calumnies which his countrymen had already published against its inhabitants.

Circumstances required, that they should make the Irish pass for barbarians. The title of Henry the Second was founded only upon a bull, obtained clandestinely from Pope Adrian the Fourth, an Englishman by birth. The cause of this bull was a false statement which Henry had given to the Pope of the impiety and barbarism of the Irish nation. Cambrensis was then ordered to verify by writing, the statement upon which the granting of the bull had been extorted. He did not fail to intermix his work with calumnies, and groundless absurdities; however, the credit of a powerful king knew how to make even the court of Rome believe them. It was in this spirit that Cambrensis wrote his history, and from thence the English authors have taken the false colouring, under which ancient Ireland has been represented. Passion and interest made them pass over the recantation which Cambrensis felt himself obliged to make, in the latter part of his life, of several false and calumnious imputations, with which his history had been filled. Cambrensis did not possess the necessary requisites for a histo-

* Sylvestres Hiberni.

† Camd. edit. Lond. p. 730.

‡ "They retired hither, for the sake either of divine study, or a more chaste life."—*Bede's Church History*, b. 3. c. 27.

rian. History is not a mere production of the mind: it is an assemblage of facts, the arrangement of which depends alone upon the author. To write the history of a country, it is essential to know it, likewise the character and genius of its inhabitants, and to be capable of consulting its annals. Cambrensis possessed none of these qualities with respect to Ireland, the history whereof he undertook to write. It is true, that he had been twice in that country, first through curiosity, in 1171, to witness the advancement of his relations and friends; secondly, as preceptor of John, Earl of Mortagne, son of Henry the Second, to whom the king his father, had given the title of Lord of Ireland. In those two voyages he remained but eighteen months in Ireland, and saw about one third of it, which alone obeyed the English; he could not with safety put his foot into any other part of the kingdom. Being incapable of consulting the records of the country (written in a language to which he was altogether a stranger), he was obliged to substitute, instead of truth, falsehoods, and the productions of a prejudiced mind, to swell his volumes. Could a stranger, after spending some months at Paris, without knowing either the language, consulting our historians, or visiting the learned men of the country, be capable of writing a history of France? If he chose to describe the morals and customs of the lowest among the people, without even alluding to the heroic virtues of our kings, the bravery and generosity of our nobles, and the acknowledged merit of an infinite number of our fellow citizens; if he dwelt, in fine, on what was most vile, without speaking of the civil and military government, or of the fundamental constitution of the state, could such a man aspire to the title of historian? Would it not be the true means of rendering the author contemptible together with his work? Such has been precisely the disposition and capacity of Gerald Cambrensis. Have not the Irish an equal right to complain of him, as Josephus (in his first book against Appion) complains of some Greek authors, who undertook to compose the history of the Jewish war, the destruction of Jerusalem, and captivity of the Jews, from hearsay, without having been ever in the country, or seen the things of which they wrote, and who, he said, imprudently assumed to themselves the title of historians?

Our ambitious author, wishing, as he himself says, to acquire glory and immortalise his name* by a description of Ireland, wrote

five books in Latin, the three first under the title of "Topography of Ireland," and the other two under that of "Ireland conquered by Henry the Second." Those are indeed pompous titles, but are not at all applicable to so imperfect and weak a production; the title of Topography is unfitly applied to the description of a whole kingdom, and the name of Conquest does not belong to an agreement made between Henry the Second, and a part of that nation. It was under such titles, however, that he had the presumption to begin, and promise, not only the history of the actual state of Ireland, but also of its antiquities.

It is not to be wondered at that Cambrensis has succeeded so ill, and that his work deserves not even the name of history. He was prejudiced against the Irish people, and his ignorance of their language, rendered him incapable of consulting their annals. He had seen but the few cities which were in the power of the English, and continued in the country too short a time to make the necessary researches; that care he committed to his friend Bertrand Verdon, who remained in it but six months after him; therefore the collection of materials, which could serve as a basis to his pretended history of Ireland, was so inconsiderable, and so filled with fiction, that he never gave even the description of a county, town, or village, not even of that part* of it, which he had seen. He gives us for a history, the fabulous narrative of four fountains, three islands, three lakes, and the sources of four rivers,† of which the Shannon, the most considerable, discharges itself, according to him, into the North Sea. He scarcely mentions who were the first inhabitants of the country. As to the Scoto-Milesians, who were the peaceful possessors of it for more than two thousand years before his time, he contents himself by saying, that there had been a continued and uninterrupted succession of one hundred and eighty-one monarchs, who reigned over that people, but says nothing of their history, laws, government, or of their wars; neither does he furnish any catalogue of their kings. He in a few words says, that the six sons of Muredus, king of the province of Ulster, had made a descent upon Scotland. The invasions and wars of the Danes, in Ireland, he touches upon very lightly, but is grossly deceived, as much in

predictions of the prophets contain in them any truth, I will live by fame through every age."—*Cambrensis, Preface.*

* Grat. Luc. cap. 10, page 100.

† Grat. Luc. cap. 2, page 6.

* "I will be read by the people, and if the

reference to the period of their first landing in that country, (which he fixes in the year 838), as he is respecting the name, exploits, and country of Gormundus. Such reveries he has no doubt borrowed from Geoffrey of Monmouth. Like certain animals, which wallow in mire and prefer it to the sweetest flowers,* he attached himself to whatever he could discover meanest and most vile among the people; unsupported likewise by any written authority, or the evidence of any correct or impartial man, he composed an absurd collection of old-women's, sailors', and soldiers' stories, which he seasons with scandalous aspersions, satires, and invectives against the nation; neither prince nor people, clergy, secular or regular, are spared: he respects nothing; every thing becomes the object of his calumnies and detraction.† Having spent five years in composing this fine work, the five books of his pretended history of Ireland came forth. In raptures with that new production of his genius, and unable to conceal his vanity, Cambrensis repaired to Oxford,‡ where, in presence of learned Doctors, and the assembled people, he read, after the example of the Greeks, his topography, during three successive days, giving to each book an entire day. To render the comedy more solemn, he treated the whole town splendidly for three days: the first was appropriated to the populace, the second to the doctors, professors, and principal scholars of the university; and lastly, the third day he regaled the other scholars, soldiers, and citizens of the town "a noble and brilliant action," says Cambrensis himself, "whereby the ancient custom of the poets has been, for the first time, renewed in England." But unfortunately for him, the success did not answer his expectations: it was easily seen; particularly at court, that the bad choice he had made of the materials whereof his history had been composed, and the fables he had introduced into it, could

be but the effect of his ignorance, or hatred for the Irish nation. They were not astray for the cause of that hatred; besides the private quarrel which he had with Aubin O'Molloy, monk of the order of Citeaux, and abbot of Baltinglass, in which he was defeated, and which excited his anger against that nation, he wished for the ruin and destruction altogether of the Irish, who might prove an obstacle to the aggrandizement of his relations and friends, as appears from his second book on the conquest of that people. Nothing tends to discover* more easily the malignity and inconsistency of Cambrensis' mind, than the extremes into which he let himself be carried. Sometimes he extols with warmth the merit of his relations, newly established in that country: again he exclaims violently against the English and Normans, engaged with them in the same cause, against the Irish.

Whilst king Henry II. lived, that prince was, according to him, "the Alexander of the west," "the Invincible," the Solomon of his age," "the most pious of princes," who had the glory of repressing the fury of the gentiles, not only of Europe but likewise of Asia, beyond the Mediterranean. The most extravagant phrases which the refined flatterer could invent were not spared in extolling him, contrary to reason and common sense; for example he did not blush to say of that prince, that his victories and conquests were limited only by the circumference and extremities of the earth. However, so soon as the king was dead, (as David Powell remarks), he broke forth into a thousand invectives against his memory, in the book entitled "The Instructions of a Prince," and gave free vent to his ancient enmity against him. That alone should suffice to characterise this author, and to show to what little credit every thing else which he advanced, is entitled.

The reproaches which were directed against Cambrensis, for having inserted in his writings so much fabulous matter, obliged him to recant what he had advanced, both by an apology, inserted in the preface to his book, called "The Conquest of Ireland," and in a treatise on "Recantation." In these he acknowledges, that, although he had learned from men of that country, worthy of belief, many things which he mentions, he had followed the reports of the vulgar in many others; but he thinks as St. Augustine, in his book on "The city of God," that we should not positively affirm, nor absolutely

* "He hath defiled his writings with the filthiness of the rabble: he resolved to stuff the whole nation with the imperfections of the populace, recorded by himself, like the spider which draws poison from the thyme, from which the bee extracts honey. He has thus formed, from among the most abandoned of the Irish, a package; leaving those things which he found most eminent, unnoticed. Whatsoever filth he discovered, appeared as a gem to him; with it as if most precious, has he arranged his productions and work, so that, like the swine, he delights more in the dung-hill than enjoy himself amidst the sweetest odours."—*Gratianus Lucius*, p. 5. c. 41.

† Grat. Lucius, cap. 5. p. 38.

‡ Usser. Silog. edit. Par. Epist 49. p. 84, et 85.

* Grat. Luc. c. 7. p. 49, 50, 51, 53, 54, &c.

deny, the things we have only from hearsay." Sir James Ware, in his "*Antiquities of Ireland*," knew how to appreciate with justice the merit of our author. The following is the opinion he holds of him: "*Cambrensis*," said he, "has collected into his topography so many fabulous things, that it would require an entire volume to discuss it correctly." In the mean time, he warns the reader to peruse it with caution; he then adds, "that it astonishes him how men of his time, otherwise grave and learned, could have imposed upon the world, by giving as truths the fictions of *Cambrensis*."*

But, notwithstanding these incontestible proofs of the fallacy and imposture in the writings of this discredited author, and although they had lain 400 years in obscurity, until 1602, when Camden had them published at Frankfort, all who have spoken of the Irish since that period, but particularly the English, have no other foundation for their abuses against them than the authority of that impostor. The evil has become so general throughout Europe, that in most books and geographical treatises, wherein there is mention of the manners and customs of nations, we find upon the Irish, only the poisoned darts which *Cambrensis* had directed against them.†

After the character now drawn of *Cambrensis*, let the judicious and impartial reader judge if he can be considered as a grave historian, and one worthy of credit; or if he should not, on the contrary be looked upon as a libeller and impostor, who sought, by amusing the public with absurd tales, to disgrace, against all truth and justice, an entire nation. All others among the English who have undertaken to write the history of Ireland, particularly since the reformation, have, "like the asp that borrows the venom of the viper,"‡ taken the same tone as *Cambrensis*, and faithfully followed his tracks; among that number are, Hammer, Campion, Spencer, Camden, &c. By breathing the

same air as he, they were animated by the same spirit, and have inherited all his hatred against the Irish.

It is then but reasonable that every stranger of good discernment, should distrust all that has appeared on the affairs of Ireland from the pens of such authors, and from those who have followed their footsteps; it is a rare virtue in an enemy to render justice to his adversary, and there are none from whom we could less expect it than from the English. Their natural presumption, inflamed by success, has caused them to act at all times as if they were exempt from following the ordinary rules of justice and humanity towards those whose bad fortune had submitted to their laws. For the truth of this statement we can call upon the testimony of the Welch, the Scotch, and other nations, over whom they have ruled during some time. As to Ireland, we can assert, that they have never ceased to govern it with a rod of iron. Would it be, then, reasonable to attach belief to all that such masters have disseminated throughout the world in order to palliate their own injustice?

The same motives which actuated *Cambrensis* in the twelfth century, have guided the pens of the English historians since the reformation. The Irish could never bring themselves to renounce the religion of their forefathers, or embrace the new maxims of the reformers; their perseverance in the simplicity of the primitive faith has become a pretext for dispossessing them of the patrimony of their ancestors, and for turning their most unoffending acts into pretended causes for condemning them. When the strong man has resolved to oppress the weak, it is easy to find a cause for his oppression, and give to it an appearance of justice.

The history of Lord Clarendon would appear to merit some respect in public estimation, by the rank of state minister, which he held under the kings Charles I. and II.; but every prepossession in his favour will lose much of its weight when it is known, that that minister contributed much to the dreadful fate of the father, and intended also to ruin the son, by the excessive regard he manifested through life for the parliamentarians, and the strong aversion he entertained towards the Catholics. His apprehensions of seeing the authority of the parliament annihilated by a victorious king, caused him to use all his influence and artifice with Charles I. to divert him from the good use he should have made of his victories. His hatred to the Catholics made him thwart every offer of service which the

* Many things concerning Ireland could be noticed in this place as fabulous, which *Cambrensis* hath heaped together in his topography. To analyse or descant upon each, would require a whole tract. Caution should be particularly applied by the reader to his topography, which Giraldus himself confesses. I cannot but express my surprise, how men now a days, otherwise grave and learned, have obtruded on the world the fictions of Giraldus for truths.—*Ware's Antiquities of Ireland*, c. 23.

† *Grat. Luc. c. 1*, page 4.

‡ "They are borne by a similar propensity to traduce the Irish, (as it is expressed in the proverb), the asp borrows poison from the viper."—*Gratianus Lucius*, c. 1, p. 3.

confederates of Ireland continued to make to the king against his rebellious parliament, offers of service for which they asked no other recompense than a moderate liberty in the exercise of their religion. Although the king had, on various occasions, consented to receive them, that minister, with his associates, contrived to render them unavailing. Clarendon displayed anew, under Charles II. when restored, the surprising effect of the two passions which guided him. The wicked Cromwellians, who merited the heaviest punishments that could be inflicted, were rewarded at the expense of the faithful Irish, the properties of a great number of whom were sacrificed to the detestable maxim which Clarendon, in order to cover his flagrant injustice, influenced the young king, too easily led, to adopt; it was, "Win your enemies by doing good to them: you will be always sure of your friends." The above facts had passed before Clarendon wrote his history; he was obliged to adopt every thing that malice and self-interest could excite amongst the Cromwellians, for the purpose of blackening the Irish, and palliating his own conduct.

Doctor Burnet found it too much his interest, in the revolution which happened in the reign of James II., not to give to that event the most specious colouring. Unable to amass a fortune by an upright course, he became a preacher and firebrand of sedition. The rich bishopric of Salisbury was too considerable a reward for a venal writer, who was not curbed by the reins either of probity or religion; still the refusal given him by the Prince of Orange, of the archbishopric of Canterbury, armed him against his benefactor, and caused him to unveil truths that were not honourable to that prince's memory. How much vanity and self-interest guided the haughty and insatiable mind of that prelate, it was quickly discovered by his ingratitude. The stranger will perceive what esteem can be due to his writings, from the sound refutation given to his two first books on the reformation by Joachim le Grand, in his history upon the divorce of Henry VIII. and Catherine of Arragon: it was published at Paris, in three volumes, duodecimo, in 1688; that author took in it the defence of Sanderus against him.

Every thing which I have said concerning the characters of Clarendon and Burnet, will be admitted by every honourable man in England. The memoirs of Higgins, an English gentleman of acknowledged probity, bear ample testimony of it. Among all the histories of England which have appeared in

foreign countries, that of Rapin Thoiras merits a preference, both for the order and perspicuity of its details, and arrangement of its materials. It should not be matter for surprise, to see an author who had been brought up in the Presbyterian principles, avow himself on every occasion, opposed to the pontifical authority; it is but acting ingenuously according to his own maxims and opinions; the enlightened reader cannot be mistaken in that. The efforts which he has used for preserving the appearance of impartiality between the factions that had torn the state under the reign of Charles I., merit our regard. Although he appears to favour the parliamentarians, the royalists may derive great advantage from what the force of truth had drawn from the mouth of an advocate pensioned by their opponents; we discover in him much less acrimony upon the affairs of Ireland, than amongst the generality of English historians; he furnishes many arguments that could be well applied in vindication of that country.

Father D'Orleans is far less excusable for the little justice he has done to Ireland, in his superficial and mutilated account of the wars in that country, with which he closes his history of the revolutions in England. There is much cause for suspecting that this father let himself be guided by some one interested to advance the honour of England. Surely, the vigorous defence which Ireland sustained for three years, ought to make that country blush for having surrendered itself to the Prince of Orange, without striking a blow to oppose him.

Thomas Innes, a Scotch priest, published at London in 1729, a critical essay on the ancient inhabitants of North Britain. This work shows the author to have been a man of letters. The connexion that was between the Scots and the ancient Scoto-Milesians, engaged him in a criticism on the antiquities of the latter, in which he makes use of but common-place topics. He says much, and proves little; he strives to insinuate, that all the accounts concerning the Milesians are founded merely on the fabulous narration of bards, without any tribunal having been appointed to examine them. No distinction is drawn between the mercenary rhymers who went from house to house, and those who were employed by the state, whose writings were subjected to the judgment of the assembly at Teamor. This writer upbraids also the Milesians, with the contradictions of their historians, concerning their antiquities, and the epochs of their history; but ought we to suspect the authority of the bible, because

the calculations of the Hebrews, the Greeks, and the Latins, all differ with regard to the years of the world, since the creation, up to the Christian era? This author would have to answer the same objections for the writers of his own country. Fordun, Major, Boyce, Buchanan, and others, are not in accordance upon every subject. But it was reserved for our author to contradict them all, and to sap the foundation of every thing they advanced concerning their antiquities. From a chain of possible propositions and self-conjectures, he asserts with confidence, that the Scots were a people different from the Milesians, who established themselves in Ireland about the time of the Christian Era. His words are the following :

"It is possible, (he says,) that the Milesians might have been established in Ireland, many centuries before the Incarnation, and that there had been amongst them, as among other people, a succession of kings of their race, since Heremon, without the Milesians having been properly the same as those who were afterwards called Scots, and without the latter having been established in that island before the Incarnation, at which period they settled there as conquerors, and made themselves masters of the government, as the Franks had done in Gaul, the Goths and Suevi in Spain, the Vandals in Africa, and the Saxons in Britain." Behold a system founded upon possibilities; he wants only to give reality to it; it is that which embarrasses our critic; "because he finds no contemporary writer to attest it, not *even* among the *Milesians*, who possessed, (according to him,) neither monuments, nor the use of letters, before the time of St. Patrick." Our critic has no apparent respect for M'Kenzie, his countryman, who is equally as he, entitled to credit; and affirms that he saw many ancient Irish manuscripts; among others a history of the Kings of Ireland, written by Carbre Liffechair, monarch of the island, about the time of the Incarnation, and consequently long before St. Patrick. The inference which he draws from the real conquests of the neighbouring countries by the Barbarians, to establish a chimerical conquest of Ireland in the first century by the Scots, is a false reasoning. On one side they are supported by monuments which cannot be doubted, and by the unanimous consent of all the world; on the other, it is founded, according to the declaration of our critic, on conjectures only, and inferences that are merely plausible. For want of authority he raises other batteries, and draws from consequences, results which were inseparable

from revolutions that had happened in other countries, without losing sight of the parallel between the Scots and the Franks. He quotes Ptolemy, and some other writers of antiquity, without deriving from them any real advantage; but the silence of foreigners regarding the name "Scot," before the third or fourth century, makes him triumph in his expedient. Must we not know a people before we can tell them by their name? The *Scoto-Milesians* were, without contradiction, better known to the ancient Greeks and Phœnicians, than to the modern Greeks. The latter, weakened by the great wars they had to maintain against the Persians, the Macedonians, and the Romans, were obliged to neglect that commerce which their predecessors had kept up with the Milesians; and the Romans, who never made a descent upon their island, knew them only by the incursions which they, in conjunction with the Picts, made into Britain, and from thence foreigners call them indiscriminately, "*Hiberni* and *Scoti*;" names that were then synonymous, and which in the sense of the authors who used them, signified the same people. Lastly, all the strength of the arguments of Innes, is founded upon false principles, and tends but to overturn by conjectures and negative arguments, a system adopted by the most learned historians of his nation. Against the antiquities of the Milesians, he advanced again many other difficulties, which I shall examine in the course of these memoirs.

The author of the age of Louis XIV. gives a description of the last wars in Ireland, with but little advantage to her inhabitants. Besides the impressions which this writer has received among the English, incapable of doing justice to any people whom they oppress, he has too scrupulously followed the accounts given in Holland by the refugees, who were equally attached to the glory of the prince of Orange, as to the interests of a religion, the support of which was apparently the motive for his usurpation and tyranny. His prejudices have influenced him to represent the Irish, whom he allows to be good soldiers in France and Spain, as a people that always fought badly at home; the passage of the Boyne by the prince of Orange, he describes as one of those bold enterprises which should astonish the world, and compares it to the passage of the Granicus by Alexander the Great, or of the Rhine by Louis XIV.

Although the lively representations and brilliant style of an author may darken truth in the eyes of a reader whom they charm,

they have not always the same effect upon the minds of a more enlightened and less prejudiced world. The Irish are equally brave in every country. If they appear to be more so in France and Spain than at home, it arises from this, that they are better trained in foreign countries, where they enjoy the advantages of learning the military discipline, for which they have a natural turn, which opportunity is denied to them in their own country. Their conduct in the last wars of Ireland, about which our author appears as little informed as he is about their supposed want of resistance at the battle of the Boyne, takes nothing from their valour, King James had, according to the author's acknowledgment, but about twenty thousand men, viz., nearly six thousand French, and fifteen thousand Irish. The latter were troops newly raised, undisciplined, badly provided, and still worse armed. The prince of Orange had thirty-six thousand veteran troops, all English and Dutch. The river Boyne, which is always fordable in summer, and has often not more than three or four feet of water in many places, was no great obstacle to their passing it. The reader, therefore, may judge of the disproportion and inequality of the two armies. The fate of the day could be easily foreseen. On the one side were twenty thousand men, three-fourths of whom scarcely knew how to handle a musket, and commanded by a king who, naturally kind hearted, felt some compassion for the English, whom he considered as his subjects, though armed against him; on the other, an army much superior in numbers and experience, commanded by the prince of Orange, who, although more accustomed to lose battles than to gain them, was a very formidable enemy in the present conjuncture. As our author affects to be silent on everything that passed favourable to the Irish nation, during this war, he makes no mention of a singular action which occurred whilst the English were crossing the river; three or four Irish gentlemen, having advanced into it with pistols in their hands, shot Marshal Schombergh, in the midst of the English army, having taken him for the prince of Orange. He omits also to mention the resistance made by the Clare dragoons and other troops against the army of Schombergh, at the passage of Old-bridge; they were forced on the second attack to give way, after having left a number killed upon the spot. As to the prince of Orange, who proceeded up the river to Slane, with half the army, which he commanded in person, he had no great difficulty

to chase away two regiments of dragoons who were guarding that passage; but every opposition became unavailing. The king did not wait the event of the battle; escorted by some chosen troops, he took the rout for Dublin, where stopping for a day, he proceeded thence to Waterford, and there embarked for France. The rest of the army, seeing themselves without a chief, marched towards Limerick; the brigade of Surlauben formed the rearguard, which the prince of Orange did not dare to attack. The other French troops took the road for Cork and Kinsale, and embarked there. Thus ended without a battle the passage of the Boyne, so much boasted of by English and Dutch historians, of whom our author is but the echo, and which in truth should not add much to the laurels of the prince of Orange.

Our author says nothing of the first siege of Limerick, so glorious to the Irish, who overthrew the enemy, already in possession of the breach and part of the city; they drove them back even to their camp. This action made the prince of Orange raise the siege, and make to his troops this reproachful remark, which was as glorious to the besieged, as it was humiliating to the besiegers;—"Yes, (said he,) if I had this handful of men who defend the place against you, and that you all were within, I would take it in spite of you." His retreat was so precipitate that he set fire to the hospital, to cover the shame of having abandoned his sick and wounded. The battle of Aughrim which was fought the year following, and where the Irish troops, though vanquished, performed prodigies of valour, and the second siege of Limerick, the obstinate defence of which obtained a capitulation, the most important and advantageous that has been ever witnessed, were equally honourable to the Irish nation: but our author passes suddenly from the Boyne to the second siege of Limerick, without mentioning the glorious actions that occurred in the interval. Perhaps he was ignorant of them, or if not, that he wished to minister to the honour of this hero; it has been long since said of him, what Camden* said of Buchanan, that he was a better poet than a writer of history; "Buchananus poeta optimus."

The memory of these events is too recent, and there still exist too many living witnesses of the valour of our people on that occasion, that false representations should gain credit in our days; but posterity cannot avoid adopting the errors which they will find dif-

* Brit. edit. Lond. page 89.

fused throughout the writings of prejudiced and ill informed historians, if there be not placed now, before their eyes matter where-with to undeceive them. How can it be supposed that the stranger will be upon his guard against the dishonourable imputations, with which these authors have loaded their writings against the Irish, if it be not made known, that those who have robbed the Irish of their possessions, are likewise interested to rob them of their honour.

It is to be regretted, that among so many learned men, of whom Ireland justly boasts, none have taken the trouble of writing a regular history of their country. It appears that the Danes, who by their invasions infested Ireland for two centuries, had destroyed part of her ancient monuments; those barbarous invaders taking delight to destroy churches, abbeyes, and other places which served as depositories of learning. Ireland had hardly time to breathe, after having shaken off the yoke of the Danes, when she fell under that of the English. These new masters made it a maxim of their policy to abolish the use of the language and of letters among the Irish. These reasons, added to the little encouragement given, since the invention of printing, to a nation oppressed and overwhelmed with the weight of tyranny, have caused those venerable remains of antiquity to lie buried in obscurity. The interest which I take in every thing that concerns Ireland, makes me often sigh for the additional misfortune which the general ignorance of its history produces, and has long since inspired me with a desire of remedying that evil.

In writing the history of Ireland, I have no pretensions further than to give an abridgment of it: too happy shall I feel, if able to smooth the way, or give emulation to others who may have more leisure or capability than I. My desire is to give to the stranger an idea of its history, and to preserve in his mind the sorrowful remembrance of an expiring nation. It is for him I write, in order to efface from his thoughts the bad impressions he may have received of it. It is he whom I am ambitious to satisfy, through gratitude for the protection given to the exiled portion of that nation, against which tyranny has pronounced this dreadful sentence,

"Veteres migrate coloni;"

and from whom the remembrance of Sion often draws a sigh—"Flevimus cum recordamur Sion."

PART I.

OF PAGAN IRELAND.

CHAPTER I.

NATURAL HISTORY OF IRELAND.

IRELAND, one of the most considerable islands of Europe, is situated in the Atlantic Ocean to the west of England, and extends from the 50th to the 55th degree of north latitude, and from the eighth to the twelfth degree of west longitude. Its form is nearly oval; from Fair-head in the north to Mizen-head in the south, its length is about three hundred miles;* in breadth from east to west, it is one hundred and sixty miles, and about 1400 in circumference; it contains about eighteen millions of acres, English measure. The distance of Ireland from Great Britain varies according to the inequality of the coasts of the two countries: some of the northern parts are but fifteen miles from Scotland; however, the general distance from England is forty-five miles, more or less according to the different position of the coasts. Ireland is two hundred and twenty miles distant from France, four hundred and forty from Spain, and about fourteen hundred and forty from New France in America. In the northern parts, the longest day is seventeen hours twelve minutes, and in the most southern, sixteen hours twenty-five minutes. From its being situated in one of the temperate zones, the climate is mild and agreeable. Although less extended than Britain, says Orosius, "Ireland is, from the temperature of its climate, better supplied with useful resources."† Isidore says, "It is smaller than Britain, but more fertile, from its situation."‡ The venerable Bede confirms the opinions of these writers: he observes that, "Ireland greatly surpasses Britain in the healthfulness and serenity of its air."§ Cambrensis adds, that "of all cli-

* Stanihurst, *de reb. in Hib. gest.* 1. p. 15.

† "This is more peculiar to Britain: in its extent of land it is narrower, but in heat and climate it takes precedence."—*Orosius Hist.* book 1. c. 2.

‡ "It is narrower in extent, but more fruitful from its situation."—*Isidorus in his book of Origins*, c. 6. book 14.

§ "Ireland is, by far, superior to Britain, from its serenity and salubrity of climate."—*Bede's Church Hist.* book 1. c. 1.

mates Ireland is the most temperate." "Neither extraordinary heat in summer is felt there, nor excessive cold in winter.* That country," he adds, "is so blessed in these particulars, that it seems as if nature looked upon it with a more favourable eye, than on any other.†"

The testimony, however, of *Cambrensis* appears somewhat doubtful and exaggerated. Rain, snow, and frost, are not unfrequent during the winters in Ireland; from its exposure to the exhalations of an immense ocean, and those which the westerly winds from America bear to it, and which are not interrupted in their course by any other land, nor opposed by the contrary action of the continental winds, it must naturally be subject to such vicissitudes of climate. It must be observed, that the English writers have always endeavoured to heighten the excellence of the climate of Ireland, and fertility of its soil, not forgetting at the same time, to lower the merit of the inhabitants, and to render them contemptible. We shall have an opportunity to discuss hereafter their motives for this two-fold exaggeration. *Cambrensis*, who extols so much the fertility of that island, represents the inhabitants as a people without morals, comparing them to undisciplined savages, that will not submit to be governed by laws. Camden, another English author, says, that "if that country had sometimes a bad character, it arose from the rudeness of its inhabitants." We shall not at present reply to the invectives of these writers, we will have an opportunity of doing it in another place. If ferocity and rudeness go generally hand in hand, does it become the English to disparage their neighbours with such epithets of abuse?

The moisture of the Irish climate, together with the great number of lakes and bogs, that are to be found throughout that country, caused by the stagnation of the waters, after the tillage and culture of its lands had been interrupted, in the ninth and tenth centuries, by the frequent invasion of the northern barbarians, must, it would appear, render that country unwholesome, and be the cause of rheumatism, dysentery, and other distempers: they are only strangers, however, that are subject to be

* "Of all countries it is the most temperate. Neither the burning heat of summer impels to the shade, nor the rigour of the winter invites man to the fire. At all seasons a peculiar mildness of climate prevails."—*Topography of Ireland*, c. 25.

† "Nature has bestowed on Ireland a mildness of look and climate."—*Cambrensis*, p. 727.

attacked by these disorders, the natives generally escape, and live to an advanced age. Men have been often discovered to have lived to a great age in that country, whom sickness had seldom visited before death. "The climate of that country," says *Cambrensis*, "is so temperate, that neither infectious fogs, nor pestilential winds are felt, so that the aid of doctors is seldom looked for, and sickness rarely appears except among the dying.**"

Ireland is intersected by a great number of rivers and lakes. In the province of Leinster we find the Barrow, which takes its rise in the mountains called Slieve-Bloemy, in the Queen's County, formerly Leix: it runs through part of the county of Kildare and Carlow, and empties itself into the sea at Waterford, with the Nore and the Suire.

The Nore has its rise in the Queen's county, waters that of Kilkenny, and then loses itself in the Barrow, some miles above Ross.

The Boyne which rises in the King's county, runs through Castlejordon, Ballybogan, Clonard, Trim, and Navan, in East Meath: its waters are increased by many other small rivers, and it falls into the sea at Drogheda.

The Liffey has its rise in the county of Wicklow, and makes a circuitous course through the county of Kildare, where many small rivers unite their streams with it. At Leixlip, within seven miles of Dublin, a very high cascade is formed, where the waters tumble from the top of a sharp rock; in the language of the country it is called "Leim-en-Uradane" in English "the Salmon's Leap." The country people say, that, when the salmon strives to reascend the river in that place, it leaps holding its tail between its teeth, in order to pass the rock: but if it fail in the attempt, which frequently happens from the height of the rock and rapidity of the water, it is caught in baskets, which the fishermen are careful to place at the bottom to take them. The Liffey passes through Lucan and Palmerstown, and after forming some smaller cascades in its course, empties itself into the sea at Dublin.

The Slaney takes its rise in the county of Wicklow, and after running through Baltinglass and Enniscorthy, falls into the sea at Wexford.

Lastly, the Iny and the Brosnagh, the

** "So great is its temperature of climate, that neither the infectious cloud, nor pestilential air, nor noxious blast require the aid of the physician: few men, except the dying, will be found infected with disease."—*Topography of Ireland*, 1. c. 27.

first of which rises in Lake Ennil, the latter in the King's county, lose themselves in the Shannon, one in the lake called Lough Ree, the other near Banagher.

The chief rivers of Ulster are, the Bann which rises in the county of Down, and together with the river Tonwagee, runs through the great lake called Lough Neagh; having then the county of Antrim to the right, and Derry on the left, it forms in its course a more considerable cataract than the Liffey at Leixlip: it passes then through Coleraine, and falls into the ocean. This river is considered to be one of the best in Europe for its fishery of salmon, eel, and other fish.*

The Morne flows from the county of Tyrone, and being joined by the Derg and the Finn, which have their sources from two lakes of the same name in the county of Donegal, they run in the same channel, and after crossing Strabane and Derry, fall into Lough Foyle, and from thence into the ocean.

The Earn, the source of which is on the borders of the counties of Longford and Cavan, crosses the latter, and falls into a lake of the same name, in the county of Fermanagh, and from thence passes, by Ballyshannon, into the ocean.

The Swilly, in the county Donegal, falls into a lake of the same name, which communicates with the ocean.

The river Laggan, in the county Down, passes through Dromore, Lisburn and Belfast, and falls into Carrickfergus Bay.

The Newry, after having served for limits to the counties of Armagh and Down, falls into the sea at Carlingford.

The Shannon, which can by a fair title be termed a river, is the chief one not only of Connaught, but of all Ireland, and deserves to be classed among the first rivers of Europe. It is called Senna by Orosius, and has its source in a mountain of the county of Leitrim, called Sliew-Nierin, which is so named from the mines of Iron that are found in it. Its course from where it rises to its mouth is nearly one hundred and forty miles: many other rivers fall into it, and it forms several very considerable lakes: it waters Lanesborough, Athlone and Banagher, separating West Meath and Leinster from Connaught. From Banagher it flows to Limerick, from whence it bears ships of the greatest burden into the Western Ocean, a distance of about fifty miles.

The other rivers of Connaught are not considerable. The Moy, in the county of Mayo, falls into the ocean at Killala, having

Tirfiacria in the county of Sligo, on its right bank, and Tiramalgad in the county Mayo, upon the left.* The Suck runs between the counties of Roscommon and Galway, and loses itself in the Shannon, near Clonfert. The Gill, a little river in the county Galway, discharges itself into the bay of Galway.

The rivers in the province of Munster are, the Suir, which taking its rise in the county of Tipperary, on the borders of Ossory, passes through Thurles, Cashel, Clonmel, Carrick, and Waterford, and from thence flows with the Barrow into the sea.

Avoine Duff or Avoine More, in English, "Black water," has its source in the county of Kerry, and after watering Mallow and Lismore, falls into the sea at Youghal.

The rivers Lee and Bandon, in the county of Cork, discharges themselves into the sea, the one below Cork, the other at Kinsale.

The Leane and the Cashion, in the county of Kerry, empty themselves into the ocean, the first in the bay of Dingle, the other at the mouth of the Shannon.

The most considerable lakes of Ireland are the following: Lough Neagh; (lough signifies lake.) It is thirty miles long and fifteen broad; its waters are celebrated for the quality they possess of changing wood into iron and stone.† Lough Foile, and Lough Earne; these being joined by a canal, form two lakes. Lough Swilly, and Lough Cone, at present Strangford,‡ in the province of Ulster. There are also some other lakes less considerable, in this province, viz. Lough Finn, Lough Sillin, Lough Ramor, Lough Reagh, Lough Eask, and Lough Dearg: the last is famed for the devotion of the faithful, who resort there to perform a pilgrimage.

The most considerable Lakes of Connaught are Lough Corrib, Lough Mask, Lough Conn, Lough Ree, Lough Boffin, and Lough Allen, in the Shannon; Lough Gara, Lough Aarow, and Lough Rea.

The Lakes to be met with in Munster are called Lough Ogram, Lough Oulan, Lough Kerry, Lough Lene, and Lough Derg.

There are in West Meath, Lough Ennil, Lough Hoyle, Lough Derrevarragh, &c.

In Ireland we meet likewise with mountains, promontories, and capes. The highest mountains, generally called the Curlew Hills, are in the county of Wicklow; those in the Queen's county are Slieve Bloema, and in the county of Mayo, the mountains of Cruachan.

* Ogyg. part. 3, cap. 3.

† Wareus, Antiq. Hib. cap. 7.

‡ Ogyg. part. 3. cap. 49, 50.

There are many bogs in that country,* where the people cut turf with narrow spades, for fuel; it abounds with all kinds of grain, wheat, rye, barley, oats, peas, &c.,† every thing grows there in abundance; its pastures are considered the best in Europe, both for the quality and quantity of their grass, which caused Bede to say, that it was “an island rich in milk and honey;” “dives lactis et mellis insula.”‡ It appears too, that in his time the vine was cultivated there; “nec vinearum expers.”

Fruit trees thrive well in Ireland, such as pear, apple, peach, apricot, cherry, plum, gooseberry, and nut trees.§ It is true, they are not met with in the fields and on the roads, as in France, Flanders, and other countries, being generally planted within enclosures, and in gardens.

Ireland is rich in her herds of oxen, and flocks of sheep, goats, and swine: it is said, that the cows will not give their milk without the calves, and that to succeed in getting it, it is necessary to deceive them by showing a skin filled with hay or straw. The sheep are shorn twice a year.|| They yield a great quantity of wool,¶ but it is not so good nor so fine as in other countries.** The horses called hobbies by the English,†† which were first brought from the Asturias, are bred in Ireland; they are excellent both for the saddle and the draft; their saddle horses have a certain gentle and regular movement, called “amble,” but are very quick at the same time.‡‡ The rider might, whilst seated, upon his horse when walking, bear a full glass of liquor in his hand without spilling it. §§

Paulus Jovius, according to the account given by Ware, saw twelve Irish hobbies, of a dazzling whiteness, caparisoned in purple, with silver bridles and reins: they were led in parade with the trains attendant upon the Sovereign Pontiffs.

Eagles, falcons, and other birds of prey are likewise in Ireland; grey hounds, and other hunting dogs, are there in common. Bees are so plenty that swarms are found even in the trunks of trees.

* O'Sullivan. Hist. Cathol. Hibern. Compend. lib 1, cap. 6.

† Petr. Lombardus. de regno Hib. Comment, cap. 8.

‡ Lib. 1, cap. 1. § Grat. Luc. cap. 10, page 104.

|| “Here the snowy fleece is shorn twice a year; and twice each day, the flocks bring back their udders extended.”—S. John.

¶ Pet. Lombard. Comment. cap. 8.

** Idem. cap. 10. †† War. Antiq. Hib. cap. 7.

‡‡ “Their pacing is gentle, by the alternate extension of their legs.”—Plin.

§§ Camd. Brit. p. 727.

The woods with which that country was formerly covered, fed great numbers of fallow deer; there are stags, boars, foxes, badgers, otters; wolves were likewise in Ireland, but have been entirely destroyed within the last century.*

The plains and bogs of Ireland are full of all kinds of game; hares, rabbits, pheasants, partridges, woodcocks, snipes, plovers, quails, water-hens, ducks, and wild geese, are in abundance, as well as every other species of fowl; there is a particular wild bird in it, that resembles the pheasant; it is called in the Irish language “Keark-Frihy.” Some think that it is the same as the heath-cock; there is indeed an analogy from the name, as Keark-Frihy signifies heath-hen; however that be, this bird is not known, or at least very rare in France. Marshal Saxe had some brought from Ireland, to stock the plains of Chambord; he sent also to that country for horses and mares, and had them brought to supply his stud. The rivers and lakes of this country† are filled with fish of all kinds; salmon, trout, pike, tench, perch, eel, carp, and shad, are very common, without mentioning the sea fish, which are taken in great quantities.

If we search into the bowels of the earth, treasures will be found in Ireland.‡ According to the historians of the country,§ the first gold mine was discovered near the river Liffey, in the time of Tighernmas, the monarch;|| afterwards one of silver was found at Airgidross,¶ and a foundry established on the borders of the river Barrow** in which coats of mail, bucklers, and other armour were made,†† and given by the kings to such warlike men as distinguished themselves in battle. A mint was also founded for manufacturing gold chains,‡‡ which the kings and other nobles wore upon their necks as marks of distinction; rings, likewise, which were presented to those who distinguished themselves in the arts and sciences.

Thus it can be said that gold and silver were in general use in Ireland, even in the most remote ages of paganism. This abundance of wealth was increased, in the early periods of Christianity, by the riches the inhabitants gained from the frequent voyages they made into Britain and other countries.

* Petrus Lombard. cap. 10.

† Pet. Lomb. Comment. cap. 7.

‡ Idem. cap. 9. § Keating, page 64, 66, 74.

|| Anno. M. 3085. Ante q. 915.

¶ Ogyg. part 3, cap. 21.

** Grat. Luc. cap. 8, page 59, 62.

†† Ogyg. part 3, cap. 28, & 33.

‡‡ Keating on the reign of Eadna Dearg.

The immense treasures that the Normans plundered from the churches and monasteries of this country, as well as the annual tribute of an ounce of gold, called "airgiud-froin," exacted from the natives by the barbarians, during their dominion over them, furnish incontestable proofs of its wealth at that time.

We know, that in the time of Denis, Christian and Gregory, who were abbots, successively in the abbey of St. Benedict, established at Regensburg, (called also Ratisbon,) for the Scoto-Milesians, (which was the old name of the Irish,) the kings and princes of Ireland, particularly Conchobar O'Brien, king of Munster, had sent by three remittances, about the beginning of the twelfth century, considerable sums of gold and silver, to rebuild their houses then falling into ruins. After the abbey had been entirely rebuilt, and property purchased in the city and neighbourhood for the support of the monks, there was a sum still remaining.* I shall not speak of the rich presents from the same king of Munster to the Emperor Lothaire II. to assist in the holy wars.† Cambrensis himself bears testimony to the wealth of that island, in the age which succeeded the devastations of the Normans: "Aurum quoque quo abundat insula."‡ Mines of quicksilver, tin, lead, copper, alum, vitriol, sulphur, antimony, and iron are discovered there in great quantities: this last metal is manufactured in the country, and found to be not inferior in quality to that of Spain. However, the English government having made it a part of her policy to keep the Irish in subjection and dependance,§ have

* "Isaac and Gervasius, who were descended from noble parentage in Ireland, being endowed with piety, learning, and eloquence, were joined by two others of Irish descent, viz., Conradus, Carpentarius, and Gulielmus, they came to Ireland, where, after paying their respects to Conchur O'Brien king of Ireland, explained to him the objects of their coming. He received them hospitably, and after a few days sent them back to Germany, laden with gold, silver, and other precious gifts. With this wealth the abbot purchased several farms, towns, and country seats; and in the city of Ratisbon, bought many lots, houses, and sumptuous buildings. After all this, there remained a large sum of that which was given by the king of Ireland; this the abbot Gregory resolved to apply to the sacred utensils of the temple, and with it he also built a new one ornamented and finished with carved stone; likewise a monastery of great extent, after taking down the old one which was falling into ruins."—*Chronicles of Ratisbon, by Gratianus Lucius*, c. 21, p. 162.

† Walsh, Prospect of Ireland, sect. 6, page 447.

‡ Hib. expug. lib. 2, cap. 15.

§ Pet. Lomb. idid. cap. 9.

been always opposed to the increase of their wealth and the working of their mines. Quarries of stone, resembling a hard freestone, are also found, besides coal mines, alabaster, and marble of several kinds, such as red, black, striped, and some mixed with white; there is another likewise of a greyish colour, which becomes azure when polished; the houses in Kilkenny are built with this last kind, and the streets paved with it.

The produce and growth of the Island,* and those articles which form its chief trade and export are oxen, sheep, swine, leather, tallow, butter, cheese, salt, honey, wax, furs, hemp, wool, linen cloths, stuffs, fish, wild-fowl, lead, tin, copper and iron. Ireland produces every thing necessary and useful, and could do well, without the aid or intercourse of any other country.

Its situation for trade with other nations is peculiarly favourable;† her harbours are more numerous and more convenient than those of England.‡ They were formerly frequented by the Phœnicians,§ the Greeks, and the Gauls. "Ireland," says Camden, "is to be admired both for its fertility, and the advantageous situation of its sea-ports."¶ Still the commerce of that country is inconsiderable, owing to the restrictions and narrow limits imposed upon it by a neighbouring nation, which has tyrannised over it for some centuries, and prevents its wealth to prosper and increase.¶

In that happy country, the works of nature which are seen, excite our wonder; few examples of the same kind are in any other country of Europe. By a peculiar blessing to Ireland,** its land is entirely exempt from all venomous reptiles; some serpents, adders, lizards, and spiders are indeed to be seen there, as in other places; but by a strange singularity, they have not the poisonous quality inseparable from their nature in other countries,†† except in the island of Crete. When they are brought from other places, says Bede, they die when approaching that sacred land.‡‡ "Nullus ibi serpens vivere

* War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 7.

† Petr. Lombard, cap. 2.

‡ "The harbours of Ireland are better known for their commerce and traders, than those of Britain."—*Tacitus in his Life of Agricola*.

§ War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 1.

¶ "Whether you consider the convenience of its sea-ports, or fertility of the soil, the country is blessed with many advantages."—*Camden*, p. 680.

¶ "If thou hadst not been too near to a faithless nation, there would not be upon the globe a more happy people."—*S. John, in his ancient poem on Ireland*.

** Pet. Lombard, Comment. cap. 6.

†† War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 7. ‡‡ Lib. 1, cap. 7.

valeat." "Neither serpents, nor any venomous things," says Camden, "are to be met with." "Nullus hic anguis, nec venenatum quicquam." This happy exemption from poisonous insects is again expressed in some verses of Adrianus Junius wherein the island is introduced as speaking of its own advantages.*

The wonders of two celebrated lakes in Ireland, Lough Neagh, and Lough Lene, are well known to the learned by the different dissertations published upon them; among others, the philosophical lectures of Richard Barton, printed at Dublin in 1751.†

Lough Neagh, situated in the north of Ireland, is bordered on the north east by the county of Antrim, by Tyrone upon the west, and Armagh upon the south; is thirty miles long, and fifteen broad; its waters possess a petrifying quality, which changes wood into iron or stone. Nennius, an English author, makes mention of it‡ and it has been celebrated in some beautiful lines, by the author of the *Ogygia*.§ "Every thing which is thrown into a certain lake in Ireland," says Tollius, "is changed into iron or stone, if it fall to the bottom."

M. de Buffon mentions that "a lake is said to be in Iceland, which petrifies."¶ "The lake Neagh in Ireland," continues he, "possesses the same quality; but these petrifications caused by the waters of the lakes are certainly nothing more than incrustations, such as the waters of Arcueil produces." Experience does not accord with the opinion of that celebrated naturalist. Incrustation is caused by concretion, and the application of a strange body on the

surface of another, without altering its substance. In the petrification attributed to Lough Neagh, the changing of a piece of wood into stone is effected by the total change of the inner part, and in that the difference of bodies consists, as the matter is alike in all. Pieces of wood, after having lain a certain time in that lake, are taken out, either partly or entirely petrified; some possess the properties of the stone, its heaviness, hardness, and solid cohesion of the parts, which make their separation difficult; whilst another retains the quality of wood, which is that of being fibrous and combustible.

There are two sorts of petrified wood; one is white; it appears on the outside to be wood, but is in reality a stone without any mixture. This kind being porous, is incomparably lighter than the common stone; it is susceptible of being cut, and is useful for whetting edged tools. The other, being less porous, is black, harder, and more weighty: a mixture in it is sometimes discovered, either on the surface or in the interior of the stone. The two kinds are alike in this, that they split like wood, and strike fire like the flint stone; they will resist the strongest fire without being calcined or vitrified. It has been likewise remarked, that the second sort after passing through the fire, becomes also white and light, as there will be voids remaining after the particles of wood which composed part of it are consumed. In those mixed bodies, a matter is discovered, which is solid and transparent, resembling crystal. The celebrated Boyle makes mention of them in his essay on the origin and virtue of precious stones. He says, "there is a lake in the north of Ireland, which, like any other, abounds with fish. At the bottom, rocks are discovered with masses attached to them which are clear and transparent as crystal. They are of several colours, some white, brown, and amber."

It is not well known, what kind of wood it is that petrifies in Lough Neagh; according to the general opinion, it is the holly; but it has been observed, that the grain of the petrified wood, after being polished, becomes variegated, whereas the holly does not. It would be more reasonable, in my opinion, to say, that petrification operates upon the wood, (which is the oak, broom, and yew tree,) that grows on the borders of the lake, or its vicinity; the agreeable smell which it produces, would make one think it, to be cedar. As to the time requisite for this petrification, it has not been

* "I am that icy Ierne formerly so called by the Greeks, and well known to the mariners of Jason's ship. To me, God the benign source of things created, has given the same privileges as to Crete, where the thundering and mighty Jove was brought up: there, if the terrific serpent were brought, lest it should pour from its hissing tongue, the black poison of Medusa, daughter of Phorcus, the chops become compressed, and life together with its poisoned blood becomes extinct."—*Barton's Philosophical Lectures*, p. 85.

† Barton, *Philosophical Lectures*, page 85.

‡ "There is another lake, named Lough Eachac, which changes wood into stone after a year. Men cleave the wood and shape it when put in."—*Ogyg. Wonders of Ireland*.

§ In Ulster there is a lake called Lough Neagh. If wood be affixed in it to the bottom, after seven years that which is at bottom is changed into iron, in the water it becomes a whet-stone, and above the surface a tree"—*Ogygia*, part 3, c. 50.

¶ "In a lake in Ireland, every thing which is thrown into it is changed into iron, or becomes a stone."—*Tollius Hist. of gems and stones*.

¶ Barton, *ibidem*.

ascertained; some branches of holly are seen, which, it is said, were petrified in seven years: as to the precise time which might be necessary, it matters not, but the truth of the phenomenon is incontestable.

It is observed, that petrification is produced, not only in Lough Neagh, but also within its environs, to the distance of eight miles, even upon high and sandy soil to which the waters of the lake do not appear to have access. This discovery, by destroying the system which attributed the virtue of it to the water exclusively, seems to affix it to the soil, or at least to supply it with that quality by the power of the rain, or vapours which arise from the lake.

Although the phenomenon of petrification, like many others which we perceive in nature, be extraordinary, it is not supernatural; however, as it is not allowed man to fathom into all things, the cause of it is perhaps sought for in vain. The learned attribute it to the water or to the air. Water being fluid, is capable from its condensed gravity, of conveying strong particles in its current. The same may be said of the vapours which come forth from the earth. It is easy to conceive that pieces of wood which have lain for some time horizontally under the earth, having preserved the pores and tubes which served as conduits to the juice that nourished them during vegetation, easily admit into these tubes the fluid bodies, and that the particles of stony matter with which they are loaded being of a sulphureous and saline nature, separate themselves in their course, and penetrate into the sides of the tubes, when the movement of the liquids is gentle, whereas too rapid a motion is injurious to petrification. In the course of time, a more abundant concretion of these particles is formed into a solid body, which by its corrosive quality is substituted for an equal quantity of wood, by changing the form of those bodies, and introducing that of stone. It is nearly thus that the changing of iron into copper is accounted for, which a fountain of running water, near the copper mines of Hemgrunt in Hungary, and at Newsohl in Germany, produces. Great advantages arise at present to Ireland from this phenomenon; bars of iron that lie in a stream of water which flows from the copper mines in the county of Wicklow, become changed, after seven weeks, into copper, which is caused by the great quantity of vitriol accompanying the particles of copper, and prepares a receptacle for them by consuming the iron.

To be able to judge of the influence of

the air as it regards petrification, we must consider the different circumstances of that element. The phenomenon cannot be attributed to the exterior air which forms the atmosphere of the globe; it being a much lighter fluid than water, its degree of rarefaction and motion is therefore too great to support the particles of petrifying matter, and conduct them to the equilibrium necessary for petrification.* Petrification is produced in the earth, consequently it is more the effect of the interior than the exterior air; the earth, like the animal body, receives much matter, and is purified in proportion, which, according to the season or climate, causes the different phenomena of thunder, rain, fever, plague, and other epidemic disorders. It receives likewise into its cavities much of the same kind of air which surrounds the globe; but as the situation of the interior air is different from that of the exterior, in regard to the variety of matter which it generates, and the causes which sometimes rarefy, sometimes condense it, without being subject to the violent agitations produced by storms and hurricanes, to which the exterior air is exposed, it must naturally produce different effects. Thus, without offending against the laws of physics, we may imagine it to be capable of bearing particles of stone or other petrifying matter into the pores and tubes of wood which it meets in its course. This is sufficient to account for the phenomenon of petrification.

The waters of Lough Neagh are also considered to be very salutary for such as are attacked by scrofula, and other like distempers.

In the bogs of Ireland, whole trees are often found lying horizontally some feet under the earth, without being petrified. These have fallen, either by the violence of the waters of the deluge, which had torn them from their roots, or more probably which the Normans had felled in the valleys that were then covered with wood, in order to impede the efforts of the Irish coming to attack them; it is a stratagem of war, practised even to this day. Those trees are sometimes seen burned at the thick end, no doubt because the barbarians not having sufficient axes, made use of fire to fell them. It is easy to suppose, that trees covered with

* "According to the laws of Hydrostatics, heavy bodies do not swim in fluids which are less weighty; that is to say, the bodies whose surface contains more matter than an equal surface of fluid, must verge to the bottom, so that these bodies become diminished, according to the greater proportion between the surface and matter which it encloses."

branches and leaves, and heaped one upon another, might have stopped the mire, which the waters that ran in the valleys carried along with them, and in succession of time have formed banks sufficient to prevent the running of the waters, and cause them to overflow the neighbouring lands. Lakes and bogs are of course formed by the stagnation of those waters loaded more or less with strange bodies; the matter whereof they are composed is an accumulation of dried herbs, hay, heath, roots, and other things produced by stagnant waters, and forms in its mixed state but one spongy substance, which easily admits the water, and covered in course of time those trees altogether, that had contributed to its growth. Some of the bogs in Ireland are twenty feet deep from their surface to the bottom, which is a kind of potter's clay or sand. Thousands of acres are seen in different districts of that country, which considerably deduct from the produce of the island; otherwise it is extremely fertile; the only benefit to be derived at present from the bogs in Ireland, is the turf which is cut for fuel.

Lake Lene is not less remarkable than Lake Neagh: it lies to the southern extremity of the island, in the county of Kerry: it is divided into the upper and lower lake, and contains in the whole about three thousand square acres, it is bounded south and east by the mountains Mangerton and Turk, west by Glenna; to the north of it is a beautiful plain, ornamented with fine country seats, and on the north-east is the town of Killarney. These mountains are covered from the base to their top with the oak, yew tree, holly, and the arbutus,* which, represent in their different degrees of vegetation an agreeable variety of colours, green, yellow, red, and white, forming an amphitheatre, which recal in winter, the charms of the spring. Some cascades are formed by the falling of the waters from the summit of these mountains, particularly from Mangerton, whose murmurs being repeated by echos, add still more to the charms of this

* "The strawberry tree, in Latin the arbutus, is a shrub which in some countries becomes a tree. In the mountains of Lough Lene it grows to the height of 20 feet; its leaves, like the laurel, are always green, and at the end, of a purple colour; its flowers hang like grapes, are white, and of an agreeable smell, resembling the lily; its fruit resembles the strawberry in shape, but much larger; it is round, sour, and yellow, before ripe, it then becomes red; exquisite in taste, the inhabitants eat it as they would apples, but it is fit to drink water after it, otherwise it would be unwholesome."

spot. On the top of this mountain is a lake, the depth of which is not known; in the language of the country it is called "Poull-i-feron," which signifies "Hell's hole." It frequently overflows, and rolls down in frightful torrents.* Lake Lene contains several islands, which resemble so many gardens; the arbutus takes root amongst the rocks of marble in the midst of its waters. Nennius says in his treatise upon the wonders of Ireland, that "there are four mines, namely, tin, lead, iron, and copper, which form four circles around the lake." He adds, that, "pearls are found in it, which kings wear for ear-rings."† There are indeed some precious stones in this lake, and in its neighbourhood mines of silver and copper, more especially the latter, which at present makes of itself a great branch of trade.

The Giant's Causeway in the county of Antrim, in the north of Ireland, where the coast is elevated above the level of the sea, is another wonder, that merits the attention of the curious. This causeway, which is in the form of a triangle, extends from the foot of a mountain into the sea, to a considerable distance; its apparent length, when the waters retire is about six hundred feet. It consists of many thousand pillars, which are pentagonal, hexagonal, and heptagonal, but irregular, as there are few of them of which the sides are equally broad; their size is not uniformly the same, varying from 15 to 26 inches in diameter, and in general not more than twenty. All these pillars touch one another with equal sides, which are so close, that the joints can be scarcely perceived; they are not all equally high; they sometimes form a smooth surface, and sometimes are unequal. These pillars, none of which are of a single piece, are composed of many unequal ones, from one to two feet high; and what is still more singular, those pieces are not joined by plain surfaces, being set one into the other, by concave and convex outsides, highly polished, the same as the sides of the adjoining pillars. There are some places where this colonade is elevated above the earth, thirty-two, and even thirty-six feet, but we

* "It is usual to see some lakes on the tops of mountains, in Ireland, the waters of which fall precipitately into the vallies, where rivers are formed. On Slieve Donart, in the territory of Mourne, and the county of Down, this is met with; also at Bantry, in the county of Cork, and at Powerscourt, in the county of Wicklow."

† "There is a lake called Lough Lene, surrounded by four circles; in it many gems are found, which kings wear in their ears."—Nennius, *his Wonders on Ireland*, Ogyg. c. 5.

are ignorant of its depth. People have dug at the foot of one of the columns, to the depth of eight feet, and it was found to be the same all through.

The stone, as to the substance, is a homogeneous body, which admits of no mixture, and is extremely hard; when broken, it is found to have a fine and shining grain; it is heavier than other kinds of stone, resists tools of the best temper, and of course cannot be cut; still it dissolves in the fire.

Besides the Giants' Causeway, some other colonades of the same kind are discovered on the land side; the most considerable is composed of fifty pillars, whereof the middle one is forty feet high, and the others, on the right and left, diminish like the pipes of an organ; it is on that account the inhabitants have given them the name of "the organ."

Is the Giants' Causeway a work of nature or of art? That is a question of controversy, among the learned of England and of Ireland. Those who maintain, that it is the effect of nature, prove it according to the rules of geometry; they cite a proposition out of Euclid, according to which, "there are but three figures which can form a plain and continued surface, viz. six equilateral triangles, four squares, and three hexagons. But they say these rules of art have not been observed in the Giants' Causeway, which is composed of polygons having unequal sides, although they are very well adapted to the opposite side of the adjoining pillars, which cannot be attributed but to a superior Intelligence." It is added, "the joining of those pieces which compose the pillars appears to be a work of nature, whereas in all other columns, both ancient and modern, the pieces are joined by flat surfaces, and it cannot be conceived how the joining of the stones, that form this causeway, could have been made without an infinite number of instruments which are not known to us."

This system of reasoning though plausible is not satisfactory; for besides our not being able to deny a thing because we cannot conceive it, it is certain the arts have had their revolutions, and that there have been many which formerly prevailed, that have not come down to us.

The inhabitants of Ireland are tall and well made:* the strong exercises which tend to fortify the nerves, and render the body vigorous, were at all times practised among them. Hunting, horseracing, foot

racing, wrestling, and other like exercises, form still their usual amusements. We attribute to Lugh Lam Fada,* one of their ancient kings, the institution of military exercises, at Tailton in Meath;† those exercises consisted in wrestling, the combats of gladiators, tournaments, races on foot and on horseback, as we have seen them instituted at Rome a long time after by Romulus in honour of Mars, which were called "Equiria." Those games at Tailton, which Gratianus Lucius and O'Flaherty call "ludi Taltini,"‡ were celebrated every year, during thirty days, that is, fifteen days before and fifteen days after the first of our month of August. On that account, the first of August has been and is still called in Ireland, "Lah Lugh-Nasa," which signifies a day in memory of Lugh. These olympiads always continued amongst the Milesians until the arrival of the English.§ We discover to this day some vestiges of them, without any other change than that of time and place. Wrestling, which we call in France, "le tour du Breton," the exercises of gladiators, and races on foot, are still on festival days their common diversion, in various districts of Ireland, and the conquerors generally receive a prize. The plains of Kildare are celebrated for the great concourse of nobility who assemble there every year. Race horses are brought there from every province in the kingdom, likewise from England and other countries; considerable wagers are bet on these occasions, and more noblemen are ruined by them, than by any other mode of gaming.

"The Irish," says Camden, "are warlike, witty, and remarkable for the just proportion of their limbs. Their flesh and muscles are so supple, that the agility which they possess is incredible."|| Good, an English priest, who wrote in the sixteenth century, after having been for many years in Ireland, a professor of humanity, gives the following description of its inhabitants. "They are a nation, (he says,) to be praised for their strength, and particularly for the activity of their bodies; for a greatness of soul: they are witty and warlike, prodigal of life, hardy in bearing fatigues, cold, and hunger; prone to loose pleasures, courteous

* Keating on the reign of Lugh.

† Ogyg. par. 3. cap. 13.

‡ Gratianus Lucius, cap. 9. p. 85.

§ Ibidem. cap. 8. p. 58.

|| "They are warlike, witty, and remarkable for the just proportion of their limbs. Their flesh and muscles are so supple, that the agility which they possess is incredible."—*Camden Brit.* p. 680.

* Petrus Lombardus, cap. 12.

and kind to strangers, constant in their love, hating also, seldom forgiving, too credulous, greedy of glory, and quick to resist injuries and insults.*

"Of all men," says Stanihurst, "the Irish are the most patient in fatigue, the most warlike; rarely do they suffer themselves to be cast down even in their heaviest afflictions."†

CHAPTER II.

CRITICAL ESSAY UPON THE ANTIQUITY OF THE SCOTO-MILESIAUS.

NOTHING has more engaged the minds of historians than the researches they have made on the origin of ancient countries, and there is nothing in which they have so little succeeded; so much of the marvellous has been introduced into the writings of the ancients upon these subjects, that it is with difficulty the small portion of truth found in them, can be distinguished from the fables which vanity has caused them to insert. Sacred history therefore can serve as the only infallible guide in the knowledge of antiquity. It has become so much the custom of every people to endeavour to ennoble their origin, and establish it upon an ancient and illustrious foundation, that, it would appear, new and obscure beginnings have something in them dishonourable: to give to them some brilliancy in the midst of the darkness which surrounds them, fable is often made use of instead of history: they prefer to lose themselves in an abyss of antiquity, than candidly avow themselves to be of modern mediocrity.

The Egyptians reckon a period of forty eight thousand years, and pretend to have seen twelve hundred eclipses before the reign

* "The whole nation of the Irish are strong in their persons, peculiarly active, possessing a brave and elevated mind; sharp in their intellects and warlike. Life is not regarded in their propensities; labour, cold, and hunger are overlooked; their passions are strong in love; they are hospitable to strangers; sincere in their attachments, and in their quarrels implacable: too credulous, greedy of glory, they will resist insult and injustice, and most ardent in all their acts."—*Cum.* p. 789.

† "As has been already remarked, the Irish are extremely hospitable, good-natured, and beneficent. Of all men they are the most patient in suffering, and rarely overcome by difficulties."—*Stanihurst.* b. 1. p. 48.

of Alexander the Great. Their historian Manetho, supported by the pretended inscriptions on the pillars of Hermes in the land of Seriad, describes the succession and reign of their kings for many thousand years before the time of the creation, as established by Moses. The Chaldeans ascend still higher: they pretend to have made astronomical observations, during four hundred thousand years. The Chinese count upon a revolution of forty thousand years, and pretend to have made observations long before the creation.

The learned reject these chronologies as fabulous, and the pretended observations of the Egyptians and Chaldeans, to have been unknown to ancient astronomers. It has been proved that the history of the pillars of Hermes is but a fiction which falls of itself, whereas it is the opinion of every one, that Hermes was the first by whom characters were invented, and that the land of Seriad was not known to the ancient geographers. As to the chronology of the Chinese, it has been shown, that their pretensions have been contradicted by the ephemerides. The most ancient observations, acknowledged by them to be authentic, as has been made to appear, as those of two fixed stars, one in the winter solstice, and the other in the vernal equinox, in the time of the king Yao, who reigned after the universal deluge. If their historians give to their empire, a duration of forty thousand years, it can be founded but upon an equivocal and uncertain tradition; whereas, according to their own acknowledgment, their books were all consumed in the flames, about two thousand years ago, by order of their Emperor Zeo, and no monuments remain amongst them more ancient than that period.

Similar ravings having found credit among the Arcadians, who boast that they are more ancient than the moon, and among the Sicilians, who pride themselves on the foundation and antiquity of their cities: they pretend, for instance, that Palermo was founded in the time of the patriarch Isaac,* by a colony of Hebrews, Phœnicians, and Syrians; and that Saphu, grandson of Esau, was governor of a tower named Baych in the same city. After the example of Manetho, they cite some ancient inscriptions, not better established than those of the columns of Hermes.† We can form the same opinion on the pretended antiquity of Messina, which they say was enlarged by Nimrod.

The origin of the Romans is not better

* Fazell. Hist. Sicul. decad. 1. part. prior. lib. 8.

† Rehn, Notizie Istoriche di Messina.

established, as authors do not agree upon that point. Some attribute it to the Trojans; others give to them different founders: but without seeking after such distant prodigies of antiquity, the offspring of vanity, have we not the history of Brutus, forged by Geoffry of Monmouth, an English monk of the twelfth century? This friar, zealous for the glory of his nation, and wishing to give to it an illustrious beginning, introduces the story of a certain Brutus, great grandson of Æneas, the Trojan, having peopled Britain, and by this happy discovery, finds for it, at the same time, an origin and a name. This system did not succeed: it was rejected even by those whose interest it was to uphold it, particularly by Nubrigensis, Polydore Virgil, Buchanan, Camden, Baker, and others.

The higher we ascend towards the source of ancient history, the more obscure we discover it to be. It is probable that the ancient Milesians had been addicted to the marvellous as well as other people who were their contemporaries. The great antiquity to which they aspire, will no doubt appear astonishing. It is difficult to conceive, that a people obscure and almost unknown, can trace their origin and genealogy to times so remote, while the most considerable countries of Europe are new, and still scarcely understand their origin. It is a paradox, I allow, but it must be likewise granted, that the thing is not impossible. The genealogies of the house of Austria, of the dukes of Ascot, and of some other princes, have been it is said, traced so far back as the deluge. We have an example of it among the Jewish people. Although God conducted with a peculiar care the pens of the holy writers, in every thing regarding the laws, the prophecies, canticles, the history of the creation of the world, and all that was above human understanding; the same writers have treated of the genealogies of families, and have given an account of historical facts, which they had known from the study of tradition, and which were known to all who wished to be instructed in them.

After the precautions which are adopted in France, and other countries, by depositing in their courts of justice, and registries, returns of the baptisms, marriages, and burials, as also their plan of keeping the registry of their nobles, which is called heraldry, can it be hereafter a matter for surprise, if after the lapse of two thousand years, genealogies make their appearance, and ascend from generation to generation up to us?

The matter is therefore possible, and

reduces itself to the following question, viz., to know if the ancient Milesians carefully transmitted to posterity, since a certain epoch, some features of their history. Before this matter be further examined, it is prudent to lay it down as a principle, which should be admitted, that all ancient nations have had their obscure periods, both fabulous and historical.

Varro distinguishes, after the manner of the Greeks, three different eras—

The first from the creation to the deluge, which is, he says, obscure and uncertain, because we are ignorant of all that passed during that time.

The second, from the deluge to the first olympiad, which he calls fabulous, from the many fables that have been related concerning that epoch.

Lastly, the third, from the first olympiad till our time, which he denominates historical.

Although the different periods characterised thus by Varro, undergo some difficulty by referring to the authority of the sacred writings; though Josephus, in his first book against Appion, assures us, that the histories of the Phœnicians, Egyptians, and Chaldeans, set forth with truth and accuracy, many things concerning the reign of their kings, and that they contain the principal events, which happened in their countries before the first olympiad, even before Abraham and Moses; and although he praised so highly Dion, the Phœnician, and Berosus, the Chaldean, for the correctness and authority of their histories; and according to him, that these two historians have treated of the events which happened in the second distinction of time, named fabulous by Varro, particularly Berosus, who has spoken of the deluge, of the ark, the Armenian mountains where it rested, and that he has continued his history from Noah, and the first kings who reigned after the deluge; yet the distinction of time, made by that learned Roman, ought to be admitted into the histories of almost every people.

It is possible that some nations have preserved from tradition, a general and confused idea of their origin, and of their first founders; but if it be required of them to fix their dates, or to examine in detail the form of their governments, they will either tell us nothing of these things, or speak of them as mere chimeras.

The ancient bards have preserved to us the memory of different colonies, which came successively to establish themselves in Hibernia, before Jesus Christ. But can we not suspect the truth of the accounts which they

have left us? The bards were held in high esteem among the Milesians, who called them in their language "Fileas," or "Feardanas," that is to say, philosophers. They enjoyed great privileges, and sat by right of suffrage in the assemblies of the state: possessions were given them from the liberality of the monarch, by the provincial kings, and private lords.

Strabo* and Lucan called them poets, or prophets. Pomponius Festus says, that a bard is a singer, who celebrates, in verse, the praises and exploits of great men. Diodorus Siculus calls a bard a composer of canticles.

The bards were, as O'Flaherty,† and some ancient authors say, both poets and philosophers. They were masters of arts and sciences: their knowledge did not consist in the harmony of words to flatter princes. They described, like the Arabs and ancient Greeks, philosophy, the laws, and history, in verse, which style being more concise, was, at the same time, more easily retained.‡

The bards of Wales, as David Powell remarks, were employed for preserving the heraldry and genealogies of their nobles: the profession of a bard was, among the Milesians, for the same end.§ This office enjoined him to write the annals, genealogies, alliances, wars, voyages, and transmigrations of that people, who, in tracing them from father to son up to Milesius, are descended, according to the bards, from Japhet and Magog. This has caused Camden to say, that if every thing their historians relate concerning their antiquity be true, it is with justice that Plutarch calls that island Ogygia, which signifies very ancient. They draw, continues the same author, their history from the most remote antiquity, so that that of other nations is new when compared to theirs.||

It is certain that every man then, as those of our time, were descended from one, or other of the three brothers, Sem, Cham, or

Japhet. It is also probable, that, whilst men were, in the early ages of the world, near their original stock, and lived to be very old, without being distracted by that variety of sciences and arts which luxury has produced in latter ages, nor by the knowledge of so many fine but often useless discoveries, which at present occupy the minds of men: fathers took care to instruct their children in that which formed the chief object of their studies, namely, the genealogy of their families. All this seems like the truth; we need nothing more to found our conjectures upon; but that is not sufficient to maintain historical truths, particularly in referring to a period of antiquity, when people had not yet known the use of letters, "without the aid of which," says Newton, "they could with difficulty transmit or continue the memory of the names or actions of men, after death, beyond eighty or a hundred years."*

The bards were in general mercenary men, who gave themselves up either to the extremes of exaggerated praise, of which they were lavish; or to sharp satires, which they darted against those whose honour they had some motive for assailing. If, in spite of the regulations made and established by the assembly at Tara, for the purpose of restraining the Milesian bards, and limiting their enthusiasm, they had been often obliged to pronounce the sentence of banishment against them, to repress their insolence, (a sure proof that all they related ought not be received for historical truths,) what belief should be then attached to those of a more distant antiquity, whom nothing restrained, and who pursued with impunity whatever passion dictated? Can their correctness in the details which they have given of the origin of the Milesians, the genealogies of their chiefs, and the succession of their kings, be relied upon? Can we subscribe to their affected precision, in marking the day of the month, the week, or of the moon, and the precise place of their arrival in the island, at a time when chronology was so imperfect?

Let us strive to discover a standard whereby to avoid in this history, a boyish credulity, in admitting things that are improbable, as well as a forced diffidence, by rejecting what is well founded. Let us, with Varro, distinguish the different epochs, and unravel, as much as possible, the truth from what is false.

The Ante-Milesian history, which signifies all that is related of the first colonies who

* Geog. Lib. 4.

† Lib. 5. Ogyg. par. 3. cap. 27.

‡ Newt. Chronol. chap. 1. p. 44.

§ "They were philosophers in reality, and poets in name but it need not be doubted, whether as philosophers or poets, they have written best on divine subjects. The character of the poets among the ancients, was that of wisdom, and as in our days, their knowledge did not consist in the measure and scanning of words, nor in their flatteries of the great."—*Ogyg.* part 3. c. 30.

|| "From the deepest sources of antiquity, the history of the Irish is taken; so that in comparison to them, that of other nations is but novelty and a beginning."—*Camd.* p. 728.

* Introduct. to Chron. page 7.

were in possession of the island before the arrival of the Milesians, may be carried to times that are obscure, doubtful, and unknown.

We can likewise bring back to fabulous times, the accounts of the origin of the Scoto-Milesians, the voyages and transmigrations of their ancestors, the Gadelians, in different regions, and of various circumstances which accompanied their voyage from Spain to Ireland, until their complete establishment in it, some time after their arrival.

In the mean while, let us allow, that there are no positive reasons for opposing such accounts; all the arguments that can be adduced against them are negative, and consequently insufficient; besides the objects being at too remote a period to be able to distinguish them, it is perhaps as well to credit as to reject them. All judgment should be suspended upon what is not proved to be absolutely true, or decidedly false.* That is the maxim which Camden, an English author has judiciously adopted; his moderation in this instance cannot be attributed to a love for Ireland.† I shall observe the prudent counsel of that historian, and will give in the following chapter, under the title of fabulous history, what writers say concerning the primitive ages, both to preserve the thread of their history, and mark my respect for antiquity.‡

As to the Scoto-Milesians, if we consider them to have been established in Ireland for some ages before the Christian era, and composing a body of people governed by laws, living tranquilly, and, being separated from the continent, beyond the reach of insult from strangers, which period we may place before the reign of Ollam Fodla, (about seven or eight centuries before Jesus Christ,) we can fix the date of the Milesian history in the third degree of time, called historical by Varro. Their annals, since then, merit belief as much as any ancient history of other nations that we read of. Of that truth we shall be readily convinced by paying attention to the antiquity of the Irish language,

which is certainly not derived from any that is spoken in Europe, and to the singularity of its characters, which have no prototype; also to the powerful motives which had influenced the Milesians in preserving their history.

Languages have generally their origin among the people by whom they are spoken. Those who maintain that the Milesians are descendants of the Gauls, strive to discover the root of the Irish language in the Gallic; but as the result cannot be more true than the principle from whence it is taken, it is more natural to refer, on that subject, to the traditions and ancient monuments of the Milesians. By these it is discovered, that the Milesians are descended from a colony of Scythians,* who, after many migrations into different countries, came to settle and establish themselves in Ireland; that their language also, which they call Gaelic, from Gaodhal, one of their ancient chiefs, has been at all times the peculiar language of that colony, not only since their establishment in Ireland, but even from their going out of Egypt. A people who are victorious, usually introduce into the conquered country their religion, laws, customs, and language: of this truth the Scots and Saxons will afford an example; the former of whom, consisting of some colonies of the Scoto-Milesians, who in spite of the Picts established themselves in a canton of Albania, have preserved their language, viz., the Scotie, which is still in use among them.†

The Britons, having called the Saxons to their aid against the Scots and Picts,‡ experienced the perfidy of their allies, who forced them to seek an asylum in Wales. The Saxon language prevailed therefore, and the Bretonic ceased in England, except within the narrow confines of that province occupied by the Britons. It is not probable, therefore, that the Gadelians, during their sojourn in Spain, or the Milesians, their descendants, established in Ireland by right of conquest, and who had never borne a foreign yoke, had ever changed their language in changing their country, unless they could abandon their native tongue, by substituting a strange one instead of it. The error of authors, which I have to combat here, arises from

* "I do not think, that, what is founded on conjecture, which borders upon truth, or what is supported by tradition, concerning the origin of a people, should be rejected."—*Buchanan, Scotch Records*, b. 1, p. 54.

† "That which it is neither my intention to refute nor maintain, should receive indulgence for the character of its antiquity."—*Brit.* page 728.

‡ "Its authority should be conceded to antiquity, and not repelled by vain conjectures, unless better and more authentic documents could be adduced."—*Ogyg.* part 1, p. 2.

* *Ogyg.* part 2, page 63.

† "They brought their language from Ireland into Britain."—*Joan. Major, de Gest. Scot.* b. 1, c. 9.

‡ "They were forced to send for the Saxons, into their country, which turned to their own destruction. The English or Angli were very strong but not at all faithful."—*Polydorus Virgil, Eng. Hist.* b. 3, p. 131.

their affected ignorance of the true history of the Milesians. Contrary to the spirit of this history, these authors appear to confound the Milesians with a number of other colonies who came at different periods into Ireland, with the consent of the first inhabitants, and who learned and adopted the language of the country, viz., the Bretonnic, which did not undergo any material change by the mixture of different nations.

The arguments which Camden and others draw from a pretended connexion or analogy, of many Irish words with the Bretonnic, or Gallic, by proving that the Irish is derived from either of them, would equally prove the contrary to their assertions. It is well known that neighbouring nations which trade together, (languages being subject to corruption and change), borrow some words from each other, without either being an original source for the other to derive its language from. For example, the French and English languages are alike in many words common to both, without the one being derived from the other. Commerce was frequently between the Scoto-Milesians and the Britons: if any nation was rendered, from subjection, like the other, it was the lot of Britain at that time. The Scoto-Milesians held over them a superiority of genius, of riches, and of arms, as a celebrated poet gives at present to the English, from his own authority. They frequently brought war into their country, and carried away prisoners; the dreadful devastations which were committed by them, according to Gildas and Bede, furnish proofs of it. The Scoto-Milesians were at that time a free people, governed by their own laws, whilst the Britons, Gauls, and Spaniards, were slaves, subject to a foreign power, and forced sometimes to seek an asylum in Ireland, to rescue themselves from the tyranny of the Romans.* It is known besides, that the Firbolgs and the Firdomnians, whose language was perhaps a dialect of the Celtic, had a continual trade with the Scoto-Milesians, who, after they had conquered the island, assigned them some lands in it. Nothing more was necessary to cause some mixture of the two languages, and contribute to the supposed connexion of the Scotie with the Bretonnic or Gallic, although they are fundamentally different, one from the other.

We might say, that from the same cause the Scotie is derived from the Latin, because

* "After the Romans had extended their empire over, almost all countries, many flocked to Ireland out of Spain, Gaul, and Britain, to escape from the Roman yoke."—*Camd. Brit.* p. 729.

there are some words common to both languages, and which have the same signification. We discover an example in the numeral nouns, "*anon, do, tri, ceathar,* and which appear the same as *unus, duo, tres, quatuor*, which the Latins make use of to express numbers. These words are in reality the same, and differ only in idiom. On that subject I have two replies which are alike unanswerable.

First—words are arbitrary signs, invented to express the thoughts and communicate the ideas. These signs consist in a combination of letters, or of syllables, and which may be found the same in different idioms.

Second—The Scotie language being more ancient than the Latin, why should we suppose that it has taken from the Latin some of its words, rather than think the contrary? The trade which the Scoto-Milesians had with the Romans from the beginning of Christianity, the veneration in which they held their apostle and every thing that came from him, even the language in which he had instructed them, could not these make us think that they might have adopted some Latin words, and have, imperceptibly, forgotten their old ones, without the two languages having, on that account, any affinity between them.

The learned, who have undertaken the task of fathoming and examining the nature and difference of languages, have always put in the number of the mother tongues of Europe, the Scotie, and the Bretonnic, between which there has been no analogy.*

Joseph Scaliger counts eleven mother tongues in Europe; the Latin, Greek, Teutonic, Slavonic, Epirotic, Tartarian, Hungarian, Finlandish, Irish, Welsh, and the Biscayan or Cantabrian. The number of the mother languages in Europe, of the least extent, says Nicholas Sanson,† is better known to us than of the other parts of the world, and may be reduced to six, viz., the Irish, Finlandish, the Bretonnic or Welsh, the Biscayan, Hungarian, and Albanian. The Irish language, (continues he), is, besides in Ireland, still spoken in the north of Scotland. The Finlandish is used in Scandinavia, which comprises Finland and Lapland. The Bretonnic, which is the language of Lower Brittany, in France, is likewise called Welsh, being the native language of Wales, a province of England. The Biscayan, comprises Lower Navarre, with Labour, in France, and Biscay, in Spain.

* *Grat. Luc.* cap. 3.

† *Introd. a la Geograph.* 2 part, livre 3, chap. 5, des Langues.

The Hungarian is the language of Hungary and Transylvania, which countries belong to Turkey in Europe, and the Albanian is thus named from Albania, a country also of Turkey in Europe.

To refuse to a nation the use of letters, displays a wish for sapping the foundation of its history, and depriving it of the means of transmitting its tradition to posterity. It is possible that some facts of history have been preserved by oral tradition, as it is said the works of Homer had been, during many ages, preserved by the memory alone; but such tradition, without the aid of letters, must be very imperfect.

Bollandus was the first who refused to the Milesians the advantage of characters. He says, that, like the Germans, the Pagan Irish had not, before the time of St. Patrick, the use of letters, nor any method of preserving upon paper or other matter, the memory of their deeds; that among all the liberal arts, they knew but a sort of rhyming poetry, which was in great esteem with them, and served instead of memoirs and annals: and that St. Patrick, who was versed in Roman literature, was the first that introduced amongst them the use of letters.

It appears that Bollandus, an enlightened man in other respects, has not sufficiently examined this criticism. His error has arisen from a false deduction, drawn from what he had read in Nennius, Colgan, Ward, and others, concerning St. Patrick. These authors say, that the saint had given the "abjectoria," or as Nennius has it, the "abjectoria," that is to say, the alphabet, to those whom he had converted. The Roman characters were, in fact, not known to the Milesians before the time of St. Patrick; but this truly apostolical man, wishing to strengthen the new converts in the faith, by reading the holy scriptures, and to render that infant church conformable to the universal one, in the rites and manner of celebrating the divine mysteries, and in the use of other writings of the church, took the opportunity of giving them the Roman characters, that they might be able to learn that tongue; and the translation of these works from the Latin into the Scotie language would have been difficult for a man that had not been perfectly instructed in the latter. But these authors, in speaking of the Roman letters, do not take from the Milesians all kinds of characters; on the contrary, they suppose that they possessed such as were suited to their language; whereas in the same chapter in which Colgan says that St. Patrick had given to Fiech, one of his disciples, the alphabet, written

with his own hand, he adds that this same Fiech was sent some time before into Connaught by Dubtach, whose disciple he was, to present some poems of his own composition, in the Scotie language, to the princes of that province. He also speaks of a hymn in that tongue, which Fiech had composed in honour of St. Patrick. Lastly, that Fiech had made so great a progress in the Roman language, that in less than fifteen days he knew the entire psalm book, which could never be possible without a previous knowledge of other characters. Ward* tells us, that Benignus a disciple of St. Patrick, and his successor in the see of Armagh, had written a book, partly in Latin and partly Irish, on the virtues and miracles of that saint, and that Jocelyn made use of it in writing his life. If letters had been unknown to the Scoto-Milesians before that time, as Bollandus asserts, how could Fiech and Benignus have been able, says Harris, to write so elegantly and poetically in that language, and make use of characters that were not till then known to them.

Cæsar, Pliny, and some other authors, in speaking of the druids, inform us, that they were learned; that they knew theology, philosophy, and other sciences; and that those of Gaul who wished to attain perfection in the knowledge of their mysteries, went into Britain to be instructed in them. Cæsar says, that they did not commit their mysteries to writing, but that in all other affairs, whether public or private, they made use of Greek characters.†

It is certain that their order was established in Hibernia, in the time of Cæsar, of which Ware bears testimony.‡ It is also certain that the druids of Hibernia were connected with those of Britain, and that they enjoyed the same advantages in the sciences, letters, and in every other thing.

The characters made use of by the Milesians, long before St. Patrick, are herein subjoined. It is only necessary to discover whether they were Greek or Phœnician; that, however, shall be examined in course. But what need for resorting to authority? A moderate idea of the elements of the Scotie language, of the figure, order, and the number of its characters, also the mysterious manner which the ancient Milesians made

* Wardens, Vit. Rumoldi, p. 317.

† "They were said to learn, there, a great number of verses. Neither do they consider it lawful to commit their mysteries to writing, though in almost all public and private affairs they make use of the Greek letters."—*Cæsar in his Gallic Wars*.

‡ Antiq. Hib. cap. 5.

use of in writing, will be sufficient to prove their antiquity, and the peculiarity of these characters. Those ancient characters are, in their figure, different from the other languages of Europe. The alphabet of the Greeks, and the abecedarium of the Latins, sufficiently point out the order of their letters by their initials A. B. of the Greek tongue, and A. B. C. of the Latin. In like manner, the Bobelloth, or Beith-Luis-Nion of the Milesians, express the order of their letters by their initials, B. L., or B. L. N. The alphabet of the Milesians has this in common with the Hebrew, that, in both languages, the name of the letter is a substantive. For example, in the Hebrew, "Aleph" signifies guide or conductor; "Beth," a house, &c. Thus in the Milesian, "Beth" is the name of the birch tree, "Luis" signifies the wild ash, and "Nion" the true ash. There is this difference, however, that the Hebrew letters derive their names from all kinds of various objects, whereas those of the Milesians represent only different names of trees; because the druids, who were the wise men of ancient times, and who lived in the woods, thought they acted conformably with nature in giving to their characters such names as might be retained, in order to impress their disciple with the ideas they wished to inspire. We must remark here, that in the Beith-Luis-Nion, or alphabet of the Milesian language, the N. at present the fifth letter, was the third in ancient times: it is also to be observed, that the characters such as are here represented, have greatly degenerated, and are no longer what they had been in the times of paganism, and in the first ages of Christianity.*

BEITH-LUIS-NION.

OR

ALPHABET.

Irish,	Latin,	English.
1 B b	Beithe, Betulla,	Birch.
2 L l	Luis, Ornus,	Wild Ash.
3 F f	Fearn, Alnus,	Alder.
4 S s	Suil, Salix,	Willow.
5 N n	Nion, Fraxinus,	Ash.
6 H h	Huath, Oxianthus,	White thorn.
7 D d	Duir, Ilex,	Oak.
8 T t	Timne, <i>Not explained.</i>	

* Ogyg. part. 3. cap. 30.

9 C c	Coll, Corylus,	Hazel.
10 M m	Muin, Vitis,	Vine.
11 G g	Gort, Hedera,	Ivy.
12 P p	Peth-boc, <i>Not explained.</i>	
13 R r	Ruis, Sambucus,	Elder.
14 A a	Ailm, Abies,	Fir Tree.
15 O o	Onn, Genista,	Broom.
16 U u	Ur, Erix, or Erica,	Heath.
17 E e	Egdhadh, Tremula,	Aspen.
18 I i	Idho, Taxus,	Yew.

Besides these simple characters, there are some diphthongs and unnecessary consonants, erased from the modern alphabet; if the *h* also, which is but an aspirate, be taken away, the alphabet will consist of but seventeen letters.

This order has been changed a few centuries ago, and in the Beith-Luis-Nion, which is at present used, the letters are arranged as in the Latin alphabet. Before the invention of parchment, the Milesians made use of birchen boards, on which they engraved their characters with a style or punch: they were called in the Irish language "Orauin," or "Taibhle Fileadh," that is, philosophical tablets. Their characters were also called by the ancients, "Feadha,"* that is wood. Other people as well as the Milesians had the custom of engraving their letters on wood. It is that to which Horace alluded, in saying "leges incidere ligno;" and the prophet Isaiah,† "scribe super buxum:" from this is derived the word *codex*, which signifies book, from *caudex*, the trunk of a tree.

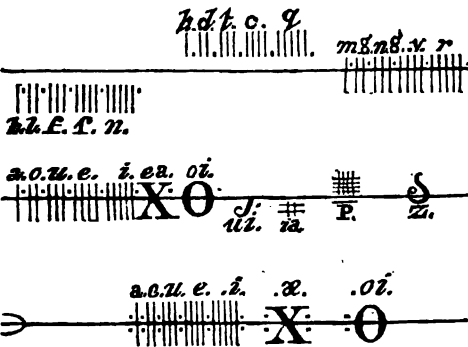
Besides the characters that were in common use, the Milesians had a mysterious manner of writing, which was called "Oghum-crev," and "Oghum-coll," that is to say, a writing which represented the branches of trees, particularly the hazel. "I have," says Ware, "a book of parchment filled with this kind of characters."‡ Such mysterious writing was permitted to be used only by the druids, and some antiquarians, who made use of it for the purpose of transmitting to posterity, certain things which they wished to conceal from the knowledge of the people. This mystery in their writings consisted in the position or situation of certain lines or

* Kenned. Preface, p. 28.

† Chap. 30. v. 8.

‡ "Besides the common characters which the ancient Irish made use of, there were secret or artificial forms for committing their mysteries to writing, which they called Oghum: I have a little book of parchment filled with them."—Ware's *Antiquities*.

figures in relation to the principal one; the following will serve as an example of it.



A little reflection on the Beith-Luis-Nion, and the Oghum of the Scotie language, which has been explained will suffice to confound Bollandus. A language, and consequently the elements of it, are either original, or derived from some other which has served as a model to it. Let Bollandus show us this other language from which the Scotie is derived, and upon what model its characters have been formed. We challenge him to do it: let him inform us at what time and by whom, the Beith-Luis-Nion, composed of a number of letters different in their figure and order from those of other alphabets that are known, and the Oghum, which is a mysterious manner of writing, and unknown in the other languages of Europe, were introduced into Ireland? According to his system, it was not before the conversion of Ireland, whereas the Scoto-Milesians (as he avers) had not the use of characters: if introduced since that period, let him tell us by whom that manner of writing was introduced, and for what purpose? And as they had already received from St. Patrick the Roman letters, much more easy, why did they adopt others? Why did they take away from the Roman alphabet five or six letters? That is what he cannot explain, because, as Harris says, no alphabet can be found after the most rigorous research, not even the Runic, whose elements resemble in figure and order, those of the Beith-Luis-Nion, or the Oghum. The great number of authors whose works were written in the Scotie language before Christianity, is an unanswerable proof against the assertions of Bollandus. Keating on the reign of Laogare II., and Gratianus Lucius, in the 20th chapter of his "Cambrensis Eversus," quote many of them. The first is Amergin, brother of Heber and Hereimon, who was poet and supreme judge of the colony,* in the beginning of its esta-

blishment in Hibernia. O'Flaherty quotes the following hemistich as a remnant of his poetry:*

"Eagna la heagluis adir; agus fealtha lafaithibh."

Which he thus renders into Latin: "Aris præpositus fit doctior, aptior armis."

Ethrial MacIrial Faidh, that is,† Ethrial son of Irial the prophet, monarch of Ireland, had written, according to Keating, the history of the voyages and migrations of the Milesians up to his time; besides a great number of tracts on various subjects, viz., history, the genealogies of families, medicine, philosophy, the laws, &c. O'Flaherty mentions three celebrated poets under Conchobar, who began to reign in Ulster some years before the birth of our Saviour. These poets, whose names are, Forchern MacDeagh, Neidhe MacAidhna, and Aithirne Mac Amhnas, composed many works upon poetry and the laws; they were likewise the authors of precepts, or celestial judgments, which O'Flaherty calls "judicia cœlestia." All these were revised, enlarged, and published by Kenfolae MacOlill, antiquarian, in the seventh century, under the reign of Donald the Second.‡

Jocelyn, in his panegyrics on Dubthach O'Lugair,§ a celebrated poet, who was converted by St. Patrick,|| says, that "the talents he had used before his conversion, to celebrate the praises of the false gods, were afterwards applied by him, to praise the true God and his saints.¶ The characters which he made use of were the Scotie, because he had then known no other. A treatise on the "Education of a Prince," written by Cormac Ulfada, monarch of Ireland in the third century, addressed to his son Cairbre Liffeachair, may be added to the above. This tract was found in a collection of ancient monuments, by O'Duvedan. O'Flaherty, in fine, assures us, upon the authority of Dualdus Firbissius, an ancient antiquarian, that in the time of St. Patrick, one hundred and eighty volumes concerning the doctrine and discipline of the druids, were condemned and burned.**

The epoch of the use of letters among the

* Anno Mundi 2292. † Anno Mundi 3025.

‡ War. de Script. cap. 1.

§ Ogyg. part 3, cap. 30.

|| Harris, vol. 2, cap. 3.

¶ "The verses which he had formerly composed in praise of his false gods, now changing to a better purpose, his thoughts and language, he composed more renowned poems and sermons in praise of the omnipotent God and of his saints."—Jocelyn in his *Life of St. Patrick*."

** Ogyg. part 3, cap. 30, p. 219.

* Ogyg. part 3, cap. 30.

Scoto-Milesians may be placed about the time of their passing from Spain into Ireland. All circumstances are favourable to this opinion: the only difficulty is to know, from whom they had received them, whether from the Phœnicians, or from the Greeks.

"The druids," says Cæsar, "never committed their mysteries to writing, except in their public acts, in which they made use of Greek characters." This gave rise to a belief, that the ancient Britons and the Milesians had borrowed the characters of the Greeks, through the channel of the druids, which supposes a commerce to have been between the Greeks and the islands of Britain. Saint Jerome, indeed, in accordance with ancient authors, informs us that the Greeks had spread themselves over the whole of Europe, along the coasts, and neighbouring countries, as far as the British isles. But we must understand, that Saint Jerome, and the authors whom he follows, allude to the ancient Greeks. Herodotus tells us, that those parts of Europe were not known to the modern Greeks. Polybius, who lived after him, says, that neither the Greeks nor Romans were acquainted with the islands of Britain. Dion of Nice assures us, that in the third century, it was doubted if they were not a continent. We cannot attribute the commerce alluded to, to the modern Greeks, who being exhausted by long wars, were more like subjects than allies to the Romans, and unable therefore to attempt such enterprises. Thus if we wish to believe that there had been a commerce between the Greeks and the islands of Britain, we must ascend to much earlier periods, viz., to the times of the most ancient Greeks, as Camden calls them, "*Græci vetustissimi*,"* who frequented, he says, whether in the character of pirates, or as traders, the islands of Britain. It is not certain, however, that the Greeks ever had an established or regular trade with the islands of Britain. It might be, that chance had driven some of their vessels thither as it did the fleet of the Argonauts, which is supported by the assumed authority of Adrianus Junius; or it might be, that a storm had cast upon the coast of the country, some merchant ships. But if the Greeks were at any time masters of the above island, or traded thither, can it be imagined that they would have been so ignorant of them, in the time of Herodotus? Or if they had been established there at a later period, how could they have doubted, as Dion of Nice says, whether they were a continent or not?

* Brit. p. 20.

As to the druids, it is not proved that they had come from Greece. It may be thought, for sake of argument, that they had received their characters from the Phœnicians, the first Greek colony that settled at Marseilles, about six hundred years before the Christian era. However, a difficulty still remains; the ceremonies of the druids, and the care they took to conceal their mysteries, would appear to have a greater reference to the ceremonies and hieroglyphics of the ancient Egyptian priests, than to those of the Greeks. Thus nothing prevents us to imagine that the first druids came from Egypt into Spain, with the Gadelians, and that they followed the Milesians into Ireland, from whence they spread themselves subsequently into Britain, Gaul, and other countries of Europe.

The opinion of those who think that the Milesians had received their characters immediately from the Phœnicians, appears more like the truth, on account of the trade those people had together, either in Spain or Ireland. The analogy which Cæsar discovers between the characters of the druids and those of the Greeks, does not at all affect this opinion; as being derived from the same source, they must be extremely alike.

We know that the Phœnicians were masters of almost all the nations of Europe, but particularly of Asia Minor, Greece, and the nations bordering on the Mediterranean. They sailed, said Newton, in the times of David and Solomon,* upon the Mediterranean Sea, as far as Spain and beyond it; they introduced every where the sciences, particularly navigation, astronomy, and letters; and the coasts of Ireland, says Ware, after Bochart, were known to them.† The Spanish origin which ancient authors give to the Scoto-Milesians, and the epoch of their passing from Spain into Ireland, being compared with these circumstances, are a strong indication that letters were in very early use among this people, and support firmly the opinion of those who think that they had received them rather from the Phœnicians than from the Greeks. The use, therefore, of letters, added to a taste for history, and the necessity of preserving the genealogies in all their purity, to regulate the succession to the throne, afford a strong presumption that history prevailed amongst them.

The Scoto-Milesians had, like the Jews, powerful motives to influence them to preserve their history, and the genealogies of their chief families. The means which

* Chron. p. 12.

† Antiq. Hib. cap. 1.

they made use of in handing down their traditions, bespeak a nation equally lettered and polished. By a fundamental law of state, it was necessary to be of the house of Milesius to possess the throne, the sovereignty of the provinces, or to fill high military posts or the magistracy. The interests of the princes and of the people respectively, required that they took measures to prevent deception; very wise laws were enacted in regard to those rights. Ollam Fodla, who reigned about three centuries after the establishment of the colony in Ireland, founded the triennial assembly at Tara: he created the offices of antiquaries in the different provinces, to watch over and preserve the exploits of their heroes, and the genealogies of families. He ordained that the genealogical and historical records of those antiquarians should be examined in the triennial assembly, by commissioners appointed for that purpose, he decreed heavy penalties against those who might be discovered to prevaricate in the discharge of their duty. Lastly, he enacted that copies of such private registries as were thus examined and made pure, should be inserted in the great book or registry, since called the "Psalter of Tara," which was written in verse, after the manner of the ancient Arabs. This regulation was frequently renewed and confirmed by other princes; and that assembly was continued up to the time of Christianity.

Besides those registries, we have, since the time of paganism, the "Black Book," and that of "Conquests," the whole of which is given in the "Psalter of Cashel," and in other modern works. Cairbre Liffeachair, monarch in the third century, composed the "History of the Kings," his predecessors, a copy of which had been preserved until the last century, in the abbey of Icolm-kill; and Sir George M'Kenzie, in his "Defence of the royal line of Scotland," mentions to have seen it.

Since the time of Christianity, we have the book called Na-Gceart,* written half in Irish, and half Latin, by Saint Benignus, disciple of Saint Patrick. The psalter, called "Na-Rann," those of Cashel, Armagh, Cluan-Mac-Noisk, Cluan-Aigneach, and of Graval; the books of Fiontan of Leix, Glandaloch, Roscrea, and Kilkenny. The "Martyrology" of Marianus Gorman, written in the eleventh century, besides many ancient Irish manuscripts, of Cluan-Mac-Noisk, translated into English in 1627, by Conall Mac-Geoghegan.*

* Ogy. Epist. p. 10.

The annals of Ulster, named "Ultonienses," by Usher, written partly in Irish, and partly in Latin, and finished in the sixteenth century, by Roderick Cassidy, archdeacon of Clogher,* who had written the last part of it.

The annals of Tigernach, of Cluan-Mac-Noisk, written in the Irish language and characters, in the eleventh century.

The annals of Innisfail, written in the thirteenth century, and the Synchronisms of Flannus a Monasterio. The greatest part of these writings are still entire. We discover other extracts scattered in the writings of Lecan, and those of Molaga, Mholing, O'Duvegan, Mac-Egan, Moel Conry, O'Brodeen, O'Dorau, O'Duneen, &c.

All these authors have written one after the other; they have transmitted age after age, and as if from hand to hand, the thread of the history of the Milesians, from the beginning. Scarcely an age passes without some who write the history of every country. The last historians, if general, always renew and relate, besides the present, whatever might be contained in the ancient monuments of a country; so that, should the original ones be lost, or consumed by time, their substance is still preserved in modern works.

The reality of the monuments of the Milesians cannot be doubted; they are quoted by authors that are well known and incapable of imposing them by substituting chimeras for the true ones. Keating, Colgan, Gratianus Lucius, Walsh, O'Flaherty, Kennedy, and others, quote them in every page. Usher speaks of the annals of Tigernach, and of those which he calls "Ultonienses."† Ware quotes the psalter, named "Narran," written in the eighth century, half Irish and half Latin, by Aongus Kelide, or Colideus.‡ He praises the "Psalter of Cashel, and its author, Cormac-Mac-Cullinan, bishop of Cashel, and king of the province of Munster, in the beginning of the tenth century; he says, that this book is highly esteemed, and that its author was both learned and well versed in the antiquities of his country."

Sir George MacKenzie, a Scotchman, in the advertisement prefixed to his "Defence of the Royal Line of Scotland," printed at Edinburgh in 1685, speaks of some Irish manuscripts in the abbey of Icolm-kill, which

* War. de Script. Hib.

† Primord. 15 et 16, passim.

‡ Ogy. part 3, cap. 17, et 21.

§ "He was a man most learned and skilled in the antiquities of Ireland, and wrote in his native language, a history commonly called the Psalter of Cashel, which is still extant and held in high esteem."

—Antiquities, c. 2.

he mentions to have seen. The following are his words :—

“ Since I have commenced this work, a very ancient manuscript of the abbey of Icolm-kill, has fallen into my hands ; it was written by Cairbre Liffeachair, who lived six generations before St. Patrick, and about the time of our Saviour ; an exact account is given in it of Irish kings, from whence I infer, that as the Irish had manuscripts at that period, we must certainly have possessed them likewise.” There are, in the same book, many things added by the druids of that time. “ I have seen,” continues MacKenzie, “ an ancient genealogy of the kings of the Scots in Albania, which agrees with what has been said in our history on the crowning of Alexander II., and which is preserved at Icolm-kill as a sacred deposit. I have,” he says, “ likewise seen another ancient manuscript, which sets forth that the Dalreudini of Albania have been established here (in Scotland) six generations before Eire, whom Usher calls the father of our kings. From the same manuscript it is discovered, that Angus Tuirtheampher had reigned in Ireland five hundred years before our Feargus I., and that after his time, the Albanian Scots had separated from those in Ireland, which accords with our histories, that say the Scots inhabited this country for a long period before Feargus established himself in it. These same Irish manuscripts agree also with the history of Cairbre, whereof mention is made above : these are, in fact, the additions made to his book, by our ancient senachies.” Such is the formal and positive testimony of MacKenzie in support of ancient Irish manuscripts.

The annals of Ulster, of Tigernach, of Innisfail, which are mentioned in the catalogue of English and Irish manuscripts, printed at Oxford,* are found, with many

* “ The annals of Ulster is a book of most ancient character, and has been written partly in Irish and partly in Latin, but in the Irish characters ; it commences with the year of our Lord 444, and ends A. D. 1041, in which Rodericus Cassideus, Archdeacon of Clogher, died ; he wrote the latter part of said annals.”—*Vol. 2.*

“ The annals of Tigernach (according to Ware) Clonmacaisensis, are mutilated in the beginning. The author touches on universal history, till the coming of St. Patrick ; after this he describes the affairs of Ireland, till the year of our Lord 1088, in which he died : the book is in the Irish characters and language.”—*Vol. 3.*

“ In the annals of the monastery of Innisfail, the author lightly touches on universal history, from the creation of the world to the year of our Lord 430. After this he describes, with great accuracy, Irish affairs to the year of our Lord 1215, in which he lived.”—*Vol. 26.*

other Irish manuscripts, in the cabinet of the Duke of Chandos, in England, who has had them since the death of the Earl of Clarendon.

The late king of England, James II., had a large manuscript volume in folio, called *Leavar Lecan* taken from the library of Trinity College, Dublin ; it was afterwards, by order of the prince, who had an act passed before notaries for the purpose, deposited in the archives of the Irish college, in Paris, and is carefully preserved. The style of this manuscript is so concise, and the words so abridged, that it is difficult to find any among the learned in that language, able to decipher it. The translator of Keating's history into English, printed at Dublin in 1723, and afterwards in London, informs us in his preface, that there is in the library of Trinity College, in the same city, among other monuments, a volume, in folio, written upon parchment many centuries ago ; that this volume contains extracts from the Psalters of Tara, Cashel, Armagh, and other monuments of antiquity ; and in order to obtain the reading of it for six months, that he had been obliged to give security to the amount of one thousand pounds sterling. Would he have dared to publish and to have printed in the same city, that account, and give the name of Doctor Raymond, during his lifetime, who had been, he says, his security, if he feared that he could be contradicted ? That is not probable.

The monuments to which we have been alluding, besides many others preserved in the cabinets of some lords of the country, are fragments that have escaped the fury of the Danes ; they can be compared to inscriptions engraven upon columns injured by time, which are at present useless in a country where the language is in its decline. From such sources, those who have treated of the subject within the two last centuries, have been supplied : when the language was better understood than at present, it was then possible to consult these monuments ; but those opportunities will disappear the more as time advances.

The value of history is sustained by the materials of which it is composed ; but it is not in the writings of foreigners, that these materials should be looked for ; they must be taken from the monuments of that nation, which is to form the subject of the history. The Milesians were very jealous of their antiquities : the regulations made in their assemblies at Tara, for the purpose of preserving their annals, convince us easily of this. Although their monuments be written

in a language which is strange and unknown to the other nations of Europe, that does not take away from the truth of the facts which are contained in them.

I am well aware that there are some among those who take the honourable name of Irishmen, as well as among foreigners, who seek to enfeeble the authority of the monuments of the Irish. Both are influenced by different motives, but their attempts are supported by negative arguments, and conjectures drawn from doubtful and obscure principles.

If evidence and authority are essential to support historical facts,* they are not less requisite, when the question to subvert them is debated: criticism likewise, when two such means are wanting, will fall of itself.

Neither are mathematical nor legal proofs necessary to maintain historical facts: moral ones ought to suffice: reason does not permit us to seek but what are merely proportioned to the nature of the subject. The certainty of history cannot be more than a moral certainty, founded upon the tradition of a people, upon their ancient monuments, upon grounds that are probable, or upon the testimony of men who are worthy of belief. The historians even of our time have never seen, of themselves, the one thousandth part of what they relate. We must presume as much upon the tradition of an entire people, as upon the testimony of two witnesses in a private cause, the truth of which is founded only upon the presumption that they do not perjure themselves, so that the most solid support of the history of a country is the general opinion of its inhabitants, from whom strangers ought to derive every thing that they wish to know concerning them.

Critics think that they are competent to judge of things which they probably have never seen, and which perhaps they would not be capable of understanding, even though they should see them.

The first class of critics, as above, strive to find the origin of the Milesians among the Gauls, and by dint of calculating and combining the ideas which they have drawn from the writings of Cæsar, Strabo, Tacitus, and Ptolemy, they say, that Gaul, so fertile and abounding in fruit, was not less so in men; that it had been, from time to time,

obliged to send some colonies into the neighbouring countries, and of course into Spain on account of its proximity, and that the descendants of these colonies had perhaps passed subsequently from Spain to Ireland. We see that this mode of reasoning is founded upon conjectures only. Criticism affects, after the manner of Ptolemy, to discriminate and divide into tribes the ancient inhabitants of Ireland, under the names of Cauci, Menapii, Brigantes, Gangani, Luceni, &c., and to discover the origin of these people in the different countries with which they think those names had reference, or affinity. The Cauci, it is thought by critics, were from Germany, the Menapii from Belgic Gaul, the Brigantes from Great Britain: the Gangani and Luceni are represented to be from Spain, and according to Camden and Silius Italicus to be of Scythian origin.

But besides Ptolemy's not being able to know the Milesians at a time when commerce was rare between nations that were far apart, he could therefore know them but through the imperfect reports of sailors, who had perhaps scarcely seen the coasts of the island. We know that the Greeks and ancient geographers were in the habit of corrupting, or changing altogether the proper names of countries, nations, and even of cities, and to give new names to them according to their own fancy.*

The several nations named by Ptolemy, are, as O'Flaherty says, strange and as little known to the Milesians, as the most distant parts of America; "so that is astonishing," continues he, "that men so discerning in other things, could dwell on such absurdities and make in foolish conjectures, a display of their ignorance of our history."†

It is certain that the ancient monuments of the Milesians, to which alone we should refer in every matter that concerns them, make no mention of such a mixture of people. They inform us of the Milesians, or of the Scots, as the only possessors of the island, many centuries before Jesus Christ, and that they were of Scythian origin. Is there any thing in that impossible or extraordinary? What could be their motive for imposing upon the world, a desire of being descended from a barbarous nation, and so distant as

* Joseph. lib. 1. cont. Appion. Camd. Brit. p. 17.

† "Great surprise seizes me, that men otherwise most sagacious, should make such follies of great moment, when labouring to develope them: they have sacrificed their time, and during these foolish and prophetic efforts, betrayed their ignorance of our affairs."—*Ogyg.* part. 1. p. 16.

* "There are two things viz., reason and authority, which tend to confirm or impugn all matters: but in the study of antiquities, authority and the knowledge of past events are most 'powerful,' and are supported not on account of reasons adduced, but by the authority of writers."—*Camd. in his epistle on the Ogyg.* p. 6.

that of Scythia, rather than from more neighbouring nations? Would it not be equally glorious for them to have had their origin from Gaul, or any other nation on the continent? Certainly it would. But it is more fit that children should follow the traditions and writings that they have received from their fathers, rather than attach themselves to conjectures which are destitute of proofs.

As to those who pretend that the Milesians had the use of characters before St. Patrick, what has been explained concerning the language and characters of that people, should satisfy them.

The use of letters among a people presupposes polished manners and cultivated minds: it cannot, (say the critics,) be imagined, that such qualities could belong to the Milesians, whom Strabo, Pomponius, Mela, and other ancient authors represent to have been ferocious, rude, and barbarous before Christianity.

The Romans, who never had been masters of Ireland,* had not therefore the opportunity of being judges of the morals of its inhabitants.

Polybius, more ancient, by two centuries, than Strabo, assures us, that the British isles were scarcely known, and that every thing which could be said of them, was but the effect of the imagination.†

Dion of Nice agrees, that in his time it was still doubted, if they were islands or a continent. In the first century also, Agricola was ignorant whether Britain was an island, until he had sailed round the Orkneys with his fleet. By this it appears, that, in the time of Strabo, who lived in the first century, Ireland was not known to the Romans,‡ and, as Nicholson in his Irish Library asserts, those authors, not knowing what to say of it, have ventured to give some accounts of that island which they had perhaps received from sailors cast upon its coasts, where the inhabitants might have been what they are at present, among the most polished nations, cruel and ferocious to those, who are shipwrecked upon their shores.

The candid avowal of Strabo himself shows it: he agrees that he had no witnesses worthy of belief for all that he had said.§

* "But I cannot be induced to think, that this country ever fell into the power of the Romans."—*Camd. Brit.* p. 729.

† "They dream, if they either speak or write concerning them."—*Polyb.* b. 3. p. 88.

‡ Chap. 1. p. 1.

§ "Concerning Ireland I have nothing certain, which I can say. The things indeed which we

It appears that there was a custom formerly common to every nation, of affixing to each in their turn, the name of barbarians. In the opinion of the Egyptians, the first Greeks were barbarians; the latter designated the Romans by the same title; the Romans reproached the Carthaginians with their bad faith, "*fides punica*," which became proverbial amongst those who were themselves wanting in good faith to all the world. In fine, all those, (whom we would at present more politely call strangers,) were looked upon by the Romans as barbarians, amongst whom they did not discover either their religion, customs, or a quick submission to the power of their arms. Some moderns have borrowed from the ancients, of whom they are but the echo, the ideas they had formed of the Milesians; they have even outdone them in the portraits which they have drawn to the disadvantage of that people, according as their own interest required it.

Gildas Britannicus surnamed the wise,* the first British author of whom we have any account, wrote in the sixth century a treatise, "*De Excidio Britanniae*;" he seems to doubt if his countrymen, the ancient Britons, left any monuments or manuscripts to transmit to posterity the remembrance of their origin, as he says that he was obliged to follow in his writings the accounts given of his country by foreigners. This doubt of Gildas is further strengthened by the silence observed by Cæsar, who makes no mention of any custom of writing history to have been among the Britons. If these (say the critics) had not in the sixth century any historical monuments, what pretensions could the Scoto-Milesians have to them, whose dates are much higher than the Christian era?

The weakness of the comparison will be felt, by attending a little to the situation of both countries at that time. The Scoto-Milesians, free and independent, lived within themselves, and were separated by their insular situation, from the rest of the world; whilst the Britons were slaves, trampled upon by a foreign power, and often harassed by the Picts and Scots. The Scoto-Milesians held a superiority over them in every thing: they made war upon them in their own country; they carried away prisoners; and in fine were a lettered people, which cannot be said of the Britons. Shall it be then pretended, that, because there were not in

relate, are unfounded from the want of witnesses worthy of belief."

* *Camd. Brit. edit. Lond. p. 788.*

the time of Gildas, any historical monuments among the Britons, the neighbouring nations must have been also without any? The inference cannot appear to be a just one.

But they say, that the modern critics (English of course) have despised and rejected those chimeras of antiquity to which the Milesians aspire, as well as the authorities they produce to support them. It is evident that those critics should not be believed in respect to the monuments of that people: they were unacquainted with the language in which they were written; it was altogether impossible for them to know it. There are but few even among the natives capable of deciphering their ancient writings: it is by a particular study only, of the abbreviations, punctuations, and of the ancient characters of that language, and the Oghum, that they can attain to it. The old Scotie language, which was spoken two thousand years ago, and which is made use of in their monuments, was entirely different from what is now, and has been spoken, within the last few centuries; and has become a jargon by the adoption of many Latin, English, and French words. Are these not difficulties, which are impossible for a stranger to surmount, who attempts to write the history of that country? If the primitive Irish language be scarcely known by the bulk of the nation itself, what knowledge can an Englishman have of it after the short sojourn of a few months, during which he mixes but with those who speak his own language? If he be able to collect a few imperfect fragments written in the Scotie language and characters, by some ignorant bard, he returns to his country, as much pleased as if he possessed the most authentic monuments of that nation, and his native prejudice against the Irish furnishes him with matter to amuse his readers at their expense, by accounts that are both ridiculous and absurd.

Camden himself was not better informed, as appears from the imperfect sketch of the history of Ireland, which he has introduced into his "Britannia." Spelman, Stillingfleet, Nicholson, &c., are of the same stamp: nevertheless, such are the witnesses that are at present questioned upon the antiquities of the Scoto-Milesians, and the critics that are adduced and scrupulously copied after.

The judicious Ware, it is true, begins his antiquities of Ireland with the reign of Laogare, and the apostleship of Saint Patrick. Why he has not taken them from an earlier epoch, he assigns it as a reason that most of what had been written concerning the predecessors of that monarch, was exceedingly

mixed with fables and anachronisms, "*fabulis et anachronismis mire admixta.*" Two things in this must be observed; first, that, from the acknowledgment of the author, there were some kings the predecessors of Laogare, and monuments which speak of them, second, that these monuments were mixed with fable and anachronisms. I have no doubt but his criticism is just, this is a fault common to all ancient histories. What can be known of antiquity, if all history be rejected which contains anything that may be false, fabulous, or supposed? Is not Herodotus the father of history, called also the father of falsehood? Why has he put forth things that are doubtful, nay untrue, according to Manetho, in regard to Egypt and the Egyptians, upon the testimony of Vulcan's priests, whom he had met with at Memphis? Is he correct in the accounts he gives of the manners and customs of the Scythians, Amazons, and other countries, from hearsay? Have the author of the Cyropedia, Titus Livy, Quintus Curtius, and others been free from the lash of criticism? Have the more modern historians, Camden, Buchanan, de Thou, Mezeray, and Pere D'Orleans, escaped censure? Is not Voltaire convicted of repeated mistakes in his "Age of Louis XIV.," in his history of Charles XII, and in his history of the empire?

If the historians of our days were obliged to warrant every thing that they advance in their writings, their embarrassment would be very great. How many things, either from a spirit of partiality or ignorance, would be found to be suppressed? How many would appear darkened or disfigured, from a desire of transferring to those whom they admired, the merit of some whom they disesteemed? If the history of the late campaigns in Flanders be written, it will with justice be said, that the French were conquerors at Fontenay, Rocoux, and Lawfeld; it will be admitted that they took the cities of Menin, Ypres, Mons, Namur, and Burgenopzoom; but will the several circumstances, and particular facts be correctly detailed? Shall there be mention made of those who gave way before the enemy? Will they, who, by not obeying their officers, contributed to the loss of the advantages gained, be likewise introduced? Shall justice be done to such as were instrumental to the gaining of their battles, and to the taking of the cities? Lastly, will both parties agree in their accounts upon the various operations of their campaigns? I am of opinion that they will not. Have we not frequently witnessed the

"Te Deum" to be sung by both parties when the battle was over? The history of it will be written when the facts will be almost forgotten, and no person found to contradict them. The productions of the imagination will then take the place of truth; the historian will flatter some at the expense of others; the coward will be immortalised in his writings, whilst those will be suffered to lie buried in perpetual oblivion, who had merited the best of their country.

Are not the gazettes themselves, which are published by authority, often filled with falsehood, and the editor obliged to retract what he had already made public in the ordinary course? Let four men from different quarters of Paris be summoned to give testimony of what had happened in the middle of the city, will they agree upon what each will tell of it in his own quarter, and will their accounts, after having passed through many mouths, and returning to the first author, be intelligible? What can be concluded from this, but that there are very few histories which are not mixed with truth and fable?

To return to Ware; can we not with some degree of justice, say, that he was not a fit judge in this affair? He did not know the primitive language of Ireland, so as to be competent to explore the first periods of its history. He had no opportunity of consulting the psalters of Teamor, and other monuments necessary for such an undertaking; he saw but some books of annals, written half in Latin and half in Irish, the dates whereof ran no higher than the Christian era; in a word, everything antecedent to that period, is accused by him, of containing fable and anachronisms; by these means he exonerates himself from making the researches to which he did not feel himself competent.

It is further objected, that, because the Romans, and also the Greeks, the most civilised in their time of any people of Europe, had not historians more ancient than Herodotus, who lived about four hundred years before the Christian era, the pretensions of the Milesians, with respect to the epoch of their history cannot be maintained.

Should we suppose with those critics, which is but a mere conjecture of the truth, that Herodotus was the first historian among the Greeks, for it is possible there were others more ancient, whose works have been lost, the comparison is still weak, and nothing can arise from it but a negative proof.

We know that the Greeks, who excelled in the art of government, philosophy, eloquence,

poetry, and other fine arts, were very limited in the knowledge of history.

Josephus, in his book against Appion, asserts, that to have a knowledge of antiquity we must not seek it among the Greeks, whose writings, he says, are imperfect, new, and doubtful; it appears therefore that history was not the ruling passion of that people, although most polished in other respects.

As to the Romans they are more modern. The use of letters, says Livy, was rare among the ancient Romans, the memory being their only depository of time, in the first ages of the republic. If their priest, in succeeding ages, transmitted some monuments, they were lost in the burning of the city,* and if we attach belief to Vossius on the subject, Fabius Pictor was the first who wrote the history of the republic, in the year of Rome 485.†

Orpheus of Crotona, in his poem of the Argonauts, and Aristotle in his book "of the world," dedicated to Alexander,‡ make mention of Ireland, under the name of Ierna, from whence Usher takes the opportunity of saying "that the Romans could produce no testimony so authentic for the antiquity of their name."§ The comparison of Usher is not made in allusion to the soil or land of Rome, nor to that of Ireland; the two countries being in that respect of equal antiquity; the question is with respect to those who inhabited the two countries, of which we have a more authentic testimony for their antiquity than the other: thus, in the opinion of Usher, the Scoto-Milesians had a better title to it than the Romans.

The strength of this reasoning will be felt still more forcibly, if, with Camden, we consider, that the name Ierna, and others which strangers give to that island, are derived from Eire, "ab Erin ergo gentis vocabulo originatione pretenda;"|| a name which has been peculiar to it, since the Scoto-Milesians have been in possession of the island, and which is derived from Ire, one of their ancient chiefs. If it be then allowed us to think with Usher that the Scoto-Milesians were

* "The writings in these days were few. The memory of exploits was the only guardian of them; and if any things had been committed by their priests to be preserved in monuments, they must have perished in the conflagration of the city."—*Livy*, b. 6.

† *De historia Lat. lib. 1. cap. 44, et lib. 2.*

‡ Newton, *Introduction to Chron.* p. 6.

§ "Of such antiquity, that the Romans themselves could not produce an author to bear similar testimony of their name."—*Usher, Church Hist.* p. 724.

|| *Camd. Brit. edit. Lond. p. 726.*

established in Ireland before the Roman name was known, we may likewise suppose that from being a lettered people, the dates of their histories are much higher than those of the Romans.

The obscurity of the monuments of the Milesians is again objected to. It is a matter of astonishment (people say), that among so many learned men whom Ireland has produced, none have undertaken to translate and publish in some known language, the ancient monuments of that country, whilst other nations have been careful, since the invention of printing, to collect and submit to the view of the critic, all their titles to antiquity which they have been able to discover; the Milesians are apparently diffident themselves of the truth and authenticity of their monuments, as they are afraid to make them appear before the world.

Of that objection I feel the full force, and see the necessity there would be for having their monuments published, in order to afford to the learned the opportunity of judging of them; but I see at the same time the great difficulties that await the undertaking. That nation, being always engaged in wars since the twelfth century to the present time, especially since the invention of printing, has never been in a state to undertake such a project. The various revolutions which have happened since the reign of Elizabeth, both in religion and general government, as well as in the fortunes of individuals, particularly the Milesians, who are alone interested to have their antiquities made known, have produced so great a discouragement amongst them, that they only thought of the present, and their greatest concern has been to save from shipwreck, and to preserve some portion of the patrimony of their ancestors, without troubling themselves about times that are so long past.

Those who make the objection, do not weigh the difficulties which await the attempt. To translate from the Irish language into others, the learned in that language should be chosen from among the natives of the country, which would create a diffidence and doubt of the capability and correctness of the translators; and to judge of the affair, the Irish themselves would be both the judges and the party.

The matter would be less difficult, were the Irish manuscripts less numerous. In order to render the enterprise useful, more than fifty volumes should be translated and published, each of which, though differing in object, have an essential connection one with the other relative to the history of that nation.

It ought to satisfy us, that Keating, Colgan, Gratianus Lucius, Bruodine, O'Flaherty, and many others, who have made use of, and understood the Irish manuscripts, can warrant them, and say, that they bear every mark of the remotest antiquity, and that the extracts which they have given from them are faithful.

The same difficulties are not met with in the antiquities of other nations of Europe; their ancient monuments are not many; there are but few of them that mount so high as the Christian era, and are written in languages and characters which are known to all the learned: whereas those of the Milesians are unknown, not only to foreigners, but even to most of the Irish themselves.

How many authentic manuscripts are there remaining in the libraries of the Vatican, of the king at Paris, and the Bodleian at Oxford, which were never published! A catalogue of the English and Irish manuscripts which had never been printed, was published a few years ago in this city, (Paris.)

Those who had the history of their country first printed, have taken their materials from manuscripts that were never printed, the dates of which run much higher than the period when printing was invented; still no law suits were instituted against them for not having previously published such writings. The rareness of a manuscript has never been a cause for esteeming it the less, and the printing, which is but a copy, gives to it an authority so far as that it becomes thereby more generally known.

The authors who have in the last three centuries given their attention to the history of Ireland, and that are best known, are Stanihurst, Peter Lombard, Keating, Messingham, O'Sullivan, Ward, Clery, Roth, Usher, Colgan, Ware, Bruodine, Gratianus Lucius, Belling, Walsh, O'Flaherty, O'Reilly, Porter, Molyneux, Kennedy, &c.

Richard Stanihurst, a native of Dublin, but of English descent, having made his studies at Oxford and at London, wrote, in the Latin language, a small volume in quarto, which was printed at Antwerp, in 1584, under the title of "*de rebus in Hibernia gestis, libri quatuor*," with notes upon some extracts taken from Cambrensis.* This author, being from his youth under the guidance of men badly disposed towards the Irish nation, lent his pen to disparage a people whom he did not know, and whose monuments he was unable to consult, being written in a language whereof he was altoget-

* Keating's Pref. page 9.

ther ignorant ; it cannot be therefore a matter of surprise that his book is filled with errors, and that his descriptions of the Irish nation, which make the subject of his work, are altogether false.* Stanihurst, seeing his history censured by the world, and burned, by orders of the *Inquisition in Portugal*, promised at a more advanced age, when he had entered into holy orders, to recant his writings by a public avowal, but was prevented by death before he could accomplish his purpose ?

Peter Lombard was born in Waterford; and being brought up from his youth at Westminster, under the eyes of the learned Camden, he displayed great proofs of capacity for the sciences : he afterwards came to Louvain, where he completed his studies, and received the doctor's cap. The provostship of the cathedral of Cambray was afterwards conferred on him ; lastly, he was appointed archbishop of Armagh, and primate of Ireland. Among his other works, he has left a commentary in Latin on the history of Ireland, which was highly esteemed, and was printed after his death, in quarto, at Louvain, in 1632.

Geoffry Keating was born in Ireland, in the sixteenth century, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth : being intended for the ecclesiastical state, he left his country, in consequence of the persecutions that were carried on against the Catholics, and came to France, where he received the degree of doctor in theology. Returning afterwards to his native country, and being perfect master of the Irish language, he collected every thing that was possible for him, from the ancient monuments of Ireland, and formed the design of reducing them into the shape of history, two motives induced him to undertake it, as he himself says in his preface. First, to draw from obscurity a people who were equally ancient as they were generous and noble, by preserving from the ravages of time, a methodical history of their monuments. Secondly, to develop the injustice of some authors, who, without consulting them, propagate against the Irish their false productions, which may be termed satires rather than history. He adds, that every thing which he advances in favour of Ireland arises from his love for truth, and that his testimony should not be suspected, being himself of English origin. This qualification, however, raised suspicions from many quarters against him, particularly in the pro-

vinces of Ulster and Connaught, where he was denied access to their monuments which would be essential for his history, and the want of which has rendered it less copious and complete than it would otherwise have been. This history, written in the Irish language, which was principally spoken at that time, has been since translated into English and become thereby open to criticism. Those who think themselves interested in degrading the Irish people, whose antiquity appears to them insupportable, severely censure the history of Keating,* while others, more moderate and impartial, consider it a valuable collection of antiquities.† It must however be acknowledged, that if the English translation of this history be a faithful one, which is not very certain, there are many anachronisms in the work, and accounts which seem to be fabulous and absurd tales. However these should be attributed rather to the credulity of the author, who has too closely followed, on some occasions, the fictions of the ancient bards, than to any previous intention of degrading the history of the Irish nation. Among all its defects we discover many good and interesting things, which make that work essentially useful ; provided it be read with caution, much information may be derived with respect to the origin of the Milesians, their establishment in the island, their wars, government, and the succession of their kings.

Thomas Messingham, a priest, and native of the province of Leinster, also apostolical prothonary, and superior of a community of Irish in Paris, published in that city in 1624, a small folio volume in Latin, entitled "*Florilegium insulæ Sanctorum*;" it contains the lives of many of the Irish Saints, taken from the best authors.

Philip O'Sullivan, a gentleman of the noble family of O'Sullivan Barry, in the county of Cork, being compelled by the misfortune of the times, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, to fly from his country, withdrew to Spain, where, after having completed his studies at Compostello, he composed several works in Latin ; amongst others, an abridgment of the history of Ireland, which had for its title, "*Historiæ Catholicæ Hiberniæ Compendium*," dedicated to Philip IV. king of Spain, and printed at Lisbon in 1621. The fabulous account of St. Patrick's purgatory, introduced into his history, after the viscount Lamon de Parellos, a Spanish lord, has been injurious to it. In his description

* Harris, *Irish Writers*, vol. 2, chap. 13.

† O'Sullivan hist. cath. Hiber compend. tome 1, lib. 4, cap. 1.

* Cox, Talbot, *Welsh*, Pref.

† Approbation of Doctor Finlay, prefixed to Keating's Hist. London ed.

of the island, its antiquities, the invasion of the English, the fifteen years war under Queen Elizabeth, and the persecution under James I., he appears to be correct. He has drawn upon himself the censure of Usher, who treats him as a faithless author, on account of a tract written against him, under the title of "Archicornigeromastix."

Hugh Ward, or Wardeus, a native of the county Donegal in Ulster, was first brought up at Salamanca, where he became one of the order of St. Francis, in 1616; he afterwards completed his studies at Paris, from whence he was called and nominated lecturer in theology, and afterwards warden, at Louvain. As he was very learned and versed in antiquity, he took the resolution to write a universal history of the saints of his own country; for that object he sent Michael O'Cleary, a monk of his order, to collect materials necessary for it. In the mean time he composed several works that were afterwards very useful to John Colgan, who undertook, after his death, to finish his intended history.

Michael O'Cleary, a native of the province of Ulster, and monk of the order of St. Francis, was sent, as has been observed, into Ireland by Ward, to make the researches necessary for the work he had contemplated. This monk performed his commission with all possible attention, without his patron having derived from it any benefit, being prevented by death.

O'Cleary having formed a taste for that kind of employment, troublesome indeed, but very useful to the public, and being joined by other antiquarians of the country, particularly Ferfessius O'Conry, Peregrin, O'Cleary, and Peregrin O'Dubgennan, collected a quantity of materials to serve for an ecclesiastical and civil history, and reduced them into order. Some ancient monuments he purged, by comparing them with old manuscripts, of the errors which had crept in by the ignorance of the copyists.

The first of these monuments is an historical abridgment of the Irish kings, their reign and succession, their genealogies and death.

The second is a tract on the genealogies of their saints, called "Sanctilogium genealogicum."

The third treats of the first inhabitants, and different conquests of that island; the succession of her kings, their wars, and other remarkable events, from the deluge until the arrival of the English in the twelfth century. This book is called, "Leabhar Gabhallas." Our author composed another work in two volumes quarto, called the

Annals of Donegal, and sometimes the Annals of the Four Masters. Those two, which are not yet printed, are taken from the annals of Clon-Mac-Noisk, of Innisfail, of Senat, and many other ancient authentic monuments of the country. The first comprises its ancient history from the earliest periods till the twelfth century; and the second after leaving a chasm of about one hundred and sixty-four years, begins with the fourteenth and ends with the seventeenth centuries. O'Flaherty* taxes these annals with an error in their chronology, but they are followed by Gratianus Lucius,† and Colgan‡.

David Roth, a native of Kilkenny, doctor of theology in the college of Douay, and bishop of Ossory, was, according to Usher, well skilled in the antiquities of his country.§ He was an eloquent orator, a subtle philosopher, a profound theologian, and a learned historian.¶ Various works were published by him in Latin, under borrowed names, and among others his "Hibernia Resurgens," which was printed at Rouen, and at Cologne, in 1621.¶

James Usher, or Usserius, was a native of Dublin, and well known in the republic of letters, by his erudition and the great number of his works, which are a proof of it. The writings of this learned man that have any reference to our history, are his "Veterum Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge," and "Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates." The first contains fifty letters upon the Irish people, with some notes from the editor. This small volume was printed first in Dublin in 1630, and re-printed at Paris, 1665. The second which was printed at Dublin in 1639, and at London in 1687, treats of the origin of British churches.

John Colgan, a native of the county Donegal in Ulster, and monk of the order of Saint Francis, in the convent of Saint Anthony of Padua, at Louvain, where he was professor in theology, was learned in the language and antiquities of his country; he undertook to write the lives of the Irish saints, and was the more capable of undertaking it, from being aided by the researches which Ward had got made for the same intention. In 1645 a volume in folio was published by him, at Louvain; it contained the lives of the saints for the three first

* Ogyg. prolog. p. 43.

† Cambr. Evers. cap. 8.

‡ Act Sanct. passim.

§ Prim. cap. 16, p. 737.

¶ Syllog. epist. p. 125.

¶ Messingham, Florileg. p. 87.

months of the year, under the title of "*Acta Sanctorum Veteris et Majoris Scotiæ*." A second volume was published at Louvain in 1647, which had for its title, "*Triadis Thaumaturgæ, &c.*;" it contained the lives of Saint Patrick, Saint Columb, and Saint Bridget. We have likewise a treatise from him on the country, life, and writings of John Scot, called the subtle doctor, printed in octavo, at Antwerp in 1655. There are, in fine, many manuscript volumes at Louvain, of this author, which speak of the apostleship and mission of many Irish saints in foreign countries.

Sir James Ware, or Wareus, a native of Dublin, made many researches useful to the history of Ireland, both in the registries and cloisters of the churches and monasteries of the country, and in the libraries of England. He published first in Dublin in 1639 a treatise in Latin, upon the Irish writers. In 1654, and 1658, he had the antiquities of Ireland published in London, under the title of "*De Hibernia et Antiquitatibus ejus Disquisitiones*." In fine, he has furnished a commentary on the Irish prelates, from the conversion of that country down to his time. This work has been printed at Dublin in 1665, under the title of "*De Præsulibus Hiberniæ commentarius*." All these have been translated into English, and printed in folio at London, in 1705, to which is subjoined a discourse from Sir John Davis, wherein he examines into the cause of the delay of the conquest of Ireland by the English. Ware's researches on the foundation of the churches, the names and succession of their prelates, the establishment of monasteries and religious houses, and the learned writers of that country, are extremely interesting. His works which relate to Ireland, from the invasion of the English, are in general excellent and worthy a man of his merit; but his treatise on its antiquities is of small moment; he was not sufficiently acquainted with its language, to be able to consult the monuments of that people, so that he has at a small expense, acquired for himself the title of antiquarian.

Anthony Bruodine, a native of the county Clare in Ireland, was a recollet and professor in theology in the convent of that order at Prague. Among other works he composed a volume in quarto, entitled, "*Propugnaculum Catholicæ veritatis, pars prima historica, &c.*," printed at Prague in 1668.

John Lynch, priest and archdeacon of Tuam and native of Galway in Connaught, was learned in the language of his country, and ably conversant in all kinds of literature.

The troubles produced to his country by the war of the parliamentarians, and tyranny of Cromwell, obliged him to leave it. In 1652, he came to France, and published among other works, a volume in folio, printed in 1662 under the title of *Cambrensis Eversus*," and under the borrowed name of Gratianus Lucius." Our author with much judgment and solidity refutes the calumnies that Cambrensis had advanced against his country. In the chronology he is not very correct, and though his book be not properly speaking, a history of Ireland, many interesting facts taken from the antiquities of that country, are found in it.

Sir Richard Belling, a native of the county Dublin, has left us a volume in duodecimo, printed in Latin, at Paris, in 1650, under the title of "*Vindiciarum Catholicorum Hiberniæ libri duo*," and under the borrowed name of "*Philopater Irenæus*." In the first book of this volume we discover a sufficiently exact account on the affairs of Ireland, from the year 1641, till 1649. The second is a refutation of a work written by a monk named Paul King, on Irish affairs.

Peter Walsh was a native of Moortown in the county Kildare; being admitted into the order of Saint Francis, he studied at Louvain, where he became professor of theology. There are many of his works in English, concerning the affairs of his time. The first part of his prospectus of Ireland has been given, and printed in duodecimo, at London in 1682. In this he begins with the history of the country, to end it with the twelfth century; but though the recital of facts contained in it be sufficiently correct, still the want of order and system discoverable, makes the reading of it irksome. The second part, which he promised, has never appeared.

Roderick O'Flaherty, an Irish gentleman was born at Moycullin in the county Galway; it was the patrimony of his ancestors for many ages, but confiscated in the troubles which had arisen in 1641; he was a man of letters, and profoundly skilled in the history of his own and foreign countries. He has left us a large volume, in Latin, composed from the most authentic monuments, and which he dedicated to the Duke of York, who soon afterwards became king of Great Britain, under the name of James II. It was printed in quarto at London, in 1685, under the title of "*Ogygia*," wherein he treats of the ancient history of Ireland before Christianity. In this book he displays great erudition, and a deep knowledge of chronology, as appears from the testimony of two great

men, Loftus and Belling, whose approvals are found printed at the head of his work. Stillingfleet also cites him with eulogy.* The second book of his *Ogygia* is still in manuscript, without being printed.

Hugh O'Reilly, an Irish gentleman and native of the county Cavan, was master in the court of chancery, and register to the council under James II. Having followed the fortunes of that prince into France, he was nominated his chancellor for the kingdom of Ireland. In 1693 O'Reilly published a small volume in English, which has for its title, "Ireland's case briefly stated," that is to say, an abridgment of the state of Ireland, since the reformation, wherein the things which happened in that country, are represented without disguise. He reproaches Charles II. with want of gratitude to his Irish subjects for their services: he shows the injustice and bad policy of that prince, for having confirmed the murderers of the king his father in their possessions and wealth, as rewards for their regicide; the old proprietors were for those objects stripped of their fortunes, whose only crime was their faithful allegiance to their king. He speaks in fine like a man who, in pleading his own cause, pleads that of his country. His complaints it appears were well founded, whereas the king his master, to whom he communicated the purport of his writings before they would be printed, was pleased to say, that "they contained but too many truths."

Francis Porter, a native of the county of Meath, and monk of the order of Saint Francis, was for a long time professor of theology in the college of Saint Isidore, at Rome, and president of it for some time. Among other works he has left us a volume in Latin, and printed in quarto at Rome, in 1690, under the title of "*Compendium Annalium Ecclesiasticarum Regni Hiberniæ.*" After his description of the kingdom, and a list of its kings, he speaks of the war of the Danes: the remainder relates to the affairs of the church.

Louis Augustin Allemand, a lawyer in the parliament of Paris, published in that city, in 1690, "*L'Histoire Monastique d'Irlande,*" in the French language, and dedicated it to James II., king of Great Britain and Ireland. The learned author follows with great exactness, those who have written on the same subject before him viz., Usher, Ware, Colgan, and others, and it can be affirmed, that, for a stranger, who had never seen the country of which he writes, his work is very correct.

* Pref. ad Orig. Brit.

William Molyneux was born in Dublin, and has published many excellent works. Amongst others, one upon "The State of Ireland," was dedicated by him to the prince of Orange: he proves in it, that that country was never conquered by Henry II.; that he granted, according to treaty, a parliament and laws to the people of Ireland; that the ecclesiastical state in that country was independent of England, and that the English could not bind the Irish by laws made where the people had not their deputies.

Matthew O'Kennedy, an Irish gentleman, and doctor of laws, master in the court of chancery, and judge of the admiralty, in Ireland, has written a small volume in English, printed at Paris, in 1705: it contains an historical and chronological dissertation on the royal family of the Stuarts, who are (he says) of Irish descent, through the colonies that were sent at different periods into Albania. This treatise has not escaped criticism; it has been abused by Father De la Haye, an Anglo-Scotchman, in a letter to the duke of Perth, wherein there are more invectives against Kennedy and his country, than proofs against his dissertation, the object of his attacks, as appears by Kennedy's reply, in the shape of a letter, to what De la Haye had advanced; this was printed at Paris, in French, in 1715, with the letter of that father subjoined to it.

Walter Harris, counsellor, has published two volumes in folio, in English, on the history of Ireland, under the title of "*The Works of Sir James Ware on Ireland, revised and augmented.*" The first volume was printed at Dublin in 1739, and the second in 1745; a third which he promised, has not yet appeared. The Irish people are deeply indebted to this learned man, for the pains he has bestowed, and the interesting researches he has made to complete that work, which he has considerably enlarged and enriched with many tracts that escaped the vigilance of his prototype, and which merit for him the title of author instead of editor, which he has modestly taken.

The dissertations upon the ancient history of Ireland, given in English by an anonymous writer, and published at Dublin, in 1753, through the care of Michael Reilly, displays an extensive knowledge in the antiquities of that country. This work is flowery in its style, and the matter handled with peculiar delicacy and neatness. I wish that author had continued his writings upon that subject; the nation will lose much, should he repose beneath the shade of his first laurels.

Such are the principal authors that have

treated on the history of Ireland, within the three last centuries: the greater part of them are of English extraction, and cannot be suspected of being partial to ancient Ireland, no more than those English authors, whom I have made use of. Such are the sources from whence I have taken the materials, that compose this history, without adopting the fables of some, or following the exaggerated criticism of others. Antiquity ever deserves respect; "*Sua detur antiquitati venia*;" nor should the caprice of the envious be a sufficient cause to dispute it.

CHAPTER III.

FABULOUS HISTORY OF THE GADELIANS.

It is more than probable that Ireland remained desert and uninhabited from the creation to the deluge. No history, not even that of Moses, offers any thing which can lead us to suppose, that before the universal deluge, men had discovered the secret of passing from one country to another, that was separated by water. The ark, which was constructed by order of God himself, and which served to preserve man on the watery element, is the first vessel of which we have any knowledge. Consequently the story of the three Spanish fishermen, who were driven by contrary winds on the coast of Ireland, some time before the deluge, and the account of Keasar, daughter of Bith, according to others niece of Noah, who, by means of a vessel which she had built after the model of the ark,* retired to that island, to save herself from the waters of the deluge, should be rejected as a fiction, and unworthy of being admitted into a serious history.

There are some old collections of charters, with many other monuments in writing, of the church of Cluan-Mac-Noisk, in Latin "*Cluanensis*," cited by O'Flaherty in the dedicatory epistle of his *Ogygia*,† which fix the arrival of the first colonies in Ireland, under Partholan, in the year of the world 1969,‡ three hundred and twelve years after the deluge; this colony was followed by the Nemedians, the Fomorians, the Firbolgs and the Tuatha de Danains.§ Although most historians|| who speak of the first inha-

bitants of Ireland after the deluge, mention those colonies; they do not however agree upon the origin of those people. Some consider them to have been originally from Scythia, others from Thrace,* or Migdonia; but the opinion of those who suppose that they came from Britain and Gaul, appears more natural, without being subject to the same improbabilities. Those authors following this principle, that all nations had been peopled one from the other successively,† say, that according to order and reason, Asia Minor being nearest to the cradle of the human race, must have been peopled by the descendants of Japhet before Greece, Greece before Italy, Italy before Gaul, Gaul before Britain, and Britain before Ireland; that therefore those countries must have drawn their first inhabitants one from the other, from Asia to Ireland: by such gradation, they pretend that Ireland received her first inhabitants from Britain, or from Gaul. The conjecture is a strong one. The analogy that is between the name of those people and the inhabitants of Belgic Gaul, and other nations, either of Gaul or Britain, added to the proximity of those countries, gives to it an appearance of plausibility. The Fomorians and Firbolgs may have been descended from the Belgæ of Belgic Gaul, and the Tuatha de Danains from the *Danmonii*, an ancient people of Cornwall in Britain. Whatever truth may be in these conjectures, Partholan having landed with his colony in Ireland,‡ divided the island between his four sons, Er, Orbha, Fearon and Ferghna; but his posterity, after three hundred years residence in the country, perished miserably by the plague, at Bineadair, at present Howth, near Dublin, after which time the island continued uninhabited for the space of thirty years, until the arrival of the second colony commanded by Nemedius.

It is said that Neivy, or Nemedius,§ great grand nephew of Partholan, having learned by some means the disasters and tragical end of his relations in Ireland, and wishing, as heir of Partholan, to succeed him in the possession of that island, embarked with thirty-four transport vessels, carrying each thirty persons, without counting Macha, his wife, and his four sons, Starn, Janbaneal, Annin, and Fergus, who followed his fortune in the expedition. Macha died after twelve years, and was interred in a place since called from her name, Ardmach.

* Ware, cap. 2.

† Page, 10.

‡ Ware, cap. 2.

§ Ogyg. part. 2. p. 65. Part. 3. p. 2.

|| Ogyg. part. 2. p. 73.

* Camd. Brit. edit. Franc. p. 12.

† Ogyg. part. 1. p. 7. part 2.

‡ Walsh, Prospect. of Irl. part 1, sec. 1.

§ Ogyg. part 2. page 65.

Nemedius was not long in peaceful possession of his new kingdom, when he was disturbed by the Fomorians or Fomhoraigs. Nemedius fought some successful battles against them: the first was near the mountain called Slieve Bloemy; the second at Rossfraochin, in Connaught, where Gan and Geanan, the principal commanders of these strangers, were slain; the third at Murbuilg in the country since called Dalriada, otherwise Route, in which Sarn, son of Nemedius, lost his life. But the fourth battle was fatal to him, his whole army having been cut to pieces. His son Arthur, who was born in the country, and Jobean, son of Sarn, were found among the slain.* Nemedius, unable to survive so great a misfortune, died of grief some short time afterwards at Oilean-Arda-Neivy, at present Barrymore, in the county of Cork; after which the Fomorians easily made themselves masters of the whole island. Those of the colony of Nemedius, who had escaped the last defeat, after some few unavailing efforts, being unable to bear the tyranny of those new masters, resolved to abandon the country. Jobath, grandson of Nemedius, led a part of the colony into the north of Germany, from whence are descended the Tuatha de Danains.† Briotan Maol, grandson of Nemedius by Feargus, established himself with his tribe in Britain,‡ called, according to the Psalter of Cashel, from his name, and his posterity settled there under the name of Britons. This opinion, which is supported by a number of ancient Irish chronologists, agrees as to the time, with Henry of Huntington, who says, that the Britons came into Britain in the third age of the world, "Brittones in tertia mundi setate venerunt in Britanniam;" this account merits at least as much credit as the fable of Geoffrey of Monmouth about Brutus, which has been opposed and rejected by his own countrymen.

In some time after, the Firbolgs or Belgians, another people of Britain, to the number of five thousand men, commanded by five chiefs, either by the defeat or desertion of the Fomorians, took possession of the island. Those five leaders were, Slaingey, Rughruihe or Rory, Gan, Gannan, and Sengan, all brothers, and children of Dela, of the race of the Nemedians. They divided the island into five parts or provinces, which gave birth to the pentarchy, which lasted

with little interruption till the twelfth century. Slaingey, governor of Leinster, was the chief of the pentarchy, and monarch of the whole island. The people were known by three different names, viz., Gallenians, Dannonians, and Belgians; but the last was the general name of the whole colony; their dominion lasted about eighty years under nine kings, who were, Slaingey, Rory, Gann, Geanan, Sengan, Fiacha, Rionall, Fiobgin, and Eogha, who married Tailta, daughter of a Spanish prince, who gave name to the place of her burial, still called Tailton, in Meath.*

In the reign of Eogha, the colony of the Tuatha de Danains, whose ancestors had been conducted into the north of Germany by Jobath, grandson of Nemedius,† as we have already said, made a descent upon Ireland under the conduct of Nuagha Airgiodlamh, who immediately gave battle to the Firbolgs, commanded by Eogha their king, at Moyturey near Lake Masg, in the territory of Partrigia, otherwise Partry, in the county of Mayo.‡ The latter lost in one day the battle and possession of the island, and were so reduced as to seek an asylum in the islands of the north. Nuagha, having lost one hand in the action, had one made of silver, whence the name of Airgiodlamh is derived, which signifies silver hand.

It is said that the Tuatha de Danains were very skilful in the art of magic, which was the theology of those barbarians. Before they landed in Ireland, they passed through Norway and Denmark, where their diabolical science procured them respect. They brought from that country the famous stone called, "Lia-Fail," in Latin, "saxum fatale." This stone, which gave to Ireland the name of "Innisfail," that is to say, the island of Fail, was used at the coronation of their kings, it is pretended, that during the ceremony an astonishing noise issued from it, like the statue of Memnon in the Thebaid, from which a distinct sound was heard, when struck by the first rays of the rising sun. But the coming of the Messiah, which made all those pagan superstitions vanish, caused this stone also to lose its virtue. There is a prophecy, likewise, which says, that where-soever the stone would be preserved, a prince of the race of the Scots should reign; which gave rise to the following lines:

Cineadh Scuit saor an fine,
Munab breg an fhaidsine.

* Ogyg. part 3, cap. 7.

† Keating.

‡ Walsh Prosp. of Ireland, part 1, sect. 1.

* Ogyg. part 3, cap. 9.

† Ogyg. part 2, page 81.

‡ Ogyg. part 3, cap. 10.

Mar a bfuighid an Lia-fail,
Dlighid flait heas do ghabhail.

which are found thus translated into Latin in the History of Scotland, by Hector Boetius :

Ni fallat fatum, Scoti quocumque locatum
Invenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem.

In the beginning of the thirteenth century of Christianity, Feargus the Great, son of Earcha, having been elected by the Dalriads of Albania for their chief,* and seeing that he was able to get himself crowned king, sent to ask this stone from Murtough, then monarch of Ireland, in order to render the ceremony of his inauguration more solemn and august, and to perpetuate the diadem in his own family; the monarch readily granted the request of Feargus, who got himself crowned first king of the Dalriads of Albania, on that stone which was preserved with veneration in the abbey of Scone, till the thirteenth century, when it was forcibly carried off by Edward I., king of England, and placed in the chair which is used at the coronation of the kings of England, in the abbey of Westminster, where it is, they say, still preserved.

The colony of the Tuatha de Danains, thus called from three of their chiefs, brothers and children of Danan, daughter of Dealboith, of the race of Nemedius, was in possession of that island, according to the Psalter of Cashel, for the space of one hundred and ninety-seven years governed by seven kings successively, namely Nuagha Airgidlamh, Breañ, Lugha-Lamh-Fada, in Latin "Longimanus," Dagha, Delvioth, Fiagha, and the three sons of Kearmada, namely Eathur, Teahur, and Keahur: who reigned alternately, a year each, for thirty years. Those three brothers were married to three sisters; they took surnames from the different idols which they worshipped. Eathur, who had married Banba, was called Maccuill, from a certain kind of wood which he adored. Teahur espoused Fodhla, and worshipped the plough; he was called Mac-Keaght. Keahur, husband of Eire, displayed better taste than his brothers, as he took the sun for his divinity, and was thence named Mac-Greine, that is to say, the son of the sun.

Ireland, which, until the reign of those three brothers, had no other name but that of Inisfail, or Iniselga, changed it with her king, and was called by the name of the reigning queen, alternately, Banba, Fodla,

and Eire;* but the latter was more used, as it was the year of the reign of Keahur, and consequently when the island was called Eire, that the children of Milesius conquered it.

Those first inhabitants of Ireland, having been destroyed successively, at last gave way to the Scoto-Milesians, and were forced to yield to them the possession of the island.

Some of our modern authors, give us after their ancient Fieas, the following detail of the origin, voyages, and transmigrations of the Scoto-Milesians.

Japhet, one of the sons of Noah,† had seven sons, who were the first of the human race in Europe, and a part of Asia; viz, Gomer peopled Gaul and Germany; Magog occupied Scythia, at present Tartary, Madai and Javan established themselves in the several provinces of Greece, Thubal in Spain, Mosoch in Italy, and the countries which extend from the Mediterranean as far as beyond the river Ister; and Thyrsas possessed himself of Thrace. "Ab his divisæ sunt insulæ gentium in regionibus suis."‡

According to the "White Book," called in the Scotie language, "lesvar-drom-sneachta," and that of "Conquests and Invasions," both written in the times of paganism, and cited by Keating.§ Magog, son of Japhet, had three sons, viz, Baath, Jobath, and Fathochta. From the first was descended Fenius Farsa, king of Scythia, from whom the Gadeliens and Milesians derived their origin; the second was chief of the Amazons, Bactrians and Parthians; the third was ancestor to Partholan, and consequently of the Nemedians, the Firbolgs, and Tuatha de Danains, who were the first inhabitants of Ireland.

Fenius Farsa, king of the Scythians, had two sons, viz, Nenual, the elder, heir to his crown, and Niul, who being very learned in the languages multiplied by the confusion of Babel, made a voyage into Egypt, where he married Scota, daughter of king Pharaoh Cincris, and established himself in the country of Capacirunt on the borders of the Red Sea. Niul had by the princess his spouse, a son whom he named Gaodhal, who, at the time that Moses was making preparations to draw the people of Israel out of captivity having been bitten by a serpent, was presented by his father to the holy patriarch, who cured him by a touch of his wand; but there remained always a green spot in the

* Ogyg. part 3, cap. 15.

† Gen. cap. 10.

‡ Ibidem, ver. 5.

§ Page 53, et seq.

* War. Antiq. Hiber. cap. 5, Ogyg. part 1, p. 45.

place of the wound, which caused him to be called Gaodhal-Glas, otherwise Gadelas, the word *glas* in the Scotie language signifying *green*. Moses foretold, on curing him, that the land which would be inhabited by his posterity, who were called, and even to this day are called, Clanna-Gaodhal, or Gadelians, that is, the children of Gaodhal, would be free from serpents, and all venomous reptiles, which has been verified in regard to the islands of Crete and Ireland.

The posterity of Niul, in the third generation, became numerous and were consequently suspected by the Egyptians, who, under the orders of Pharaoh-En-Tuir, their king, formed the resolution of making war against those strangers. Finding themselves unable to oppose the superior forces of the Egyptians, they embarked under the conduct of Sur, son of Easur, son of Gaodhal, and after a few days sailing, landed in the island of Crete, where their chief died, and was succeeded in the command by Eibher, otherwise Heber-Scot, his son. From this flight of the Gadelians out of Egypt, we must understand what Washington, an English monk and historian in the fifteenth century, says in his book called, "Ypodigma." "The Egyptians," says he, "having been swallowed up in the Red Sea, those who survived that disaster expelled a certain noble Scythian, fearing lest he should usurp a power over them. Being thus driven away together with his family, he came to Spain, where he lived for many years; his race was multiplied exceedingly, and from thence they came to Ireland."

Heber-Scot, having the command of the Gadelians, departed from the island of Crete, and sailing through the *Ægean* and the *Euxine Seas*, he arrived in the river Tanais in Scythia, the country of his ancestors, where his colony settled for some time; they were commanded after his death by his descendants successively from father to son; viz., by Agnamon, Tait, Adnoin, and Lamphion. A persecution however was raised through jealousy of the Scythians against them, and they were compelled to take refuge among the Amazons, having Adnoin for their chief. After sojourning there for some time, they departed, under the conduct of Lamphion, the son of Adnoin, for the country

called in their language, "Gæthluighe," which some think to be Gothia, or Gothland; but more probably, according to O'Flaherty,* Getulia, in Africa, conformably to this verse from Propertius in Camden:†

Hibernique Getæ, pictoque Britannia curru.

They remained in that country during eight generations, under the command of eight chiefs, the descendants of Lamphion, viz., Heber-Glun-Fion, Eibric, Nenuaill, Nuagatt, Alluid, Earchada, Deaghatha, and Bratha. By the last they were led into Spain, inhabited at that time by the descendants of Tubal, son of Japhet.

These new comers, under the command of Breogan, son of Bratha, made war with success against the old inhabitants, and became masters of the northern provinces, where Breogan built a city, which he called Brigantia, or Braganza, after his own name.

This captain had ten sons, namely Cuailgne, Cuala, Blath, Aibhle, Nar, Breagha, Fuad, Muirtheimhne, Ith, and Bille. This last was father of Gallamh, otherwise Mileag-Espaine, in Latin, Milesius, the ancestor of the Milesians or ancient Irish, Ith had a son called Lugadg, or Lugadius. Milesius, after whom the ancient Irish were called Clanna-Mileag or Milesians, became in his turn chief of the colony of the Gadelians, and after having secured and extended by many victories the conquests of his predecessors, he made peace with his enemies, and formed the resolution of visiting the country of his ancestors. He left part of the colony to guard his new kingdom, and embarked with the remainder for Scythia, where he was honourably received by Riffloir, then king; who knew that this prince was, as well as himself, descended from Fenius-Farsa, with this difference, that Riffloir had his origin from Nennual the elder, and successor to the throne of his father; whereas, Milesius was descended from Niul the younger.

Milesius became by his courtly manners so great a favourite with the king, that he appointed him his first minister, and general and chief over his troops; as a greater proof of his confidence, he gave him his daughter Seaug in marriage, by whom he had two sons, Donn and Aireach, surnamed Feabhrua. But the death of his wife, added to some difference he had with the king, caused him to leave Scythia. He embarked with his two children and little troop of faithful Gadelians, for Egypt, where the king, Pharaoh-Nectonebus, gave him the command of

* "The Egyptians being drowned in the Red Sea, those who remained drove from amongst them, a certain noble Scythian who lived in the country, lest he should usurp dominion over them. After being driven out, he with his family came to Spain, where he lived for many years; and from thence came to Ireland."—*Ad. ann.* 1185.

* Ogyg. part. 2. cap. 67. † Edit. Lond. p. 87.

his army in a war in which he was engaged against the Ethiopians.

Milesius acquitted himself of that commission as usual, with honour, and Scots the king's daughter was given him in marriage, as a reward for his services. He had by this princess in Egypt, Heber-Fionn and Amhergin. During his residence in that country, he caused twelve young men of his suite to be instructed in the different arts and sciences then in use, in order that they might, on their return to Spain, instruct their countrymen in the same.

Milesius thinking it time to put an end to his labours, and to join once more his relations and friends in Spain, to enjoy with them the sweets of repose, after a residence of seven years in Egypt,* took leave of the king and all his court, to return with the princess his wife, his children and attendants. After arriving in an island called Irene, on the frontiers of Thrace, Scots was delivered of a son, whom they called Ir.† During their voyage she had another, to whom they gave the name of Colpa; and at length, after many fatigues and dangers by sea and land, they arrived in Spain, where this great captain, after appeasing some troubles which had arisen during his absence, and having had two more sons, Aranann and Heremon, ended his days in peace.

The family of Breogan, of which that of Milesius king of Galicia, his grandson, formed the most considerable branch, was become numerous.‡ A drought of several years, followed by a want of grain and all kinds of provisions, having caused a famine, ruined and compelled them to seek a remedy for so pressing an evil. All the chiefs of the tribes assembled at Braganza, to deliberate on what should be done. The result of the conference was, to abandon their settlement in Spain, and seek for one in some other country; particularly as Caicer, the druid, a famous prophet among them, had foretold long before, that their descendants should be possessed of the most westerly island in Europe.§ But as it was of importance to learn where that island lay, before they should bring the whole colony thither, the assembly intrusted the discovery of it to Ihy, otherwise Ithe, (son of Breogan and uncle of Milesius, a man of prudence and consummate experience. Ith having accepted the commission, equipped a vessel, and taking one hundred and fifty soldiers on

board, besides rowers and sailors, he set out with Ludgadh, his son, to make the discovery to which he had been appointed. On his arrival in the north of the island, he offered sacrifices to Neptune, and inquired from the inhabitants what the name of the country was, the people who inhabited it, and likewise the prince who ruled there: they told him that the island was sometimes called Innisfail, sometimes Inis-Ealga, and that it was governed by three princes who were brothers, and children of Kearnada of the nation of the Tuatha de Danains; that they were then at Oileag-Neid, at present Inish-Owen, in the northern part of the province, since called Ulster, Ith, conducted by a guide, and escorted by one hundred of his soldiers, took the road to Oileag-Neid. On his arrival he was presented to the princes, who received him honourably, and seeing him possessed of much wisdom, they appointed him arbiter of their differences, namely, on whom should the right of succeeding Kearnada, their father, devolve. Ith having acquitted himself on this occasion to the satisfaction of the parties concerned, he exhorted them to peace and union among themselves, congratulating them on their happiness in possessing so fertile a country, and situated in so fine a climate; he then set out to join the rest of his men, whom he had left to guard his vessel. The three princes began to reflect on the praises which Ith had bestowed on their country, and conceiving a mistrust towards him, they looked on him as a man of an enterprising turn, and capable of coming with a more numerous force, to conquer a country which he thought so fine. In order to obviate that danger they despatched a force of one hundred and fifty chosen men, commanded by Mac Cuille, in pursuit of him; they attacked him at a place since called after his name, Moy-Ith, in the county of Tyrone. The combat was bloody and the resistance on the side of the Gadelians obstinate, till at length seeing their commander Ith dangerously wounded, and unable to withstand the superior force of their enemies, they reached their vessel with difficulty, and embarked for Spain, but had the misfortune during their voyage, to witness their commander expire of his wounds. During the interval of Ith's expedition, Milesius, after a reign of thirty-six years in Galicia, died universally regretted by the whole colony; but the arrival of Lugadits, who presented to them the dead body of Ith, his father, added considerably to their affliction. With eyes bathed in tears, and language the most energetic which the grief of

* Lecan. fol. 13. p. 2. col. 1.

† Keat. p. 80. et seq.

‡ O'Sull. Compendium, vol. 1. lib. 3. cap. 1.

§ Keating.

a son (who loved his father tenderly) could make use of, he displayed the perfidy of those three princes of the western isle, and forcibly impressed upon them, that, as the death of his father had been the effect of his zeal for the common cause, he trusted, that an attempt whereby the law of nations had been violated, and an insult that might reflect upon the entire colony, should not be left unpunished.*

The Gadelians affected by the just resentment of Lugadius,† prepared themselves for revenge, resolved to shed in sacrifice to the manes of Ith, the last drop of their blood, and without loss of time had a fleet of sixty sail equipped with every thing necessary for so important an expedition. The little fleet being provided with all things, and ready to sail, the entire colony, that is to say, the descendants of Breogan divided into different tribes, embarked with their wives and children, their vassals, a number of soldiers, artisans and labourers of every kind, under forty chiefs, of whom the principal were the eight sons of Milesius, namely, Donn, Aireach, Heber-Fionn, Amhergin, Ir, Colpa, Aranann, and Heremon, with their mother Scots. After coasting along part of Spain, Gaul, and Britain, they at length arrived on the southern coast of the western island, which had been promised to them by their druids. Whilst they were preparing to disembark, they were overtaken by a violent storm, which soon changed their hopes into despair. The heavens were darkened; a wind from the south-east swelled the waves; their confusion was great, and the danger inevitable, so that in a little time, the fleet was scattered, and out of sixty ships of which it was composed, not two of them remained together. The first victim to Neptune's wrath, was Donn; he perished with his entire crew, on the western coast of the island, at a place called after his name, Teagh-Duinn. Aranann was driven to sea by a sudden gust. Ir was shipwrecked upon the southern coasts, his body was found upon the strand, and buried in a craggy island, called Skeilg-Mihil, within a few leagues of Dingle in the county of Kerry: it is called, in Mercator's map of Ireland, Midelskylighs. Heremon, Aireagh, and Colpa were driven by the storm towards the north. The two last, with the whole of their attendants, perished. Colpa being wrecked at the mouth of the river, afterwards called the Boyne, the place was named Invear-Colpa, that is the bay of Colpa, below the city of Drogheda. The storm,

however, having abated and being succeeded by a calm, Heremon, more fortunate than his brothers, reached Invear-Colpa, and at the same time Heber-Fionn, Amhergin his brother, with all their attendants, disembarked at Invear-Skeiny, at present Bantry, in the county of Cork, or rather the county of Kerry.*

This account, says Keating, is taken from an ancient poem of Eochaid O'Floin, beginning with those words: "Taoisig Na-Luing Sinter lear," related in the psalter of Cashel.†

Heber-Fionn had no time to rest after his fatigues; for at the end of three days he was attacked at Sliave-Mish,‡ at present in the barony of Truchanaimy, in the county of Kerry, by a party of the Tuatha de Danains, commanded by the princess Eire, wife of Mac-Greiny, who, after losing a thousand men, was put to flight by the Milesians.

The princess Eire, after collecting the remains of her army, led them to Tailton, where the princes being assembled, she gave them an account of her defeat. The Milesians lost three hundred men in the action, beside Scots, the widow of Milesius, Eais a lady of quality, some druids, and several officers who had fallen. Scots and Fais were buried at the foot of a mountain, in two vallies, which were called after their names, Glean-Scioithin and Glean-Fais.

Heber, after this first advantage, having refreshed his troops, advanced into the country to make further discoveries, in hopes of meeting some of the colony, that were scattered by the storm some time before, and after a long and fatiguing march, arrived at Invear-Colpa, where he found Heremon with his division, by whom he was informed of the disasters that had befallen his brothers Aireagh and Colpa, who had perished on that coast. The brothers now uniting their forces, formed their plans of operation for a campaign. They determined to go in quest of the enemy, who according to the reports of their scouts was not far off.§ They began their march, and after a few days came up with the three princes of the Tuatha de Danains, in the plains of Tailton, with a formidable army ready to meet them.|| The action began, and this battle, which was to decide the fate of both parties, was for a long time doubtful, the troops on both sides making extraordinary efforts; the latter to

* Ogyg. part 3, cap. 10.

† Ogyg. part 2, page 82, & 83.

‡ Ogygia, part 2, page 86.

§ Gratianus Lucius, cap. 8. page 58

|| Walsh, Prosp. of Ireland, part I, sec. 1.

* Keating. * † Ogyg. part. 3, cap. 16.

defend their patrimony against the invaders, who wished to wrest it from them; the former, less to revenge the death of their countryman, than to obtain the possession of an island which had been destined for them, according to the prophecy of the druids. At length the three princes of the Tuatha de Danains, together with their principal officers having fallen, the army was put into disorder, and the rout became so general, that more were killed in the pursuit than on the field of battle. That day so fatal to the Tuatha de Danains, decided the empire of the island in favour of the Milesians.

Heber-Fionn and Heremon, brothers and children of Milesius, as chiefs of the colony, divided the island between them. Heber possessed Deisiol Eirionn, that is, the southern part, afterwards called the province of Munster, where he built a palace. Heremon enjoyed the sovereignty of Leinster, and had the palace of Rath-Beothaig, built at Airgeodross, upon the banks of the river Nore, in the county of Ossory; at the solicitation of his wife Thea, daughter of Lucha, son of Ith, he afterwards built the palace of Teamor, which signifies the residence of Tea. They gave the northern parts of the island, at present the province of Ulster, to Heber-Donn, son of Ir, and to some other chiefs. The descendants of Heber-Donn, called the Clanna-Rorys, built in the county of Armagh the palace of Eamhain-Macha, which lasted for almost seven hundred years, and was possessed by that tribe till the time of the three brothers, called the three Collas, by whom that superb edifice was destroyed. They conferred on their cousin Lugadh, son of Ith the sovereignty of Corca-Luidh.* The fiefs and lordships throughout the various provinces were, in fine distributed among the other chiefs, according to their rank and merit; and in consideration of the services which the remaining party of the Firbolgs had rendered them in the conquest of the island, they bestowed on them the province of Connaught, which their descendants retained till the third age of Christianity. I do not find that any portion was given to their brother Ambergin, who was still living, and a druid by profession; he was probably treated like the tribe of Levi, who possessed no share in the land promised to the Israelites.

The two brothers Heber-Fionn and Heremon reigned together during the space of a year; but the ambition of Heber's wife became the cause of her ruin. Not content

with the division that was made between the two princes, she influenced her husband to do justice to himself by force of arms. Prince Heber, weak and condescending, yielded to the importunities of his wife, and declared war against his brother Heremon.* War being now commenced, the two armies met upon the plains of Geisiol, the frontier boundaries of the provinces of Leinster and Munster.† The battle was bloody and obstinate, but Heber and his chief officers being slain,‡ Heremon, like a second Romulus, became sole possessor of the island, over which he reigned for thirteen years.§ This is confirmed by the authority of Aongus Celide or Colideus, an author of the eighth century, cited by Ware in the second chapter of his *Antiquities of Ireland*.|| The foregoing is a slight sketch of what ancient and modern histories set forth respecting the origin of the Milesians; let us now view the difficulties which would be advanced against the voyages and transmigrations of the Gadelians. The first is, to reconcile a point of chronology on the subject of Gaodhal, who, according to the manuscripts followed by Keating, was the sixth descendant from Japhet, and contemporary of Moses, which made the fourteenth or fifteenth generation after Shem. Keating injudiciously supposes that he has smoothed a difficulty by imagining Niul or some of his ancestors to have lived for many ages, in order to make the sixth descendant on one side fall in with the fourteenth on the other; but if mankind lived then to a great age, the supposition is equally applicable to the ancestors of Moses, as to those of Niul. It is more natural to think that the anachronism has arisen through some copyist of the

* War. Antiq. cap. 2. † Ogyg. part 3, cap. 17.

‡ Grat. Luc. cap. 8, page 58.

§ "After several battles and doubtful events of war between the brothers, victory fell at length to Heremon, and in one of these battles Heber, his brother, being slain, Heremon became sole master of the kingdom, and was the first monarch of the Irish people, who inhabit the kingdom to this day." — *Gerald Camb. Topography of Ireland*, c. 7.

|| "The island Hibernia was divided between the two princes of the army called Milesians, and into two parts. Heber obtained the southern parts, and to Heremon fell the northern, together with the monarchy. Heremon was the first of the Scots who ruled over the whole of Ireland, during 13 years, and had 5 sons elected, 4 of whom governed the kingdom for 3 years, and Jarel, the prophet, during 10. Of the descent of Heremon, 58 kings ruled over Ireland before Patrick had preached the doctrines and sufferings of Christ to the Irish. After the time of Patrick, 50 kings of the above lineage, ruled over Ireland." — *Ware's Antiquities and Ogyg.* p. 3, c. 7.

* Ogyg. part 1, page 11.

manuscripts of the Milesians, who might have omitted some generations between Japhet and Niul. As to the histories of those times so far remote, there are many things in them very obscure, and several difficulties therein hard to be resolved. Do we not see the learned differ about the king that reigned in Egypt in the time of Moses, and who was drowned in the Red Sea? Some pretend that it was Amenophis, father of Sesostri, whilst others say, that it was Pheron, son of the latter. The Hebrews, the Greeks, and the Latins disagree concerning the number of years that elapsed from the time of the creation to the coming of the Messiah; their differences, however, do not affect the truth of the events which are recorded to have happened at that time, viz., the creation of the world, the deluge, the genealogy of Abraham, whether in ascending up to Adam, or descending down to Moses. A similar anachronism with respect to Gaodhal and Moses, ought not to destroy the truth of the history of the Gadelians, as to their origin and genealogy.

It will be perhaps again objected, that navigation being unknown at those early periods, it cannot be believed that the Gadelians had been able to make such distant voyages by sea, as from Egypt to Crete, from Crete to Scythia, from Scythia to Africa, from Africa to Spain, and from Spain to Ireland.

This difficulty will vanish if we but consider that the art of sailing had been at all times in use, at least since the deluge. We know that long before Solomon, the Phœnicians, Egyptians, and Greeks possessed the art of navigation. The Phœnicians, says Herodotus,* who traded to all countries, with the merchandises of Egypt and Assyria, arrived at Argos, a trading city in Greece, and after disposing of their merchandise, they carried off the wives of the Greeks, together with Io, daughter of king Inachus, who reigned at Argos about the year of the world 3112; after which, some Greeks trading to Tyre, carried away in their turn, Europa, daughter of the king of Tyre, to be revenged for the insult their countrymen sustained by the carrying off of their wives from Argos.

We find that David, after conquering and reducing the kingdom of Edom into a province of his empire, established commerce at Elath and at Asiongaber, two ports on the Red Sea. But Solomon carried it still farther, for in his time they traded from the Red Sea along the coast of Arabia, Persia, the Indies, and as far as the western coast of Africa. History informs us, that Nechao,

the second of the name, and king of Egypt, having equipped a fleet on the Red Sea, had Phœnician pilots brought to command it. This fleet, after having coasted along the Red Sea, entered the ocean, and crossing the Torrid Zone, doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and after sailing round Africa, returned to Egypt through the Straits of Gibraltar, by the Mediterranean Sea; so it is more than probable, that from the earliest times, and immediately after the deluge, mankind had discovered the art of building ships, from the model of the Ark, which had saved their ancestors from the waters of the deluge.

But it may be asked, why did they not establish themselves in some part of the continent, rather than expose themselves to so many dangers by sea, to seek after an island in the Atlantic ocean, and separate themselves for ever from all intercourse with mankind? The weakness of that question will be perceived, when we consider that a taste for voyages and emigrations prevailed in the early ages of the world. Men had not been sufficiently settled, nor property in the possession of lands established as it has since become. For besides a colony of Tyrians, who, having coasted along Asia Minor, Greece, Italy, Gaul, and the several countries which surround the Mediterranean Sea, without stopping in any, sailed through the Straits of Gibraltar into the ocean, established themselves in the western coast of Spain, and built the city of Cadiz, long before Utica and Carthage. Moreover, there were colonies sent into different countries by the Egyptians, Phœnicians, Greeks, and Carthaginians, who were themselves a colony of Phœnicians. Carthage herself, after having founded three hundred cities on the coast of Africa, and finding herself still overcharged with inhabitants, sent Hanno with a fleet and thirty thousand volunteers, to make discoveries on the coast of Africa beyond the Pillars of Hercules, and to establish some colonies there.*

The Scythians, from whom the Gadelians were descended, and who were masters of the vast regions which extended from the Boristhenes to the country of the Massagetes, and from the Saces to the east of the Caspian Sea; had neither cities nor houses; they were continually roving, and lived in tents, sometimes in one country, sometimes in another.

* The learned are divided about the time of the expedition. Strabo supposes it to have been a few years after the Trojan war; but Vossius, who believes Hanno to be more ancient than Homer, asserts that it took place at least a century before the taking of that city.

* Lib. 1.

Whatever truth may be attached to what I have now related with regard to the voy-ages and transmigrations of the Gadelians in different countries, it appears at all times indisputable, that that people derived their origin from the Scythians; their name *Kinea Scuit*, or *Scota* denotes it.* The accounts of foreign authors and those of their *Fileas*† confirm it. Newton,‡ with Appina and others, says, that Greece and all Europe had been peopled by the Cimmerians or Scythians from the borders of the Euxine Sea, who like the Tartars in the north of Asia, led a wandering life. Spain had perhaps her share in peopling a part of Europe, and consequently the ancient Spaniards were descended from the same Scythians. Although the Milesians claim the glory of having come directly from Egypt to Spain, they do not at the same time lose sight of their Scythian origin. They call themselves at all times the descendants of the Iberians or Scythians of the Euxine Sea.§ They pretend that the colony, after having been led into different countries by their princes, established themselves at last in Spain. However, if they pass themselves for the children of Magog, rather than of Gomer, from whose posterity Gaul, Germany, and other countries of the north had been peopled, it is a matter which is of itself but of little importance.

The truth of the *Scoto-Milesians* having passed from Spain to Ireland is supported by proofs that are equally strong. Foreign authors are in perfect accordance with the monuments of that people on that head; this constitutes a certainty beyond all doubt. Among the number are Nennius of the ninth century, Walsingham, Henry of Huntington,|| Buchanan,¶ and others. The opinion of these authors, says Camden, accords with the opinion of the Irish, who gladly call themselves the descendants of the Spaniards.**

* War. Antiq. Hibern. cap. 1, page 3.

† Bards.

‡ Chron. Dublin edit. page 10.

§ Ogyg. part 2, page 66 et 82.

|| "The Britons came into Britain during the third age of the world, and the Scoti into Ireland in the fourth age. Whereas those matters are uncertain, it is indubitable, that they came from Spain to Ireland, and emigrating from thence, they added a third nation in Britain to the Britons and the Picts."—*Huntingdon*, pp. 88, 729.

¶ "There is a prevailing report, which says, that a great number of Spaniards, who were either driven from the country by the great ones, or from a redundancy of population, went, of their own accord, and passed into Ireland." *Buchanan*, b. 4, c. 5.

** "To this opinion, prevalent among the Irish, may be added, i. e. 'they confess most freely, that they are descended from the Spaniards.'—*Irish Writers*. vol. 2, c. 5.

We can likewise add to this the authority of an ancient Latin manuscript in Gothic characters, of which Harris speaks:* it was discovered a few years ago, in the archives of a monastery in Gallicia, by Sir John Higgins, counsellor of state, and head physician to Philip V. This manuscript is entitled, "*Concordantia Hispaniæ atque Hiberniæ à Sedulio Scoto genere Hiberniensi et Episcopo Oretensi*," and is attributed to Sedulius the younger, who lived in the eighth century. The subject of it is, according to Harris, as follows: Sedulius having acquired a high reputation by his commentaries on the Gospel of St. Matthew, and the Epistles of St. Paul,† Pope Gregory II. sent him into Spain, having nominated him bishop of Oreto, to allay some troubles that had arisen among the clergy of that nation. Sedulius, meeting with some opposition from the Spaniards in consequence of being a stranger, wrote this treatise, wherein he shows, that, as an Irishman, and being descended from the Spaniards, he should consequently enjoy the same privileges as they did. He continued therefore to enjoy his bishopric, until driven from it by the Moors. The pope afterwards nominated him titular bishop of Great Britain, and in that quality he assisted at a council at Rome, against unlawful marriages.‡

The testimony of the Spaniards themselves particularly of Alderetus, in his *Antiquities of Spain*, and of Florianus del Campo, joined to a tradition among the people, who look upon the Irish as their children, and as a colony which had left their country, in consequence of which they are treated as inhabitants of the country, particularly in Gallicia, and the northern parts of the kingdom, where they enjoy the same privileges as the natives; these are conclusive proofs on the subject, although Camden pretends that it was ambition made Florianus del Campo say, that the Brigantes had passed from Spain into Ireland, and from thence into Britain.

The great difficulty consists in settling the time of the transmigration of the *Scoto-Milesians* from Spain to Ireland, on account of the different calculations of the analysts. Following the ancient monuments, Keating fixed it 1300 years before the birth of Jesus Christ. Cambrensis, and the author of the *Polychronicon*, reckon 1800 years from their arrival in the island,§ till the mission of St.

* Irish Writers, vol. 2. c. 5.

† Usser. Primord. cap. 16. page 780.

‡ Binli Concil. tome 5. Baleus Cent. 14. n. 28.

§ Walsh, Prospect of Ireland, page 393.

Patrick in the fifth century, which agrees pretty nearly with the calculation of Keating. The number of kings who reigned in Ireland from Heremon till the twelfth age of Christianity was 181. The epoch of their commencement in the time of Heremon depends upon the length of their reign; if we allow to each a reign of fourteen years, we must necessarily ascend from the twelfth century upwards to the epoch fixed upon by Keating; but if with Newton,* we give to each a reign of eighteen or twenty years, which, in a warlike nation, is not probable, we must ascend much higher than that era. Camden as well as Nennius, presumes that we should search for their migrations in more modern times; this, however, is not conclusive. O'Flaherty, who was much more capable than those foreigners of fathoming the antiquities of his country, has in accordance with ancient monuments, defined the time that each Milesian king reigned, from the arrival of the colony in Ireland until the birth of our Saviour, and places it in the time of Solomon, that is, about 1000 years before Jesus Christ.† This account agrees with the period of the conquest of Spain, by Sesac or Sesostris, of which Newton speaks,‡ and which, according to Buchanan, was probably the cause of the flight of that colony, "A potèntioribus domo pulsam."

We might, perhaps, with a greater appearance of truth place that event a century later, that is, in the time of Melcartus, or Hercules the Tyrian, who was, according to Newton, the second conqueror of Spain, and the founder of Carteia, particularly as that learned man thinks, that they had not taken distant voyages, (such as to Britain or Ireland,) before the time of that conqueror.

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE RELIGION AND CUSTOMS OF THE MILESANS.

It is not easy to define the religion of the ancient Milesians; it appears, however, by their history, that Tighernmas,§ the seventh king of that race, was the first king who in-

troduced idolatry amongst them. The same histories inform us,* that that unhappy prince was, together with a great number of his subjects, struck dead by an invisible hand, on the day we call "All Saints," while they were employed in worshipping the idol, called in their language, "Crom-Cruadh, in the plains of Moy-Sleachta, near Fenagh, in the barony of Mohill, territory of Briefny, at present the county of Leitrim: that, till then, their ancestors, the Gadelians, had a knowledge of the true God,† and followed the religion of the patriarchs, having received that divine impression from Moses and the Israelites, with whom they had some connexion before the passage of the Red Sea. However, this be, no nation was ever more superstitious afterwards than the Milesians: and though they neither worshipped cats, dogs, crocodiles, nor the vegetables which their gardens produced, as the Egyptians did; still they had many gods of various sorts and orders. This inclination to idolatry, common to them with other nations, (not excepting the people chosen and immediately governed by God himself), was strengthened by the example of the Tuatha de Danains, their immediate predecessors in the possession of the island, who worshipped the sun, the moon, sometimes the plough, and other things made by the hands of men; but as these divinities, resting upon the caprice or inventions of man, could not fix the mind, the objects of this worship were frequently changed.

Great honours were paid to the druids and bards among the Milesians, as well as to those among the Britons and Gauls. The first called Draoi in their language,‡ performed the duties of priest, philosopher, legislator, and judge. Cæsar has given in his commentaries,§ a well detailed account of the order, office, jurisdiction, and doctrine of the druids among the Gauls. As priests, they regulated religion and its worship; according to their will the objects of it were determined, and the divinity often changed; to them, likewise, the education of youth was entrusted. Guided by the druids, the Milesians generally adored Jupiter, Mars, Mercury, Apollo, the sun, moon, and wind; they had also their mountain, forest, and river gods.|| These divinities were common to them, and to other nations of the world.

* Chron. Dublin edit. chap. 1, p. 55 and 57.

† "The best among the Irish writers are agreed, that it was during the reign of Solomon the Scots passed from Spain to Ireland."—Ogyg. part 2, p. 83.

‡ Chron. Dublin edit. page 17.

§ Keating on the reign of Tighernmas, A. M. 3085.

* Ogyg. part 3, cap. 21, 22.

† Grat. Luc. cap. 8, page 59.

‡ War. Antiq. Hibern. cap. 5, Ogyg. part 3, cap. 22.

§ Lib. 6.

|| War. Antiq. Hibern. cap. 5.

It is known that Augustus had a temple raised in Gaul, in honour of the wind *Circius*.*

According to the *Annals of Ulster*, cited by Ware, the usual oath of Laogare II., king of Ireland in the time of St. Patrick, was by the sun and wind. The Scythians swore by the wind and sometimes by a scymetar or cutlas, in use among the Persians, upon which was engraven the image of Mars. It is mentioned by Jocelin, an English monk of the order of Cîteaux, in his life of St. Patrick,† written in the twelfth century, that the same Laogare, before his conversion, adored an idol named Kean Croithi, which signifies, "Head of all the Gods." In the register of Clogher, there is mention made of a stone ornamented with gold by the pagans, which gave oracles.‡ From this stone the town was called Clogher, which signifies, "golden stone." Charles Maguire, prebendary of Armagh, and dean of Clogher in the 15th century, says in his notes on the registry of Clogher, that that stone was still preserved at the right of the entrance into the church. Ware, in the same chapter, speaks of the fatal stone called Liafail, or "saxum fatale," which the Tuatha de Danains brought with them to Ireland, and which groaned when the kings were seated on it at their coronation. That stone, he mentions, was sent into Albania to be used at the coronation of Fergus: that Kenneth had it placed in a wooden chair, in which the kings of Scotland sat at the time of their coronation, in the abbey of Scone, whence it was transferred by Edward I., king of England, and placed in Westminster Abbey. The superstition of the druids and the authority of the oracles were in as high veneration among the Milesians as among other people, until the birth of our Saviour, which put an end to all such illusions.

As legislators and judges, the druids were arbiters in all public affairs, and were invested with a power to reward or punish. Every kind of privilege and immunity was conferred on them; they were also exempt from contributing to the necessities of the state; their doctrine was a kind of theology and philosophy: they professed the magic art, and the knowledge of futurity.

The druids, says Cæsar, are indebted for their origin and institution to Britain, and those of Gaul went thither to be perfected

in their profession; but whether those of Britain owed the origin of their order to the Milesians, or they to the Britains, is a matter of little moment, and upon which I do not pretend to decide; however, there was this difference between the druids of the Gauls, the Britons, and those of the Milesians, that the last communicated by means of the oghum mysteries which the others never committed to writing.

It is certain that after the confusion of tongues at Babel, and the dispersion of mankind, every family or colony formed for itself a system of religion in the different countries where they settled, and, that, for the exercise of it, a society of men entrusted with its duties was necessary to be formed. These ministers were known throughout a great part of Europe, by the name of druids. They were known among the Greeks by the name of Sophoi, or philosophers, among the Persians, Magi; the Indians, Gymnosophists, and Chaldeans, among the Assyrians.*

The different nations amongst whom religion was administered by the druids, endeavour to discover in their languages, the origin and etymology of the word "Druid." In "dru," which signifies faithful, the Germans think to have found it. The Saxons derive it from "dry," which means magi. In Armorica the word "deruidhon" was in use. The Milesians, who apply the word "dryithy"† to signify druid, take it from "dair," which means oak, with which their island was formerly covered from which the ancients called it, "Insula nemorosa."‡ The Greek interpretation of the word druid adds probability to the opinion of the Milesian. Δρῦς in Greek, signifies oak, a tree sacred to Jupiter,§ because the druids chose the forests of oak, to celebrate in them their superstitious mysteries, to which Lucan, lib. 1, alludes,

..... "nemora alta remotis,
Incolitis lucis."

or because they made use of the mistletoe of the oak in their religious ceremonies. Ovid makes allusion to it, when he says,

"Ad viscum druidæ, druidæ clamare solebant."

Pliny is explicit and clear upon this matter: there is nothing, he says, so sacred among the druids, (it is thus the Gauls call their magi,) as the oak and the mistletoe,

* Ibidem. † Cap. 56.

† War. Antiq. Hib. cap. 5.

§ Euseb. prep. Evang. lib. 5; Suidas, Niceph. Calixt, Eccles. Hist. lib. 1, cap. 17.

* Diogen. Laert. prologue.

† Drouii.

‡ "The woody island."

§ Claud. lib. 1.

which that tree produces. They chose forests of oak wherein to celebrate their religious ceremonies, whence the name druid is most probably derived from the Greek interpretation. Every thing which that tree produces, is, according to them, a gift of heaven, and a sign of its being chosen by the gods. The priest, (continues Pliny) dressed in white, climbs the oak, and with a golden knife detaches from it the mistletoe, which was thought to be a sovereign antidote against all distempers. The most ancient and celebrated oracle in Greece, was consulted under the oak, in the forest of Dodona. God himself in the time of the patriarchs appeared to men in woods of oak; temples were erected in them to his honour, and covenants made between God and man; sacrifices were also offered in them, and angels announced to man the commands of the Lord. When the Jews had apostatized, and abandoned the worship of the true God, they sacrificed upon high mountains, and beneath the oak they burned incense, "*Subtus universam quercum frondosam*," so that according to sacred and profane history, the oak was held in great veneration by the ancients.*

The Milesian bards, called Filea or Fear-dana, were not less esteemed than the druids; they enjoyed high privileges, and sat, with a right of suffrage, in the assemblies of the state. Possessions and property were given them by the monarch, provincial kings, and the private lords. Strabo and Lucan, call them poets or prophets.† Pompeius Festus says,‡ that a bard is a man who sings in verse the praises and deeds of great men.§ Diodorus Siculus, calls a bard a composer of hymns.|| David Powell informs us, that the Welsh bards were employed in preserving the genealogies and armorials of their nobles: the Milesians had those of their own country similarly employed. That matter, as Ware observes, is largely treated of in the laws of Hoel-Dha:¶ he says too, that among the number of the bards was the celebrated poet, Dubtach-Mac-Lughair,** "*Poeta egregius Hibernicus*," who composed many poems in honour of the false gods; but that after he had been, by the preaching of Saint Patrick, converted to the true faith, he applied his talents to the praises of the Almighty and his saints.††

There were two divinities whose worship was universal among the Milesians; the first was Beul, the same perhaps as Bel among the Asiatics. We discover in their histories, that, in the reign of Tuathal Teachtmair,* a portion of land was taken from each province to appropriate it as a demesne for his use. Assemblies were held each year in the dismembered portion of Connaught.† In this general assembly of all the states,‡ called the meeting of Uisneach, in the barony of Rathconra, in Westmeath, animals were sacrificed and offered to Beul, when invoking his protection for the fruits of the earth; and to render the festival more solemn, it was ordained, that in every territory of the island, two fires should be kindled, and that, between them a number of beasts of every kind should be made to pass, in order to preserve them against all infectious distempers for the ensuing year. The day fixed upon for the ceremony agrees with our first day of May, which was, and is still called by the Irish, "*Lha-Beul-tinne*," which signifies the day of Beul's fire, the Irish word *lha* signifies day, and *tinne* fire.§

The same monarch ordered another meeting to assemble every year at Tlachta, in the portion appropriated for that use, in the province of Munster; it is now called the barony of Clanlish, in the King's County. The sacred fire was lighted there, to apprise the druids and pagan priests that they were to assemble on the eve of the first of November, and consume in it the sacrifices offered to their household gods. It was forbidden, under penalty of a fine, to kindle a fire in any other place on that night, which was not taken from the sacred fire.

The second divinity that was worshipped among the Milesians, which continued till the time of Christianity, was the Golden Calf. Keating gives us, on the reign of Cormac Ulfada, an example of that impious devotion, in the conduct of Maoilgann the druid, towards that prince, who, having resigned the crown, withdrew to a small country house at Anacaille, near Tara, to devote himself to the worship of the true God, whom he had already known. The minister of Satan came to seek him in his retreat, and proposed to him the worship of the Golden Calf; he reproached him for having withdrawn himself from a religion that had been so long established, and which his predecessors down to him had professed.

* Ezeck. cap. 6, v. 16.

† Geograph. lib. 4.

‡ Ogyg. part 3, cap. 27.

§ Lib. 1.

|| Antiq. Hibern. cap. 5.

** Ibidem.

†† Jocelin, cap. 45.

|| Lib. 5.

* Keating on the reign of Tuathal Teachtmair.

† Ogyg. part 3, cap. 56.

‡ Anno Domini, 130.

§ Ogygia, part 2, p. 62.

The pious prince answered him with a mildness and resolution worthy the first heroes of Christianity, that he adored but the one true God, the Creator of heaven and earth; that as to those gods made by the hands of men, he knew them not. This profession of his faith cost him his life, for the night following he died, by an unnatural death, after he had ordered, that he should not be buried among the pagan kings his predecessors, because he wished his ashes not to mingle with idolaters.

It requires but a slender knowledge of history to discover the changes which a long interval of time and place produces. Those who at present inhabit a country, live far differently from the ancient inhabitants of the same country; but few ages are sufficient to make that difference perceptible. The French, now-a-days, differ widely in their taste and manner of living, from those that have gone before them but a few centuries. In the age we live in, what analogy is there between our customs and those of the surrounding nations? If then we combine these two considerations, it cannot surprise us that men, who lived two or three thousand years ago, in countries apart from us, had customs different from ours. We need only ascend 800 years from the present time, and it will be found that every country was then less rich, and the people less polished; and the farther we proceed thus, the poorer the country will appear to have been, and the inhabitants of it more barbarous.

The Milesians have had their origin from the Scythians, and their customs from the Egyptians. These two rival nations were, no doubt, in their time the most polished of any in the world. Scythia was shortly after the deluge erected into a kingdom; it lasted till the tyrannical sway of the kings of Babylon, and was so polished, that other nations borrowed their laws, and the form of their government from it. From these circumstances, an emulation arose between them and the Egyptians, and in their struggle for pre-eminence, the Scythians had always the advantage.* Herodotus loads them with praises, when speaking of the rash expedition undertaken against them by Darius, to revenge some hostilities committed by them, when pursuing the Cimmerians into Asia, and for putting down the empire of the Medes, who were then masters of that part of the world. Justin, an excellent historian

* "There was a long dispute between the Egyptians and Scythians, in which controversy the Egyptians were defeated, and the Scythians appeared to be the more ancient."—*Polydorus*, b. 1.

in the time of Augustus, says, in his epitome of Troguus Pompeius, when speaking of the heroic actions of the Scythians, that they never underwent a foreign yoke; that they routed with disgrace Darius king of the Persians, and that Cyrus and his whole army were destroyed by them: that Zopyrus, general of Alexander the Great, together with the whole of his forces, fell beneath their blows, and that they had heard of the Roman arms, without having ever felt them.*

Egypt has been in like manner, always looked upon among the ancients, as the most renowned school in matters of government and wisdom, and the cradle of the arts and sciences. So convinced of this was Greece, that most of the great men, as Homer, Pythagoras, Plato, and her two great legislators, Solon and Lycurgus, went into Egypt to perfect themselves, and draw from thence the rarest knowledge in all kinds of erudition. Of the wisdom of the Egyptians, God himself bears a most glorious testimony, in bestowing praise upon Moses, for his having been instructed therein.†

Those are the sources from whence the Milesians have taken the first rudiments of their government, manners, and customs, having their origin from the Scythians, and their education from the Egyptians.

The trade which the Phœnicians carried on with that people, did not a little contribute to its perfection.‡ Newton observes, that the Edomites, when scattered and subdued by David, withdrew, some to Egypt, another part to the coasts of the Persian Gulf, and that others of them came and settled upon the coasts of the Mediterranean, where they fortified Azotus, and took possession of Sidon.

They carried with them to all the countries to which they went, the sciences and arts, particularly those relating to astronomy, navigation, and the use of letters, which they were in possession of in Idumea, before the time of Job, who makes mention of it. It was among them that Moses learned to commit the law to writing. They changed the name Erythroa, into that of Phœnicia, and called themselves Phœnicians: the country along the coasts of Palestine, from Azotus

* "The Scythians themselves continued either without being invaded or invincible; they routed Darius king of the Persians, and forced him to fly from Scythia in disgrace; the Scythians slew Cyrus with his whole army: and Zopyrus, general of Alexander the Great, they overcame and destroyed with the entire of his forces. They heard of the Romans only by name—*Chron.* page 12.

† Act 7, 22.

‡ *Chron.* page 12.

to Sidon, was called Phœnicia. They afterwards spread themselves along the shores of the Mediterranean as far even as Spain, where the Milesians, who were then inhabiting that country, had an opportunity of forming an intercourse with them. The trade between these two people, was not confined to Spain alone, it extended itself to Ireland, where they traded with those Milesians who had made themselves masters of the island. Thus, it is probable that the latter may have received their characters from the Phœnicians, and that Fenius Farsa,* from whom, it is said, they are descended, is the same as Phenix or Phœnius, who was among the Phœnicians the first inventor of letters.†

Notwithstanding all these advantages, it is natural to think that the Milesians had been, like other people who were their contemporaries, rude and barbarous in their manners.

Pomponius Mela, and Strabo, represent them as a nation ignorant of every virtue, and who lived upon human flesh. These traits appear to have been mere conjectures without any foundation,‡ as Strabo himself acknowledges, "Horum etiam, quæ commemoramus, dignos fide testes non sane habemus." It is true that their histories have left us one example of the barbarous custom imputed to them by Strabo, in the conduct of a nurse,§ in the times of paganism, who being entrusted with the care of a young princess, fed her with the flesh of children, thinking, from a diabolical superstition, that such food would give her additional charms.¶ But does not this affectation of their historians by recording so inhuman an act, lead us to discover, that the barbarity ascribed to the nurse was the crime of an individual, and not a custom common to an entire nation. Such inhumanity, attributed by Strabo to the Milesians, was not peculiar to them: it prevailed, likewise, according to him, among the Scythians, Gauls, Spaniards, and other nations.¶

Polibius informs us, that Annibal rejected, with horror, the cruel proposal which the Gauls made to him of eating human flesh.**

* Samuel Bochart *Cadomensis apud war. antiq. Hib. cap. 1.*

† *Ogyg. part 3, cap. 30, p. 219.*

‡ *Camd. Brit. edit. p. 788.*

§ *War antiq. Hib. cap. 2.*

¶ *Keating.*

¶ "It is said to be a custom among the Scythians to feed on human flesh, and that the Gauls, Spaniards, and many others, when pressed by famine during a siege, have practised the same thing."—*Strab. b. 4.*

** *Bollin hist. ancienne.*

This custom prevails at present among the Hottentots, and other inhabitants of Africa.* Saint Jerome says that he saw in Gaul, the Scots, a people of Britain, feed on human flesh.†

Dempster, a Scotch writer, and a man very zealous for the glory of his country, makes use of all his talent to turn from his countrymen the disgrace of the above imputation:‡ but as he finds himself confounded by the weight of the authority of Saint Jerome, he seeks to avoid the blow by evasion, and observes, that instead of the word "Scotos," which is generally met with in St. Jerome's text, it should be read "Gothos," and as the words "Gentem Britannicam," are characteristic of the Scots of Albania, and evidently distinguish them from the Scots of Ireland, he pretends on the authority of Erasmus, that the words are not found in the ancient editions of that father's works: but Usher confutes him on his assumed authority from Erasmus, and moreover adds, that all the editions of St. Jerome, and particularly the Basle edition in the year 1497, contain the words "Gentem Britannicam."§

Has any custom ever been more barbarous than that of sacrificing children, which prevailed so generally amongst the Phœnicians, Carthaginians, Gauls, Scythians, Greeks, and Romans—nations in every other respect very polished. It was a custom with the kings of Tyre, to sacrifice in times of great calamity, their sons, in order to appease the anger of the gods.¶ Individuals, likewise, when they endeavoured to rescue themselves from any great misfortune, resorted to the same, and were as superstitious as their princes, so that those who had not children of their own, purchased them from the poor, that they might not want the merit of such a sacrifice. The same custom continued for a long time among the Phœnicians, and the Canaanites. The children who were inhumanly burnt, were cast either into a hot

* *Pet. Lom. comment. Hib. cap. 13, p. 131, et seq.*

† "What shall I say of other nations, when I myself while very young, have seen in Gaul a British people who had been Scots, feed upon human flesh."—*Hieron, b. 2, against Jovinianus.*

‡ *Apparat. ad hist. Scotie. lib. 1, cap. 4.*

§ "Dempster himself was not able to show that these words were inserted in a certain ancient book, much less in all; neither has Erasmus written, at any time, such a thing. All the editions of the works of St. Jerome (particularly that published at Basle in the year 1497) have in this place, displayed to us the British nation."—*Usher, Church History, cap. 15, p. 589.*

¶ *Philo.*

furnace, or shut up in a statue of Saturn, which was set on fire.* In order to stifle the cries of the unhappy victims during this barbarous ceremony, the air resounded with the noise of drums and trumpets. Mothers made it an honour and a point of religion, to assist at the cruel spectacle, without shedding a tear, or uttering the least lamentation.† They were so callous and inhuman as to caress their children and appease their cries, lest a victim offered with a bad grace, and in the midst of tears, might be displeasing to the gods.

The Carthaginians retained till the destruction of their city, the barbarous custom of offering up human victims in sacrifice:‡ it was, however, suspended for a few years, lest they might bring on themselves the wrath and power of Darius the First, king of Persia, who had forbidden them to offer human victims, and had likewise enjoined them not to eat the flesh of dogs. During the battle which was fought in Italy, between Gelon the tyrant of Syracuse, and Hamilcar the Carthaginian general, which lasted from morning till night, the Carthaginian general did not cease to offer up in sacrifice to their gods, living men in great numbers, by having them thrown into a burning furnace; and seeing, says Herodotus,§ his troops give way, he cast himself into it not to survive his shame.¶ In times of pestilence, children were sacrificed in great numbers to their gods, without pity for an age which would excite compassion in the most cruel enemy, by which a remedy for their evils was sought in crime, and barbarity made use of to appease the gods.

When Agathocles laid siege to Carthage,¶ the unfortunate inhabitants of that city ascribed their misfortune to the just anger of Saturn against them for having sacrificed, instead of children of the first quality, (to which they had been accustomed), those of strangers and slaves. To make amends for their supposed crime, they offered up in sacrifice to Saturn, two hundred children of the first families in Carthage, besides three hundred citizens, who, thinking themselves guilty of the same crime, voluntarily sacrificed themselves likewise.

Solinus says, that the ancient Irish had the custom of drinking the blood of those whom they had slain, and of besmearing

their faces with it;* that the mothers presented, upon the point of a sword, the first food to their male children, praying that they might not die in any other way than in war, or with arms in their hands. It is very probable that Solinus is not better informed on the subject than Strabo, who cannot vouch, by witnesses worthy of belief, for all that he advances. We need but examine, at present, into the habits of other people of antiquity, and they will be discovered to have been rude and barbarous.

The inhabitants of the Balearic islands, accustomed themselves from their earliest youth to the use of the sling. Mothers placed upon the branch of a very tall tree, pieces of bread intended for the breakfast of their children, who were to continue fasting until they could strike them down from the branch. It is therefore an injustice to reproach a nation for barbarous manners, at a time when the evil generally prevailed in other countries.

The ancient Irish, called Milesians, or Clanna Mileag, that is to say, the children of Milesius, were divided into four tribes, namely, those of Heber, Heremon, Ir, and Ith. They preserved their race pure, and made no alliances with the lower orders, nor with their vassals, who had followed them from Spain. They formed four great families, who were descended from the same father. They preserved their genealogies carefully, and knew the whole line of their ancestors, down to the chief of their tribe. This precaution was essential in regard to the succession to the throne, because it was required that those who aspired to it, should be descended from one of the tribes. Each tribe possessed in the beginning, their own portion of the island, and each portion was divided into lands and lordships, possessed by the different branches of the tribe. Each tribe had a number of vassals or farmers to cultivate their lands, and conduct their numerous flocks of cattle, which formed their chief wealth. Every one was called by his name: they did not take the name of castles or villages, like the nobles of the present day, but they usually added to their names, that of their fathers, with the adjective Mac, which signifies son, as Laogare Mac-Niall. The custom of the people of the east, says M. Rollin, was to add to the name of the son that of the father; for instance, Sardapalis is composed of Sardan and Pal, which means Sardan, son of Pal. This custom was followed by the Greeks and Romans.

* Plutarch, de superstitione, p. 171.

† Tertullian in apologetico Quinti. Curt. lib. 4, cap. 3.

‡ Plutarch, de sacra vindicatione Deorum.

§ Lib. 7.

¶ Justin, lib. 17.

¶ Diodorus, lib. 20.

* Lib. 20.

It is observed, even to this day, in Muscovy, where Wits is sometimes added to the names to signify the son of such a one, as Petrowits, the son of Peter, Jeannowits, son of John. The Fitz made use of among the Saxons in England, implies the same thing; for instance, in the names Fitzgerald, Fitzmaurice, Fitzsimon, Fitz signifies son, and is the same as the son of Gerald, the son of Maurice, the son of Simon: we discover also in the same country the Thompsons, the Johnsons, which names signify the sons of Thomas, of John, &c. The tribe which usually bore the name of their chiefs, sometimes changed them, to take that of some one among their chiefs, who was renowned for some great action, as the tribe of Ir, which took the name of Clanna-Rory, which signifies the children of Rory.

There was among the Milesians, great simplicity without refinement, proportioned to the time in which they lived, but not always without that mixture of vice so common among other people. We discover amongst them, neither those pompous titles of nobility, invented within the last seven or eight centuries, nor that multitude of expenses, nor luxury, the necessary cause of many new fashions, which tend to the ruin of many families. This great simplicity, joined to a general prejudice, that that which is most ancient is always most imperfect, easily convinces us that they were rude in their manners.

The arts and trades were not unknown to the Milesians: * having discovered amongst them mines of gold, silver, tin, lead, and iron, they had learned to melt and manufacture them.† The forges of Airgiodross,‡ of which their historians speak; the arms which they made use of, such as the sword, the lance, the axe, and other instruments,§ show us that there were amongst them, workmen, who knew how to make use of the hidden treasures, with which nature had enriched their island. Their churches and houses were generally built of wood, which is a proof that there were carpenters among them. Their churches, says Bede, were not built of stone, but of oakwood artificially wrought.¶ Saint Bernard, in speaking of an oratory which Saint Malachy caused to be built in Ireland, says, that it was made of polished wood, solidly put together; to this remark he adds, that it was a very handsome Scotie

structure.* Their chariots, whether for war, or travelling, and the great number of ships that they made use of, as well for fishing, (which was largely carried on amongst them,) as for the frequent expeditions which they made into Britain and other countries, prove, that they must have had mechanics to construct them. In ancient times, they made use of little boats built of light wood,† or of ozier, which they covered with the skins of horses, oxen, or of some wild beast, and these boats they called curraghs.‡ With those small vessels they easily crossed the Scythian valley, which signifies the sea that separates Ireland from Britain. But according as they became perfect in the arts, they built much larger and more solid vessels, to transport their armies and colonies to Albania.§

The manufacture of cloth, stuffs, and every thing necessary to cover and preserve them from the inclemency of the weather, was in very general use amongst the ancient Irish.¶ The men, says Cambrensis, wore trowsers or "Braies," in Latin "braccæ," whence a part of ~~Scythia~~ was called "Gallia Braccata." The Persians, Scythians,¶ Sarmatians,** the ancient people, of the Palatinat, called Vangiones, the Batavians,†† Hebrews,‡‡ and almost every nation had the same customs.

Amongst the Irish, the tunic, drawers, leggings and boots, were composed of one

* "A Scotie work very 'handsome.'"—*Gratianus Lucius*, c. 8. p. 62.

† *Grat. Luc. cap. 8. p. 62.*

‡ *Ogyg. part. 3, cap. 34.*

§ "Claudianus clearly proves, that the Irish afterwards were provided with better fleets; when he says, 'the Scot moved all Ireland, and the sea foamed with the hostile oar.'"

"An army of Scots, on board a number of ships, passed into Britain, and Niellus being monarch of Ireland, six sons of Muredus with a large fleet seized upon the northern parts of Britain. These foul flocks of Scots and Picts come forth from their curraghs in which they crossed the Scythian valley."—*Solinus, Cambrensis and Gildas, in Grat. Luc. c. 12. p. 115.*

¶ *Grat. Luc. cap. 12. p. 112.*

¶ "With skins and sown trowsers, they drive away pinching cold, and the face alone of the whole person appears."—*Ovid. b. 3.*

** "The whole body is enveloped in trowsers, and even the face (except the eyes) is covered."—*Mela, b. 2.*

†† "The Sarmatians, Vangiones, and savage Batavians imitate thee with loosened trowsers."—*Lucan. in Grat. Luc. c. 13. p. 123.*

‡‡ "These men were bound, and with trowsers and cap, were cast into a burning furnace."—*Daniel, c. 3, ver. 21.*

* Keating on the reign of Tighernmas.

† Idem on the reign of Enna, surnamed Airghoagh.

‡ *Grat. Luc. cap. 8. p. 59.*

§ *Ogyg. part 3, cap. 21, et 28.*

¶ "Not of stone but of wrought oak."

piece,* and so tight, that the form of the body appeared, by which they differed from those of other people, who wore this dress loose and flowing. Besides this the Irish wore a cloak of purple, which they called "Falling," like the "Pallium" of the Greeks, and the "Toga" of the Romans. They considered it as befitting the gravity of man, to wear those cloaks. The English called them mantles, from "Mantelum" and "Mantele," mentioned by Plautus and Pliny. Mantles, Mantelets and Mantillas, have undoubtedly derived their etymology from the same source. They wore their hair long, and allowed the beard to grow on the upper lip:† their head-dress consisted of a cap raised to a point, of the same materials as their clothes; this cap was called in their language, "Barredh," perhaps from the "Biretum," worn by the Gauls; but more probably from "Barr," which signifies top, and from the word "Eda," which means clothing. Finally, on their feet, they wore sandals, or soles tied with many strings. The Irish women dressed themselves with much modesty. A small mantle of cloth embroidered, or trimmed with fringe, according to the quality of the person, which hung down to the knees,‡ covered their other dress. Their head-dress, called in their language, "Fileadh," consisted of a piece of fine linen, with which they enveloped the head in a spiral form, and thus made a kind of veil tied behind. The unmarried women, as a mark of distinction, wore long hair platted, and interwoven with ribbands.

The different classes among the Irish, were distinguished by the number of colours in their dress.§ The mechanics and working classes, wore but one colour, the soldiers two; officers three; those who exercised hospitality, four;|| the nobles, five; the historians and learned, six,¶ which shows the esteem in which men of letters were held: lastly the kings and princes of the blood wore clothes of seven colours. The plaid, or robes, of different colours, which are still worn by the Scotch Highlanders, are probably the remains of this ancient Milesian custom.

In the earlier periods, the Milesians slept under tents after the manner of the Scythians, their ancestors; however as soon as they were well secured in their possessions, they

evinced a taste for building houses and towns.* Stones were not used in their buildings, the use of which was not known to the Britons and Gauls.† Their houses were built of wood, their furniture was very plain, and all their vessels made of wrought wood, according to the taste of the times.

The Irish were remarkable for their hospitality.‡ The unfortunate always found refuge among them.§ The Spaniards, Gauls and Britons, sought an asylum in that country, to secure themselves from the tyranny of the Romans;|| Princes, who were persecuted in their own country, found there a safe retreat. Dagobert II., son of Sigebert, king of Austrasia, having been expelled his kingdom by Grimoald, mayor of the palace, was received with distinction in Ireland, where he remained in exile, during twenty five years.¶ Oswald, king of the Northumbrians,** with his brothers and several lords, found refuge among the Scots, that is to say, the Irish, "apud Scotos exulabant," amongst whom they remained for sixteen years, till the death of the tyrant whose fury they wished to avoid.

Alfred, king of the Northumbrians, and one of the successors of Oswald, having been driven from the throne of his ancestors, withdrew into Ireland,†† where he made a considerable progress in the study of literature, and in the art of governing. Bede mentions a number of Englishmen, both nobles and others, who went to Ireland in the time of the holy bishops, Finan and Colman, to be instructed in divine learning, and to perfect themselves in the practice of a monastic life. He adds, also, that the Scots supplied them, gratis, with every thing necessary for their support, even with books for their studies.§§

* War. antiq. Hib. cap. 22.

† Grat. Luc. cap. 10. p. 99.

‡ "They are indeed the most hospitable of mankind. You cannot gratify them more, than either to visit them of your own accord, or invite them to visit you in turn."—*Stan. Irish Hist.* b. 1. p. 33.

§ Petr. Lombard. cap. 12. p. 111.

|| "Many, no doubt, passed into Ireland, from Spain, Gaul and Britain, to draw their necks from the iniquitous oppression of the Roman yoke."—*Camd. Brit. edit.* p. 682.

¶ Hist. ecclesiast. de Fleury. Abrégé chron. de Calmet.

** Abrégé chron. du Pres. Hayn.

†† Bede hist. eccles. lib. 3. cap. 1. et seq.

‡‡ Bede. Malmbsuriensis, et Harps feldius apud Grat. Luc. c. 14. p. 128.

§§ "All of whom the Irish most freely received, and afforded them daily food without payment: they likewise supplied them with masters and books without remuneration."—*Bede's Church Hist.* c. 27. b. 3.

* Grat. Luc. cap. 13. p. 122. et. seq.

† Idem. cap. 13. p. 125.

‡ Grat. Luc. cap. 12. p. 112.

§ Keating on the reign of Tighernmas.

|| Grat. Luc. cap. 8. p. 59, et cap: 10. p. 105.

¶ Ogyg. part. 3. cap. 23.

The love of hospitality was not confined to individuals, it was the general taste of the nation; as there were lands assigned by the government to a certain number of persons, who were appointed to exercise it in the different provinces. They were named "Biatachs," from "Bia," in Latin, Victus, which signifies all kinds of food. The office of Biatach was considered honourable by the Irish.* In order that it might be discharged with dignity, none but nobles were appointed to it; besides the lands assigned by the state, they should be the lords of seven boroughs or villages, feeding seven herds of one hundred and twenty oxen each, without counting the produce in grain, after seven ploughs every year. The Hospitalers took care never to be taken unprepared. Large pots, filled with all kinds of meat, supplied in abundance every thing to satisfy their guests. The fare was plain and frugal: they were unacquainted with sauces and ragouts: their general food was flesh, fish, bread baked in the ashes, milk, butter, honey and herbs, principally water-cresses, which was much used by them, as well as by the ancient Persians.

Hospitality, when confined to the limits prescribed by prudence, is a virtue belonging to charity; but amongst the Irish it was a vice which might be called prodigality, and tended to the ruin of families. For besides the hospitable institutions, established by public authority, the houses of private lords were like inns, where every one was welcome, particularly the bards, or Fileas, who were equally loved and feared, on account of their satirical genius, as they were lavish of praise or cutting satire, according to the good or bad reception they received.†

Among the Milesians, music formed part of a good education; every one was desirous of knowing how to sing or play on some instrument.‡ The office of music-master to the king, was among the number of those created in the third century, in the reign of Cormac-Ulfada.§ These appointments consisted of a gentleman companion, a druid, a judge, a doctor, a poet, historian, musician, and three stewards. Those who filled these offices always followed the court; the gentleman was companion to the king; the druid superintended the affairs of religion; the judge interpreted the laws, and decided all controversies among the people; the doctor watched over the king's health; the poet celebrated his great deeds; the historian

kept his history and genealogy; the musician amused him during his repasts, and in his hours of recreation; lastly, the stewards received the revenues of the crown and managed the affairs of the household. These officers continued till the eleventh century, in the reign of Brian Boromhe, except that in the time of Christianity, in the place of the druid, a bishop was substituted and was confessor to the king.

Giraldus Cambrensis bears the following testimony to the Irish music. This nation, says he, particularly excels and surpasses all others in musical instruments, on which they perform with precision and lightness, and draw even from discordance the most melodious harmony.* The harp was their most general instrument,† there was one in every house, either for their own use, or for those strange musicians who passed the way.

The city of Tilton, now a small village, in the county of Meath, was renowned not only for the games and military exercises which were celebrated there,‡ but also for the assembly which was held every year, relating to marriages.§ The fathers and mothers who had children of either sex to settle in life, repaired thither from the different parts of the kingdom. The young men and the females lodged in separate quarters, and the parents met and treated together in the public squares, and stipulated for the marriage of their children.

The care of nursing and bringing up children of rank among them, was confided to people of independence or wealthy farmers, whose wives suckled them, or in case of any obstacle, had them suckled by others under their own eye. The honour of nursing a child of rank, joined to the protection which they expected from them, was considered as ample recompense. They took more care of them than of their own children, and procured them every thing that could flatter their good or evil propensities. There were likewise landlords whose title depended on nursing one or more of the children of the lord from whom they held the land.

The descendants of Fiachó Suidhe, brother of the monarch Conn-Keadcahagh, from

* "I discover that this nation (i. e. Ireland), pays a laudable and industrious regard to their musical pursuits, and excel in this particular, every other people. Their movements in music are quick and sweet, their melody and concord are in complete harmony."—*Girald. Camb. hist. c. 19.*

† "They (i. e. the Irish), are devoted to music and the harp; they strike harmoniously the strings which are of brass, with their nails."—*Camd. p. 714.*

‡ Keating.

§ Ogyg. part. 3. p. 46.

* Grat. Luc. cap. 14, p. 130.

† Petr. Lomb. cap. 12, p. 111.

‡ Keating on the reign of Cormac-Ulfada.

§ Ogyg. part. 3. cap. 63.

whom the O'Fallans derive their origin, being lords of Deasia, a territory comprising almost the whole county of Waterford, undertook in the beginning of the third century, to nurse and educate Eithney-athach, daughter of Eana-Kinsealach, king of Leinster, hoping, as the druids had prognosticated, that the marriage of that princess with Aongus, son of Madfroach, king of Munster, would tend to aggrandize their fortune. The prediction of the druids came to pass accordingly; Aongus gave them an extensive territory to the north of the river Suir, extending from the side of Clonmel and Cashel, called "Deasia Tuasgirt," or northern Deasia.

The attachment of the young people for those who had nursed them, sufficiently marked their gratitude; they loaded them with favours, considered them as deserving implicit confidence, and often preferred them to their near relatives.* The nurses generally shared the love of their children with the mothers. They were received by them with tenderness and respect, and sat at the table, whatever company might be present. If these children had any cause of discontent in the paternal mansion, they sought refuge with their nurses, who received them with open arms; the latter often entered with too much facility into their ambitious views, and encouraged them sometimes to revolt, not only against their brothers, but also against their parents, which was often productive of troubles in families, and civil wars in the state.

The funeral ceremonies of the Milesians, savoured of the barbarism of the ancient times. When any person of distinction or a chief of their ancient families died, they prepared feasts, and kept open houses for all those who assisted at the funeral.* The wives of their vassals, who were much attached to them, or other women who were professed mourners of the dead,† like the "Præficæ," mentioned by Servius, came in crowds, and entering one after the other, with every appearance of despair, the hall where the corpse was exposed, they uttered loud cries and lamentations, reciting the genealogy, and singing in verse with a plaintive and melancholy voice, the virtues and exploits of the deceased, and those of his earliest ancestors. This kind of elegy, or rhyming funeral oration, being ended, they were brought into another hall where all kinds of

refreshments were prepared; these women, who relieved each other every hour, continued this ceremony as long as the corpse remained exposed. The day being appointed, and every thing ready for the interment, the body was carried to the place of burial, accompanied by the same women, making the air resound with their cries. This custom, however barbarous it may appear, not being in unison with the present taste, was not without a precedent. Among the Jews, those who followed a funeral, bewailed with a loud voice, as appears by the burial of Abner:‡ there were women who made it a profession to cry on those occasions; and hymns were composed to be used as funeral orations to illustrious persons, such as David composed for Saul, and that of the prophet Jeremiah for Joshua.† The ancient Romans also employed professed mourners at funerals, which is proved by its being prohibited in the laws of the twelve tables.‡

The ancients paid particular respect to the remains of their deceased relations and friends. The Greeks burned them to preserve their ashes in urns. The Hebrews buried the lower orders of the people, and embalmed persons of rank, to place them in sepulchres; they sometimes burned perfumes on the dead bodies. The Egyptians embalmed their dead, surrounding the body with drugs of a drying quality: they were then placed in sepulchres; they sometimes covered them with fine linen and dissolved gum, and preserved in that state in their houses.§ The Romans, Gauls, Germans, Britons, and people of the north, sometimes burned their dead, and sometimes buried them. Pomponius Mela asserts, that it was the custom among the druids, who were the priests and legislators of most of these nations.||

A number of caves or subterraneous vaults, (called by the Greeks, "hypogæ," by the Latins "Conditoria" or "requietoria") which have been discovered within a few centuries in Ireland, would make it appear that the Milesians anciently burned their dead. These caves were constructed of flat stones, sometimes of marble, some of which, raised perpendicularly, supported the others, which were placed horizontally over them, forming a kind of centre, without plaister or any other cement. The bodies were deposited in those vaults; after which they were covered with earth in the form of Pyramids,

* Grat. Luc. c. 11.

† Stanihurst, de rebus Hib. lib. 14. p. 47.

‡ Grat. Luc. c. 13, p. 122.

* Reg. 3, ver. 31, Jerem. 8, v. 17.

† 2 Reg. 1, v. 17.

‡ War, antiq. Hib. cap. 32.

§ War. antiq. Hib. cap. 32.

|| Geograph. lib. 3.

which were sometimes flattened on the top like a dutch cheese, and are called "moats" by the people of the country. Ware says, that some of this kind are still to be seen at Naas, in the county of Kildare, and at Clonard, in Meath; so that those vaults first constructed on the surface of the earth, were in course of time completely covered with it. Virgil and Lucan alluded to those pyramids in speaking of the heaps of earth, which were raised over the ashes of kings.*

The caves enclosed in those pyramids differed in size; some were six feet long, others but two. Entire skeletons, and urns filled with ashes, were sometimes found in them. In 1646, a sepulchre of black marble was found buried in a hill in the neighbourhood of Dublin; its length was fourteen feet two inches; and its breadth two feet one: this sepulchre contained a quantity of ashes and bones. Molyneux in his treatise on the "Danish mounts" describes a subterraneous vault which was discovered at New-Grange, in the county of Meath.† This vault, which was of an irregular form, was nineteen or twenty feet high, and ten in diameter. There were three caves or niches formed in the side of the vault, each about ten feet in length, five in breadth, and the same in depth. The great vault contained two skeletons, which were found lying on the ground. The entrance was through a small hole, in a kind of gallery or conduit, eighty feet long, three feet wide, and unequal in height, as far as the opening of the vault, where it was ten feet high. The whole, that is, the vault, cave, and gallery, was built of large stones, covered over with earth in the form of a hill. Many others, of the same description, have been discovered in Ireland within the last century. Caves of different sizes have been found, some six feet in length, others but two. The former were intended as a burial place for those bodies that had not passed through the fire; the latter to contain the ashes of such as had been burned. These monuments were only built for people of rank, as much to perpetuate their names, as to distinguish them from the lower classes, who were buried under heaps of earth and gravel. But these customs were abolished some time before the birth of our Saviour, by Eocha X.,‡ surnamed Airive, who estab-

lished the use of graves, as more convenient, and more conformable to the respect due to the dead, which custom has been since followed.*

CHAPTER V.

OF THE CIVIL AND POLITICAL GOVERNMENT OF THE MILESIAINS.

HEBER and Heremon, brothers, and children of Milesius, king of Galicia, having conquered the Tuatha de Danains, reigned together in Ireland for the space of one year, but some differences having arisen between them, Heber was killed at the battle of Geisiol, in that part of the country at present called the King's county, and left his brother sole master of the island,† who established a monarchical government, which lasted, with scarcely any interruption, till the arrival of the English in the twelfth century, that is, about 2200 years.

The government, however, experienced some change under Eocha IX., surnamed "Felioch," or the "melancholy."‡ This monarch was the first who established the pentarchy, and erected the provinces of Ireland into kingdoms,§ the investiture of which he conferred on the chiefs of the tribes, who were at that time in possession of them, on condition of paying an annual tribute.|| In his time the Irians, descendants of Ir, were still in possession of Ulster.¶ The Heberians, descendants of Heber, and the Dergtines, of the race of Lugadh, son of Ith, were possessed of the two Munsters, which they governed alternately; but their possession had been disturbed some time before the reign of that monarch, by the establishment of the Deagades of Lough Earn, of the race of Heremon. Leinster was under the dominion of the Heremonians, descendants of Laogare Lorc, son of Ugane More; and Connaught belonged to the Firdomnians, of the race of the Firbolgs who were divided into three branches, the chiefs of which were at that time, Fidhac, Eocha Allat, and Tinne.** In whatever light this government of the Milesians is considered, it cannot be

* "There was the tomb of king Dercennus built, beneath a high mountain, with a mound of earth; it was covered by an old laurel and a shading oak."
—Virgil, *Æneid*, b. 11.

† "And let the ashes of kings repose beneath a raised mound of earth."

‡ Page 197.

§ Keating on the reign of Eocha Airive.

* Grat. Luc. page 8, p. 65.

† A. M. 2992.

‡ Keating on the reign of Eocha Felioch.

§ A. M. 3989.

|| Ogyg. part 3, cap. 40.

¶ Grat. Luc. cap. 8.

** Idem.

called a pentarchy as Cambrensis has it. From the time of Heremon till the reign of Eocha IX., a thousand years, this people were governed sometimes by one king, and sometimes, but seldom, by two together, after the manner of Sparta. From Eocha IX., till the twelfth century, the provincial kings had, to a certain degree, divided the government of the island between them: but their subordination to, and dependance on the monarch, completely excluded the idea of a pentarchy, which implies, amongst the princes composing it, an equality and independence of one another, as was the case with the Saxon princes, in the time of the English heptarchy.

This division of the supreme power by Eocha, contrary to all rules of good policy, by increasing the discord which had always reigned among the Milesians, weakened considerably the sovereign power, so necessary to keep the people in subjection. The link of the general welfare being broken, the interests of the chiefs, who ruled in the several kingdoms were separated, so that they often took up arms one against the other, and sometimes against their general-in-chief.

Cambrensis, with his usual confidence, asserts, that it was a custom with the kings of Ireland, to take possession of the government of the whole island, by force of arms, without the solemnity of coronation, or any right, either by inheritance or succession. However, we may judge of the belief which should be attached to this author, and all those who have imitated him, by the character I have drawn of him in the preliminary discourse on this subject. Harris reproaches Ware, whose works he translated, of having given but a very imperfect idea of the ancient government of Ireland, and of having too closely copied the calumnies of Cambrensis, without sufficiently fathoming the truth.*

The crown was neither absolutely hereditary nor purely elective among the Milesians. The son did not always succeed to his father's throne, and the younger often reigned to the prejudice of the elder; in case of the children being minors, the brother, uncle, or cousin of the deceased king was called to the throne, or the nearest relative capable of governing alone, and commanding the armies.† The same laws which excluded minors, excluded also from the throne all those who were not descended from one of

the three sons of Milesius, Heber, Heremon, or Ir. A successor was appointed to the crown during the monarch's lifetime, as the king of the Romans was elected in the empire; this heir, who was his son, brother, uncle, or his nearest relation capable of governing, was called "Tainiste," from the name of the ring finger; and, as this finger by its place and length, is next to the middle one, so that prince was next to the monarch in rank, dignity, and power. It is from thence Davis and Ware give the name of "Tanistry," to the law concerning the succession of the crown in Ireland.*

The candidate was obliged to prove his origin by the registries of his family, and the psalter of Tara; which induced the Milesians to preserve the genealogies of their families, with as much care and precision as the Hebrews. The family of Ith, uncle of Milesius, was not absolutely excluded from the crown, as we find the names of three of them in the list of the Irish kings. Besides his birth, the candidate should be a knight of the golden chain, called in their language, "niadh-niask," as we should say "Eques Torquatus," from a chain of gold which was worn on the neck.‡ This order was instituted by king Munemon, and was the only title of honour used by the Milesians after that of king.‡ The pompous titles of duke, marquis, earl, and baron, introduced within the last few centuries, to flatter the ambition of men, and often conferred on people whose only merit consisted in being the favourites of princes, were unknown to them, as well as to the Greeks, Romans, and other nations of antiquity.

Notwithstanding the wise precautions adopted by the Milesians in the election of their kings, those candidates who thought themselves unjustly excluded, roused by the ambition of reigning, and supported by the factions of their vassals, (not, however, without any right to the succession, as Cambrensis asserts,) often, at the expense of the public peace, decided by their arms, what was, in their opinion, unjust in the choice of the electors.§

We do not discover in the ancient monuments of the Milesians any vestiges of the ceremonies used before Christianity, at the coronation of their monarchs, whether it be, that the registries and acts in which these ceremonies should be noted, have been lost, or fallen into the hands of those who wish

* Harris, vol. 2. cap. 10.

† Petr. Lomb. comment. de Hibern. cap. 3. page 45 et 46.

* Ogyg. part 1, page 57 et 58.

‡ A. M. 3271.

‡ B. C. 729.

§ Ogyg. part 1, p. 58.

we should be ignorant of them : however, as their historians have preserved some particulars of the inauguration of the provincial kings, it is probable there were still more august ceremonies for the coronation of their monarchs.

It cannot be denied that crowns were used by the Milesians, of which frequent mention is made in their annals : we discover in them that the *Asion*, that is, the crown of the queen of Cahire-More, was stolen at the assembly of Tara ;* that Donogh O'Brien, king of Munster, and partly of Ireland,† had taken the crown of his ancestors with him, when he made a voyage to Rome. Ward, a respectable antiquarian, says, that the Irish kings appeared in all solemnities, even at battle, with the crown on their heads.‡ This mark of distinction was fatal, according to Marianus Scotus, to the monarch Brian Boroinhe, at the famous battle of Clontarf, where he was recognised and killed by some Danes that were flying.§ According to Hector Boetius, the kings of Scotland, from Fergus I. to Achaius, who died in 819, wore a crown of plain gold, in the form of a pallisade or rampart, "*Militaris valli forma.*"|| There can be no doubt of their having borrowed this ensign of royalty from their ancestors the Milesians, as they were descended from them.¶ The following fact leaves no doubt on this subject. In 1692, a crown of gold, in the form of a cap, was found ten feet deep in the earth, by some labourers, who were cutting turf in a bog at Barnanely, otherwise, "the devil's bit," in the county of Tipperary, in Ireland. This crown, which weighs five ounces of gold, is tolerably well wrought ; it resembles the crowns of the emperors of the East, composed of a helmet and diadem, according to the description Seldon gives of it.** It has neither cross, nor any other mark of Christianity, which gives rise to a belief that it was made in the time of paganism. This curious piece of antiquity was sold to Joseph Comerford, and by him preserved in the castle of Anglure, in Champaign, which estate he purchased.

It does not appear that the anointing, which now constitutes part of the coronation ceremony of the European princes, had been in use among the Milesians.†† This custom,

the first examples of which we discover among the Hebrews, did not exist, according to Onuphrius Panvinius, among the emperors of the east before the time of Justinian or of Justin, his son, about the year 565.* It was introduced, according to that author, into the west, by Charlemagne, in 800 : however, we discover in history, that Pepin, his father, had been consecrated and anointed king of the Franks, by Boniface, Archbishop of Mayence, in virtue of the power granted him for this purpose by Pope Stephen II.

In the first ages of this rising monarchy, that is, till the reign of Ollave Fola, the Milesians, like many other people in those ancient times, followed the laws dictated by nature.* Their government was not yet founded on fixed laws, or their laws were too general to embrace private cases that might arise between the king and his subjects, or between the subjects themselves.† The Greeks and Romans laboured for a considerable time under the same inconveniences, for the Athenians formed a nation long before the time of Dracon and Solon, their first legislators, and the Roman people had existed three hundred years, before they received from the Athenians the laws of the Twelve Tables.

During this interval, the Milesians laboured with emulation, princes as well as the people in cutting down the forests with which the island was covered, in cultivating the land and preparing it for tillage and pasture, in order to derive from it every thing necessary for their subsistence.

Ollave Fola directed his thoughts to objects more elevated and more worthy of a king, convinced that it would in some manner be degrading to mankind, to think only of sustaining life.§ He knew that men born for society had need of laws to regulate their morals, and to exercise distributive justice. He conceived the design of accomplishing it, and after having collected, and reduced to the form of a history, all the monuments of his ancestors, down to his own time, as Eithrial, one of his predecessors, had done before him, he convened a triennial and general assembly of all the states, in form of a parliament, at Tara, in Meath, which afterwards became the usual residence of the monarchs.||

This assembly was called in their lan-

* Ogyg. p. 46.

† Idem. p. 47.

‡ Vit. Rumoldi, p. 170.

§ In the year 1014.

|| Lib. 2, et 10.

¶ Keat. preface.

** Tit. Hon. part 1, chap. 8.

†† Ogyg. part 1, page 47.

* De Comitibus Imperatoris, cap. 2.

† A. M. 3320. B. C. 680.

‡ Ogyg. part 3, cap. 30.

§ Lecan, after Feirchirtne, an antiquarian, who lived more than 100 years before Jesus Christ.

|| Keat. on the reign of Ollave Fola.

guage *Feis-Teamrach*, signifying the assembly of the nobility, druids, historians, and other learned men. It was held in a great hall in the palace of Tara, at the time answering to our months of October and November. The most perfect order was preserved, every one taking his place according to his dignity. It was on this occasion, the king ordered coats of arms to the chief of each family, according to his rank, to distinguish them one from the other, and to serve as a rule for the master of the ceremonies, whose office was to mark the rank of each member in the assembly; which he performed by hanging the buckler and coat of arms of each person on the wall opposite to the place intended for him. It must be observed that until then, the different families, composing the colony of the Milesians, had no arms peculiar to them; they had only a banner bearing as an escutcheon, a dead serpent and a wand, in memory of the cure of Gaodhal, their ancestor, which served as an ensign to the whole colony.† The Gadelians had borrowed this custom from the Israelites, whose different tribes carried different banners, to avoid confusion in their march in the desert, as our regiments march under their respective colours.

In the first session of the assembly at Tara, it was established as a fundamental law of the state, that every three years the king, nobility, and principal men in the kingdom should, under certain penalties, repair in person, or in case of sickness or any other obstacle, send deputies to Tara at the time appointed, to deliberate on the necessities of the state, to establish laws, and confirm or change the old ones, as the general welfare might require. The princes and other lords were then confirmed in the possession of those lands and lordships, which they had received in the division made by Heber and Heremon, after the conquest of the island over the Tuatha de Danains. It was afterwards decreed by the assembly, that each lord should maintain at his own expense, a judge and historian, to whom he should assign a portion of land sufficient for the maintenance of their family, so that being free from all domestic embarrassments, they might devote their time exclusively to their employment. It was the duty of the judge called in Irish "*Brehon*," to watch over the observance of the laws in his lord's possessions, and to administer justice; in some cases an appeal against his decisions was

referred to the triennial assembly. The historians office was to preserve in writing, their genealogies, alliances, and noble actions; and to present every three years, to the general assembly, the annals and anecdotes of his patron, to undergo the criticism of a committee of nine, viz., three princes, three druids, and three historians. Those acts thus examined, and corrected, if necessary, were registered in the great book generally called the *Psalter of Teamor or Tara*; a formality absolutely necessary to give them validity. To obviate also prevarication, and prevent the errors which might afterwards be introduced into those annals, through bribery or seduction on the part of the lords; through flattery or a hope of reward, on that of the antiquarians, the delinquents were subjected to heavy penalties: so that if one of them were convicted of evasion, either by concealing or adding any fact or circumstance contrary to the truth, he was punished in proportion to his crime; sometimes by the confiscation of his property, the loss of his place, or a shameful expulsion from the assembly, and sometimes by death; so that the fear of those penalties was an effectual curb, which rendered them vigilant and attentive in the discharge of their duties. This custom of examining the annals of private families, and enrolling them in the *Psalter of Tara*, lasted without interruption till the twelfth century of Christianity, and without any change, except, that when the pagan priesthood was abolished by the preaching of the gospel in the fifth century. the three druids were replaced by three bishops to examine these memoirs, with the three princes and three chronologists; so that Saint Patrick, the apostle of Ireland, having assisted as judge, with other bishops, at one of those assemblies, he had all the ancient books of the Milesians brought before him, and having examined them, he approved of the *Psalter of Tara*, with several other histories, written long before his time, and burned 180 volumes filled with the superstitions of the pagan and idolatrous religion, which the Milesians had till then professed; a proof that they knew the use of letters before the time of that apostle.* This custom of keeping public registries to preserve their history; was not confined to the Milesians: it was common to the Chaldeans and Egyptians. There were learned men in those countries, who wrote and preserved in their archives, every event. Joseph, in his first book against Appion, assigns it as the cause

* Keat. on the reign of Ollave Fola.

† The annals of Leath-Cuin.

* Ogyg. part 3, cap. 30, page 219.

of the antiquities of the Chaldeans and Egyptians having been so well preserved, whilst, from a contrary cause, few vestiges of antiquity remain amongst the Greeks.

The book or registry of Tara is called, in the Irish language, "Psaltuir Teavair," that is, the Psalter of Teamor or Tara, being written in verse, or a kind of rhyming prose, like the ancient Arabs, who wrote their histories in verse. Measured words are always the most easily retained, which reason induced the Hebrews to compose hymns on all considerable events, such as the hymns of Moses, of Deborah, of the mother of Samuel, and the Psalms of David.* Since the time of Christianity, several copies of them were taken by public authority, and deposited in different cathedral churches in the kingdom, under care of the bishops, both for the convenience of those who might want to consult them, and in case any accidents might arise either from fire or war. Those copies were also called Psalters, after the original, as the Psalter of Ardmagh, and the Psalter of Cluan-Mac-Noisk, of which some copies are still extant.

Besides the public offices, created in the assembly of Tara, every lord had a physician, poet and musician, to each of whom he assigned a certain portion of land. These lands, as well as those of the judges and historians, were considered sacred and exempt from all taxes and impositions, even in time of war, like those of the pagan priests in Egypt. These offices and the lands belonging to them, were confined to certain families. We see an example of the same custom in the fourth chapter of Genesis. And none were allowed to study medicine among the Greeks, but those belonging to the family of Esculapius. Nevertheless, to excite emulation, they were conferred on merit, without regard to the degree of relationship, in order that each member of the same family should endeavour to perfect himself in his profession; a convincing proof of the taste of the Milesians for the arts and sciences, even in those barbarous times.† In fine, wise laws were enacted in this assembly, to maintain the public peace, and to preserve to the subjects the secure possession of their properties and liberty. All violence against members of the assembly during the sessions, was prohibited under pain of death; the same sentence was pronounced against those guilty of robbery, murder, rape, and other similar crimes, without the monarch

having the power of pardoning the guilty, as he had given up in favour of justice, this portion of the royal prerogative. Copies of this were then distributed by order of the assembly amongst all the private judges in the kingdom, to serve as rules in the administration of justice.

Such was then the civil and political government, early formed among the Milesians, founded on laws dictated by Ollave Fola, the Solon of his time. Carthage and Rome, two celebrated rival cities, were, at that time but coming into existence. Sparta and Athens had scarcely seen the splendid days of Lycurgus and of Solon. It was undoubtedly, this antiquity which made Plutarch give the name of "Ogygia" to Ireland.

Ollave Fola having arranged by those wise regulations, every thing concerning the government of the state turned his thoughts to the arts and sciences. The Milesians had already some slight knowledge of them, which they had acquired in Egypt, where the Gadelians, their ancestors had sojourned for some time. During the voyage which Milesius afterwards made into Egypt, where he remained for seven years, he had twelve young men of his suite instructed in all the sciences of the Egyptians, and who afterwards served as masters to such of the colony as he had left in Spain. But these first impressions were soon lost; the Milesians, occupied during the first centuries in cultivating their lands and new inheritance, neglected the arts and sciences. This wise monarch wishing to remedy that neglect, founded schools of philosophy, astronomy, poetry, medicine, history, &c., at Teamor. Those schools, called in their language, Mur-Ollavan, "the houses of the learned," were protected by the monarchs his successors, particularly by Cornac-Ulfada, who had their foundations enlarged.

Tuathal-Teachtmair,* having ascended the throne which his father had lost together with his life, in a revolt of the lower orders,† convoked the assembly of Teamor, as his ancestors were accustomed to do, on their accession to the throne:‡ and having received the faith and homage of his subjects, he convened two other assemblies, one at Eamhain, in Ulster, and the other at Cru-achan, in Connaught.§ In these assemblies the decree of Ollave Fola was renewed, for the continuance of the triennial assembly at Tara, with the investigation and registering

* Exod. 15, Deut. 32, Jud. 5, 1 Reg. 2.

† Grat. Luc. cap. 3.

* In the year of our Lord 95.

† Keating on the reign of Tuathal-Teachtmair.

‡ Grat. Luc. cap. 8, p. 68.

§ Ogyg. part 3, cap. 56.

the annals, which had been interrupted by the usurpation of the lower ranks of the people. A celebrated regulation was instituted for mechanics. They appointed sixty of each trade in every district in the island, to inspect and govern the others.* No one was allowed to work at any trade without having been approved of by these commissioners, who were called in the language of the country, "Jollanuidh," which signifies, expert in their art or profession. Such was the first plan or origin of the bodies of trades and mechanics in Ireland.

About the time of our Saviour, the learned in the jurisprudence of the country, began to make collections of the laws, and to commit them to writing, several of which are mentioned by their historians.† In the time

* Grat. Luc. cap 12, p. 113.

† "In the reign of Conchovar, king of Ulster, there were two poets of great celebrity, Forchernus, son of Deagas (from whom the Deagadae of Munster were descended), and Nediis, son of Adnaus, and grandson of Uthirus, composed a dialogue on the laws. The same Forchernus committed to writing, at the palace of Emania, in Ulster, rules on poetry and various kinds of verse. This book called Uriaceacath-na-Negio, which signifies precepts for poets, Kenfoela, the son of Olilius, in the reign of Donald, king of Ireland, revised, after several centuries. The same Forchernus, also Nediis, and likewise Athneus, chief poet of King Conchovar, inserted among authors, who have written axioms on the laws which are termed 'Coelestia Judicia,' as among the Greeks, the 'sayings of wise men.' Morannus, son of Carbreus, king of Ireland, and supreme judge under Feradachus, king also of Ireland, produced likewise "coelestia judicia." Cormac, king of Ireland, (whose studies on the law, and those of the son of Carbreus, in the reign of his successor, are still extant). Fithelus, judge of King Cormac, and Finnus, son of Coballus, general and son-in-law of the same Cormac. Amongst other authors of 'celestial axioms,' are numbered Factnaus, son of Senchaus, grandson of Coelclinius; Serchaus, son of Olilius; Nereus, son of Fincollaus; Bognius Rosgadbach, poet, son of Hugonius, king of Ireland; Manius Nilnessius, poet; and Ethna, daughter of Armalgadius.

"Similar 'judicia' also the Christian kings, Dubthacus O'Lugair, who had been, on the arrival of St. Patrick, a heathen, practised. Of him Jocelin makes mention, c. 45; and Sanchanus, Torpestius, in the time of Guarius, king of Connaught. Kenfoela, son of Olilius, of whom we made mention above, composed together a work from the writings of the ancients, entitled 'Coelestia Judicia.' These were three brothers of O'Burcehanus, i.e. Feranannus, bishop; Boethgalus, judge; and Maltulius, poet, when Cathaldus, of Finginius, was king of Munster.

"A little before Conchovar, when Fergusius, son of Ledeus, was president of Ulster, Seannus, son of Agius, flourished as a writer; he composed Fonn Seanchuisimhoir." The 'Coelestia Judicia' of

of Conquovar, king of Ulster, who began to reign some years before the Christian era, Forchern and Neid-Mac-Aidnha, two celebrated poets, composed a dialogue on the laws.* The same, with Athirne, chief poet of Conquovar, were the authors of the axioms of the laws, called "judicia Coelestia," as the axioms of the sages of Greece were called "Dicta Sapientium."† Fearadach the monarch, and Moran his judge, were celebrated for their justice, and their writings on the laws.‡ Modain-Mac-Tolbain, judge under Constantine, surnamed Keadcaha, made a collection of laws, called "Meillbreatha."§ Fiothall, or Fithic Fiorgothia, one of the legislators at Tara, under Cormac, surnamed Ulfada, has left a treatise upon laws entitled Fiondsuith. King Cormac and Cairbre his son, made a code of laws, called "Dula," which was divided into three parts, which contained regulations on various matters.||

All those works on law, with many others of the same nature were collected in the eight century, and formed into one body of laws, by three brothers, Faranan, Boethgal, and Moetul, the first of whom was a bishop, the second a judge, and the third a poet and antiquarian. This collection was called "Brathaneimhadh," signifying sacred judgments. The matter it contained is briefly explained in the following Irish lines:—

Eaghluis, fiatha Agus filidh
Breitheamb Dhios gacbdlioh,
Na bruih fo aidh dar linn,
Na saor agus na gabhan.

which are thus translated into Latin by Gratianus Lucius:¶

"Quid sit jus Cleri, Satrapæ, vatisque, fabrique,
Nec non agricolæ, liber iste docebit abunde."

Eugenius, son of Darthactus, have been celebrated. Those of Achau, son of Luctaus, king of Munster; those also of Carithniathus and Nemthenius, were nearly equal to Conchovar. Feradachus, king of Hibernia, under whom Monannus flourished. He was celebrated for his writings; Modanus, son of Sulbanus, in the time of Quintus Centimachus, king of Ireland, composed a book of laws. I shall pass over Conlaus, a celebrated judge of Connaught, who contended with the Druids in his writings; also Senchaus, son of Coelclinius, father of Factnaus, whom we mentioned above; and Kinethus O'Commid, and other pagans, whose names and epochs there is not at present an opportunity of introducing."—Ogg. part 3. c. 30, pp. 217, 218.

* Ogg. part. 3. c. 30.

† In the year of Christ 70.

‡ Grat. Luc. c. 20. p. 175.

§ Anno 148.

|| Anno 234. Ogg. part 3, cap. 69.

¶ Grat. Luc. cap. 20. page 157.

Gratianus Lucius mentions his having seen several large volumes on Irish laws, written in large characters on parchment. In the space between the lines, there were words written in small characters to explain what-ever might be obscure in the text, with commentaries on the margin, like the books of civil and canon laws.*

CHAPTER VI.

THE WARS OF THE MILESIAHS.

WAR was the ruling passion of this people. We see by their histories, that, for the most trifling cause, they declared war and fought the most bloody battles. They were scarcely in possession of their new conquest, when the two brothers, chiefs of the colony, declared war against each other, which ended in the death of one of them; and it may be said, that of the great number of kings who governed them for more than two thousand years, more than two-thirds of them perished on the field of battle. According to the custom of ancient times, the crown of the vanquished was the prize of the victor, which was a proof of their martial and warlike genius, and also of a spirit of discord, which was finally the cause of the destruction of their monarchy, and the loss of their liberty.

The same disorders prevailed in all times and in all countries, particularly where the crown was elective. Not to speak of the empires of Babylon, of the Egyptians, the Medes and the Persians, Rome, that eternal city, was founded in blood; that empire, in other respects so polished, was at one time torn by the factions of the Triumvirs, and at others by those of Cæsar and Pompey, of Octavius and Anthony. If, among the Milesians, he who imbrued his hands in the blood of his king succeeded to the throne, the same thing is discoverable among the Assyrians, and the kings of Israel. We see also in Rome, that Otho having killed Galba, succeeded him in the government, and Vitellius succeeded Otho, the former of whom fell by the hands of Vespasian.

In more recent ages, we discover many

similar examples in the neighbouring countries. In Germany, Rodolphus, Albert, Henry VII., Frederick III., Louis of Bavaria, Charles, nephew of Henry, and Gonther, all perished either by conspiracy or poison.* Italy was long torn by the factions of the Guelphs and Gibelins. In Spain, Alphonso III., and Alphonso IV., deprived their own brothers of their eye-sight. Peter, the legitimate son of Alphonso XI., was deposed and assassinated by Henry his natural brother; Garzias was massacred by Sanctius, and Sanctius by Vellidus; finally, all Spain, under Roderick, saw herself betrayed and given up to the Moors, by Count Julian, a Spaniard, whom Bodin calls prince of Celtiberia: which treachery, in the space of fourteen months, caused the blood of seven hundred thousand Spaniards to flow. During the heptarchy in England, twenty-eight Saxon kings were murdered, the most of them one by the other, not to mention those who were deposed. In the kingdom of Northumberland alone, four kings were assassinated, and three deposed, within the space of forty-one years; so that this people remained without a king for thirty years, no one daring to assume the title or the reins of government.† What dreadful cruelties and evils were committed in the wars of the barons, under the kings John, Henry III., and Edward II.; the last of whom was deposed, and then assassinated, by order of his own wife and son. The wars between the houses of York and Lancaster were not less fatal. The assassination of Richard II., and of Henry VI., with several thousand men killed on both sides, were the fruits of these unhappy broils. It would be endless to relate all the atrocities and cruelties of which that people afford an example. If, as is but too certain, so many awful excesses have been committed in England, in times so recent, not to add the catastrophes of a similar kind which occurred in other countries, it should not appear astonishing that Ireland underwent certain revolutions, the dreadful effects of which were but partially felt; it would therefore be very unjust to impute to the people of Ireland alone, tragical events, of which so many other nations have afforded such dreadful examples.

From the time of Heremon,‡ the first absolute monarch of the Milesian race, Ireland was governed by kings descended from one of the three sons of Milesius,§ Heber, Here-

* "I myself have seen many thick volumes of Irish laws, written on parchment, and among them the text written in large characters, having the lines moderately separated, for the more easy interpretation of the words compressed in smaller letters. We see more copious comments introduced in the page, having the text the same as in books of laws."—*Gratianus Lucius*, c. 20.

* Bodin. *Meth. hist.* p. 450.

† Math. Westmonas, lib. 1. cap. 3.

‡ A. M. 2996.

§ B. C. 1008.

mon, and Ir, and sometimes from Ith, son of Breogan, uncle of Milesius, for about seven hundred years, till the construction of the palace at Eamhuin, in Latin "Emania," in the province of Ulster, by Kimboth, the monarch, and until the age of Ugane More, who reigned a short time after.*

The most celebrated princes that reigned in Ireland during this interval of time, were, Tighernmas, who, according to the book of Lecan, was the first who introduced idolatry into the island: he also discovered gold and silver mines in this country, and established the difference of rank by the number of colours worn in the clothes.† By this decree, the learned men held a distinguished rank, being next to that of king.

Eocha II. led some troops into Albania, and forced the Picts to renew their alliance, and pay the tribute stipulated for by their ancestors with Heremon.

Aongus or Eneas, surnamed Oll-Muccagh and Oll-Buagagh, on account of the success of his arms against his enemies, undertook an expedition into Albania for the same purpose. He won thirty battles over the Picts and Orcadians, who, notwithstanding the alliance concluded with Heremon, wished to shake off the yoke, and free themselves from the tribute they were obliged to pay to the kings of Ireland; on his return, he defeated his rebellious subjects in four different encounters, and was at last killed at the battle of Sliave-Cua, in Munster.

Enna I., surnamed "Airgeah," which signifies rich or wealthy, had cuirasses, or bucklers of silver forged at Airgiodross, which he distributed among the great men of the kingdom, and those officers who had distinguished themselves in battle.

Munemon, the monarch, to excite emulation among his subjects, instituted the military order of the Golden Chain. This order was the only title of honour known among the Milesians, after that of king. The knights of this order, like the Roman knights, wore chains of gold on their necks. They were called Niadh-Niask, in Latin "Eques-Torquatus." To be received into this order the candidate was obliged, beside the proofs of his nobility, to give some, also, of his skill. A buckler was tied to a post in the middle of a plain: he was more or less honoured, according to the number of lances he broke on the buckler in running, and admitted into the order, or rejected if the number was not sufficient. Frossart mentions the same

ceremony to have been observed at the reception of the sons of the king; and as they were sometimes admitted at a very tender age, the size of the lance was in proportion to their strength.* This order became illustrious among them, as none but members of the royal family could aspire to it. Aldergode, son and successor of Munemon, ordered rings of gold to those who excelled in the arts and sciences.

Ollave-Fola, who reigned as monarch about seven centuries before the Christian era, A. M. 3324, B. C. 680, was the father of letters; he convoked a general and triennial assembly of the states at Teamor or Tara, in Meath. This assembly was celebrated for the wise laws enacted there for the administration of justice, and the general government of the state. This may be termed the epoch and beginning of a polished and steady government, founded on laws, among the Scoto-Milesians. This monarch loved the sciences, and protected the learned; he founded a college at Tara, in which he established antiquarians and professors for the instruction of youth. To this prince was given the name of Ollave Fola, which signifies the doctor of Ireland; "Ollave," meaning learned, and Fola being one of the ancient names of this island; the college was called Mur-Ollavan; "Murus su habitaculum doctorum," the asylum of the learned.

Rotheact II. was the first who invented chariots, to hide the deformity of his legs; as Virgil speaks of Erichonius, fourth king of Athens, although the poet does not express the motive.

Seadna II., who was succeeded by Simeon Breac, established the payment of the troops.

Enna II. had money coined at Airgiodross.

The reigns of Conang, surnamed Bog-Aglach, signifying the fearless, and Duach II., surnamed Laighrach, are celebrated in the annals of the Scoto-Milesians, A. M. 3753, B. C. 431. The former was renowned for his bravery, justice, and the moderation of his government, which gained him the love and affection of his people; the latter for his promptitude in the administration of justice, and in punishing the guilty; so that those princes carried the government to great perfection.

The relation which exists between war and those who are the actors in it, requires mention to be made of the militia, and arms

* Gratianus Lucius, chap. 13, p. 124.

† Erichonius was the first who ventured to join the chariot to the steed, and victoriously display himself on the rapid wheel."—*Virg. Geor.* b. 3.

* Ogyg. part 2, page 86.

† Fol. 290. page 2. col. 2.

of the Milesians, before I speak of their wars. Keating attributes to Sedna II., monarch of Ireland more than four hundred years before Jesus Christ, the formation of a corps of militia, which was always ready to defend the country against foreign invasion, and to preserve peace and tranquillity at home. The same prince provided for their subsistence by allowing them pay; he afterwards regulated their discipline.* This militia was composed in time of peace, of three legions, and each legion of three thousand men; but in time of war the numbers were increased in proportion as the public welfare required it.† Each legion had a commander, equal nearly in rank to our colonel: each of whom had captains, lieutenants, and other subaltern officers under him, and the three legions were commanded by one general. This cohort was in garrison during the winter, visited the coasts in summer, and maintained the public peace. To be received into it, the candidate should be of an honest family, irreproachable in his morals, and his parents were obliged to be responsible for his conduct; he should be of a certain height, strong, robust, supple in body, and ready to die rather than fly before the enemy. In order to prove his courage, he was placed in a plain, armed with a buckler and scimitar, and at the distance of ten paces were nine men, who all darted their javelins against him at the same time; if he had the skill to ward off the blows with his arms, he was reputed worthy of being received into the corps: but if he had the misfortune to let himself be wounded, he was excluded for ever.

This militia was kept up for a long time, and was called in the first ages of Christianity Fionna Erionn, from Fionn-Mac-Cumhal a descendant of Nuagha-Neaght, king of Leinster, who had the command of it. The romances of the ancient bards concerning this militia, have afforded to some late writers an opportunity of giving of it extravagant and absurd accounts, by ascribing to those who composed it, a gigantic stature of fifteen cubits, whilst they were but ordinary men, distinguished indeed from others, by their acknowledged bravery, and an inviolable attachment to the service of the state. Romances and fables have been composed at all times and in all countries, to amuse the credulous and the ignorant. An author who introduces them into a serious history, is only casting ridicule

upon the nation, the history of which he is writing, and thus diminishes the authority of his most authentic monuments. Ware mentions, that there had been amongst the Milesians, two kinds of foot soldiers, differently armed; * the first was called the Galloglasses, they wore helmets and coats of mail which covered their bodies: † their arms were the pike, sabre, and axe, like the ancient Gauls, of whom Marcellin speaks. ‡ The others, called Kearns, were light armed troops, with javelins, lances or cutlasses, called in Irish, "Skeynes," and slings for throwing stones, which they used with astonishing skill. They had also some cavalry; they used no saddles, like the ancient Gauls, Romans, and Nupaidians, whose cavalry was formerly so much esteemed. Their arms were lances and arrows. They had foot soldiers in their suite called Daltines, who were armed with darts, and whose duty it was to mind the horses of the cavalry. There was also light cavalry, called by Ware, "Hobellarii" or light horse. § They used chariots, not only in travelling, but also in war, of which their history gives many instances. || Thadeus, the ally of Cormac Ulfada, and who assisted to place him on the throne, was seated in a chariot at the battle of Crionn-Chincomar: he received as much land as he could drive over in his chariot in one day as a reward for his services. In the sixth century Diarmod the monarch, wishing to take revenge on the family of Saint Columb, for the threats and freedom of manner in which that saint had spoken to him, assembled a considerable army, composed of chariots, cavalry, and infantry. ¶ "Collecto grandi exercitu in curribus, et equitibus, et pedestribus," &c.

The arms of the Milesians were made of brass, like those of the ancient Greeks. ** They took particular pride, says Solinus, in the neatness of them: the handles of their swords were made of the teeth of marine animals, which they rendered as white as ivory. †† Their bucklers of ozier, their bows and small arrows, showed their connection with the Scythians from whom they had derived their origin. Like them they used

* Ogyg. part 3, cap. 33.

† Walsh, prosp. of Ireland, sect 2, p. 51.

• Antiq. Hibern. cap. 12.

† Camd. Brit. edit. Lond. page 718.

‡ Staniburst de rebus. Hib. lib. 1, p. 40 et 41.

§ Antiq. Hibern. cap. 7.

|| Id. cap. 12.

¶ Usser. primord. Eccl. page 902.

** Grat. Luc. c. 13, page 113 et 114.

†† "Those who study neatness, inlent the hafts of their swords with the teeth of marine animals, for they approach to the whiteness of ivory; men glory in the use of arms."—Solinus, c. 24.

a martial cry, which was, *farah, farah*, as we should say, take care. Those kinds of cries were used by the Greeks and Romans; the former, according to Plutarch and Suidas, used the word *eleleu*: Marcellinus tells us, that "*Barritus*" was the cry of the Roman soldiers going to battle. The god Pan, it is said, was the author of this military cry, which, having caused the precipitate flight of the enemy in the middle of the night in the expedition of Bacchus into India, gave rise to the saying of *panic terror*.* Instead of drums and cymbals, the Milesians, like the Lacedemonians, made use of the flute and pipe in their armies.†

As the Picts were the first enemies whom the Scoto-Milesians had to encounter, it is necessary first to investigate their origin and establishment in the north of Britain. Keating, O'Flaherty, and most Irish authors, after the Psalter of Cashel, fix the arrival of the Picts in Ireland, and their passage into the north of Britain, in the reign of Heremon.‡ We find the following narrative concerning that people, in the ecclesiastical history of the venerable Bede.

"The Britons, having taken possession of the greater part of that island, (Britain) the Picts, who came originally, it is said, from Scythia, had embarked in long vessels on the ocean, and having been driven by the winds beyond the coasts of Britain, found themselves on those of Ireland. Having landed in the northern part, they asked permission of the Scots to settle among them; which was refused—the Scots saying, it was impracticable, the island being too small to contain both; however, said they, take this salutary advice which we give you; not far hence is an island lying to the east, which we can discover in fine weather; go and settle there, if any one oppose you, you may rely on succour from us. Thereupon the Picts sailed towards Britain, and began to inhabit the northern parts, the Britons being in possession of the south. The Picts having no women, determined to ask some from the Scots, who consented to grant their request on condition, that in case any doubt should arise, to which of the descendants, male or female, of the royal family, the crown should belong, he who established a claim by the female line should be preferred. This condition was accepted by the Picts, which custom still prevails among them."§

* Ogy. part 3, page 47.

† Aulus Gælius, lib. 1, cap. 11.

‡ Ogy. part 2, page 86.

§ "It happened that a race of Picts from Scythia, having entered on the ocean with a few long

Usher in his treatise on the antiquities of the churches in Britain, gives different opinions on the origin of the Picts.* He says that the north of Europe, namely, the Cimbrian Chersonesus, and Scandinavia, inhabited by the Danes, Goths, and Vandals, and known to the ancients by the name of Germanic Scythia, was called by Procopius of Cæsarea, "*Thule*," and inhabited by the Picts, according to Claudian in his panegyric on the fourth consulship of Honorius,† which has made many believe that the Picts of Albania derived their origin from them. But Usher himself seems to doubt if it were Scandinavia or some of the northern isles that was called, "*Thule*,"‡ which doubt appears the better founded, as, according to the map of the Atlantic Island, drawn by the Sampsons, eminent geographers of the last century, Thule is an island situated in the arctic circle, in the same latitude, but to the west of Scandinavia, now known by the name of Iceland. However, were we to suppose with Procopius, that Scandinavia was called "*Thule*," and say with Claudian that it was inhabited by Picts, colonies perhaps of the Scandinavians and the Dacians, who painted their bodies by making incisions, and introducing coloured substances between the skin and the flesh, with which they formed

ships, the force of the winds driving them around, arrived in Ireland, after passing every coast of Britain; they landed on the northern coast, and having discovered there a nation of Scots, sought likewise for themselves permission to settle in those parts, but being unable to obtain it, the Scots, replied, that the island would not contain both; however we may give you a wholesome counsel which you can pursue; we know another island which is near to ours, it lies to the east; we are accustomed to see it in bright days. If you wish to go thither, you can make it habitable for yourselves, and if you meet with opposition apply to us for aid. The Picts after this began to inhabit Britain in the northern parts, whereas the southern were in possession of the Britons. When the Picts applied to the Scots for wives, because they had no women, they granted them their request, on the following conditions, viz., if any doubt should arise to which descendant, male or female, (being of royal lineage) the crown should belong, the decision should be made in favour of the latter; such is the custom, to this day among the Picts."—*Bede's Church Hist.* b. 1, c. 1.

* Cap. 15, p. 578.

† "The Orkneys were moistened with the blood of the routed Saxon, and Thule was heated by that of the Picts."—c. 15, p. 578.

‡ "He implies by obvious and explicit remarks, that pirates of the Saxons possessed the Orkneys, as the Picts did Thule, whether that were Scandinavia, or whether it might have been another of the northern islands, as the Scots were in possession of Ierna."—Usher, c. 15, p. 579.

all kinds of figures: it does not follow that a colony of Scythians established in the north of Britain, and called, long after, Picts by the Latins, are descended from those of Scandinavia, particularly, as this custom of painting the body, was common to different nations.* It must however be acknowledged, that the situation of Scandinavia with respect to the north of Ireland, where it is said that people had landed, is favourable to this opinion, and renders it more probable than that of Keating, who says they came from Asiatic Scythia, by traversing the vast countries which separate it from the western coast of Gaul.

Usher also gives the opinion of several others, concerning the time of the arrival of the Picts in Britain; he does not, however, seem to adopt them; he mentions, amongst others, that of Meevinus, or Melkinus Acalonius, and of Harding, who say that Gadela and Scota, his wife, had come into Albania with the Picts, in the year of Jesus Christ, seventy-five.† But these authors differ from Eumeneus the Rhetorician, who, in his panegyric on Constantius Chlorus, mentions the Picts and Irish, as the common enemies of the Britons, before the time of Julius Cæsar: "Pictis et Hibernis assuetos hostibus."‡ Others not having well understood the opinion of Gildas and Bede, place the first settlement of the Picts in Britain in the fifth century, under Theodosius the younger; as Bede having spoken of the dreadful ravages committed by the Scots and Picts in Britain, adds that the latter had stopt to recruit themselves for the first time in the extremity of the island. "Picti in extrema insulæ parte tunc primum et deinceps requieverunt."§ However, those words, in the natural sense of the author, only represent a cessation of hostilities, and a truce on the part of those barbarians, "cessante vastatione hostili," and by no means their first settlement in the island, as those authors assert.¶ It is also possible, that when the Romans had increased their power in Britain, the Picts might have been forced to confine themselves to the inaccessible parts of Caledonia, and sometimes to withdraw themselves to the Orkneys, the Hebrides, the Isle of

Man, or of "Thule," to which the expeditions of Agricola, Severus, and others might have contributed: and that the return to their country might have been confounded with their first settlement, A.M. 3149.

Eocha II. was the first of the kings of Ireland, as I have already remarked, who crossed over to Albania with his troops, and obliged the Picts to renew their alliance with him, and pay the tribute stipulated between their ancestors and Heremon, B.C. 851. But Fiacha I., successor of Eocha, sent over Angus, surnamed Ollbuagach, his son, a warlike prince who defeated them in several rencounters, and obliged them to acknowledge their dependance on the Irish crown.* Finally, Angus I. completed their defeat, having routed them in thirty battles, with their allies, the inhabitants of the Orkneys and other islands. This expedition of Angus was followed by a peace that lasted near five hundred years between those two nations, which was at length interrupted by the invasions and hostilities committed by Reactha, surnamed Righdearg, in the north of Britain.†

The palace of Eamhuin, so celebrated in the history of Ireland, was built by order of Kimboath the monarch, or his queen Macha, in the barony of Oneland, county of Ard-mach, in the year of the world, 3654, to serve as a place of residence for the princes of the race of Ir, who commanded at that time in the province of Ulster. From the wars of the Milesians with the Picts, till the foundation of this palace and the reign of Ugane More, I discover but little worth relating: the monuments of the Irish before that period, are both uncertain and doubtful; the plan which I have proposed to myself to follow, not allowing me to enter into an exact detail of all their private wars, I leave it to those who have it better in their power than I, to examine the ancient monuments of the country. Besides, as objects viewed at too great a distance, become almost invisible, it is nearly the same with facts relating to such distant times; their great antiquity renders them at least obscure; objects should be brought near, the better to distinguish them.

* Plin. lib. 22, cap. 1.

† "If we attach belief to the words of John Hardinge, who says, that Gadela and his wife Scota, the illegitimate daughter of king Pharo, came with the Picts into Albania, in the year of Christ, 75."—*Usher's Church Hist.* c. 15, p. 180.

‡ Ogyg. part 3, cap. 18.

§ Ward. vita in sancti Romuldi. p. 369 et 370.

¶ Ogyg. part 3, cap. 18.

* "Herein it must be noticed, that the Picts had settled then, for the first time, in the northern part of the island, and continued afterwards in that country, after the devastations and cruel subjection, (as Gildas had already described,) had ceased in Britain."—*Usher*, p. 609.

† Walsh. prosp. d. Irl. part 1, sect. 1.

‡ Ogyg. part 3, cap. 37.

§ Tigernachus Cluanensis, autor XI. sæculi, apud Ogyg. part 3, cap. 86.

Ugane More, descended from Heremon in the twentieth degree, reigned in Ireland about three hundred years before Jesus Christ, A.M. 3700. On his accession to the throne, he convoked the assembly at Tara,* in which he received hostages and the oath of allegiance from his subjects, who confirmed his election† and enacted a law by which the crown was declared hereditary in his family, in order to prevent the disorders caused by elections, and too great a number of pretenders to the throne.‡ This monarch was surnamed More, or the Great, from his having conquered a number of islands lying to the west of Europe. He had several children by Keasair, his wife, daughter of a king of Gaul; amongst others Laogare Lorc, and Cobtagh, Coel Breag, who reigned successively. These two princes were the ancestors of all the kings of the branch of Heremon, who afterwards reigned, and of all the illustrious families of that race.§ Laogare Lorc having been murdered by his brother Cobtagh,|| who seized on the crown, Maion, afterwards called Lavra-Loinseach, son of Oilioll Aine, and grandson of Laogare, fled from Corcaduibhne, now Corcaquin, in the county of Kerry,¶ where he had been spending some time with Scoriath, king of that country, and took refuge in Gaul, with the relations of Keasair, his grandmother; he was honourably received there by the king, who gave him the command of his troops. He acquitted himself of this commission with so much bravery, that, as a reward for his services, the king granted him two thousand two hundred men, to enable him to lay claim to the crown of his ancestors; with this succour he embarked, and having arrived in the bay of Lough-garm, now Wexford, he was informed that the usurper was holding his court at Dionriogh, near the river Barrow, in the county of Carlow; he marched thither with all possible diligence, and having surprised and defeated his rival, he ascended the throne.

Whilst the children of Ugane More divided the sovereignty of the island, sometimes between themselves and sometimes with the descendants of Heber the princes of the race of Ir governed in Ulster without interruption, from the founding of the palace of Eamhuin, to the time of Rory the Great, the chief of that tribe, who, from being

prince of Ulster succeeded to the monarchy A. M. 3913, B. C. 87. It was from him this tribe took the name of Clanna-Rory, that is, children of Rory. They were again confirmed in the possession of this province by the monarch Eocha IX., when he created the provinces into kingdoms, and gave to the chief of each tribe who had till then possessed it, the title of king, A.M. 3986. By this new regulation the first king of Ulster was Fergus, son of Leighe, and grandson of Rory the Great.* He was succeeded by Fergus Boigh, son of Rossa-Ruah, son of Rory, who, having been dispossessed by Conquovar, otherwise Connor, surnamed Nesson, son of Fathna, and grandson of Rory, took refuge in the province of Connaught, then governed by queen Maude, where he placed himself at the head of the Connaughtmen and those malcontents who had followed his fortune, and waged war against his province, which lasted for seven years.† During his stay in Connaught, he had three sons by Maude, namely, Kiar, Corc, and Cormac, of whom we shall hereafter have occasion to speak.‡ The empire of the Clanna Rorys in Ulster was at length shaken by the war which Colla-Huais and his brothers carried on against them, in the fourth century.

Munster was governed alternately by the descendants of Heber and Ith, who formed two tribes, called Deirghine, and Dairine, from the settlement of the Milesians in Ireland, to the time of Duach-Dalta-Deagadh, who introduced into this province the Earnocho's of the race of Heremon,§ A. M. 3950. B. C. 50. Deaga, and Tigernach-Teadbanach, his brother or cousin, chiefs of the colony of the Earnocho's, having usurped the government of the province after Duach, were confirmed in their possession, with the title of kings, by the monarch Eocha IX., which interrupted the succession of the legitimate princes for some generations till Modha-Nuagadh, chief of the Heberians, put an end to their usurpation, in the reign of the monarch Con Keadcaha, towards the end of the second century.

Leinster was always governed by princes descended from Laogare-Lorc, son of Ugane More of the race of Heremon. Its first king, by the regulation of Eocha IX., was Rossa-Ruah, son of Feargus-Fairge.

Connaught was in the possession of the Firdomnians, the remains of the ancient

* Keating on the reign of Ugane.

† Grat. Luc. 3, 8, p. 63.

‡ Ogyg. part 3, cap. 38.

§ Keating on the reign of Laogare.

|| Grat. Luc. cap. 8, p. 64.

¶ Ogyg. part 3, cap. 39.

* Ogyg. part 2, p. 127, 128.

† Ogyg. part 3, cap. 45, 46.

‡ Ibid. cap. 46.

§ Ibid. part 2, p. 123.

Firbolga, to whom the Milesians had given some lands, in gratitude for the services they had received from them in the conquest of the island over the Tuatha de Danains.* O'Flaherty distinguishes three different branches of this race, who governed Connaught in the time of Eocha IX., namely, the Fircraibs, who were in possession of the southern part of the province, on the side of Limerick, the chief of whom was Fiodhach, son of Feigh, the Gamanrada, who inhabited Irras in the west, now Galway, as far as the confines of Ulster governed by Eocha-Allet; the Tuatha-Taidheans, who possessed the rest of the province on the side of Leinster, had Tinne, son of Conrath, for their chief. These three chiefs were called kings, by Eocha IX., each in his own territory; the triumvirate lasted but a short time. Tinne having married Mew or Maude, daughter of the monarch was created sole king of the province. After the death of Tinne, Maude, queen of Connaught, married Oilioll More, son of Rossa Ruah, king of Leinster, by whom she had seven sons, called the seven Maines.† Oilioll was at length killed by Conall Kearnagh, son of Amergin, a prince of the race of Ir, and descended in the fourth degree from Rory the Great. Maude having reigned 98 years in Connaught, sometimes a widow, and sometimes under the power of a husband, died at an advanced age leaving the crown to Maine Aithreamhuil, one of the seven sons she had by Oilioll More. The latter was succeeded by Sanbus, of the race of the Firdomnians, who long after lost his life in a battle against the monarch Tuathal.‡

After the death of Eocha IX., Eocha-Airive succeeded to the monarchy, and after ten years, was replaced by Ederskeol, of the race of Heremon, and of the tribe of the Earnochs, who, from being king of Munster, was raised to the dignity of monarch of the whole island. The book of Lecan fixes the birth of our Saviour in the reign of this monarch: "Ederscolio regnante Christus natus in Bethlehem Juda:"§ but Flannus de Monasterio places it in the reign of Conare the Great. O'Flaherty discovers the means of making them agree, by supposing that the real birth of our Saviour took place in the last year of the reign of Ederskeol, and by commencing the general Christian era with the reign of Conare the Great, his son.||

The birth of Jesus Christ preceded the death of Herod, as the edict of death pronounced by that tyrant against infants, was the cause of the flight of Saint Joseph, with the child Jesus, into Egypt. Herod died in the month of March, before Easter, and his death was preceded, according to the calculations of astronomers, by an eclipse of the moon on the night of Friday to Saturday, that is, from the ninth to the tenth of January, of the Julian year 4713: the year of Rome, according to Varro, 753, and the third of the 194th olympiad.* The epoch of the Christian era was fixed by Dionysius the Lesser on the calends of the succeeding month of January, after the Julian year 4714.† This period is at least two years later than the real birth of our Saviour, which according to O'Flaherty, is sufficient to reconcile the opinions of the book of Lecan and of Flannus de Monasterio, concerning the king who reigned in Ireland at the time of the nativity.

In the reign of Conare the Great, the provincial kings were, Conquovar-Nessan, son of Feachna-Fatagh, and grandson of Rory the Great, of the race of Ir, in Ulster;‡ Carbre-Nia-Ferr, son of Rossa-Ruah, and grandson of Feargus-Fairge, of the race of Heremon, in Leinster;§ Oilioll-More, brother of Carbre, with Maude, his wife, daughter of the monarch Eocha-Felioch, in Connaught; Eocha-Abraruah, in southern Munster, and Cury-Mac-Daire, grandson of Deaga, chief of a branch of the Earnochs, in northern Munster. Angus-Ossory, whose patrimony is still called Ossory, from his name, married Kingit, daughter of Cury-Mac-Daire.||

The reign of Conare was long and happy, peace and abundance were universal; it was the Augustan age of Ireland. He was in fact, contemporary of Augustus, Tiberius, &c.¶ The only war in which he was engaged during his reign, was against the Leinster people, to revenge the death of Ederskeol, his father who was killed at Allen, by Naud-Neacht, prince of that province, who succeeded him for six months.** He defeated them at the battle of Cliach, imposed an annual tribute on them, and decreed the separation of Ossory from Leinster, to be for

* Joseph. Antiq. Judæor. lib. 17, c. 8, p. 9 and 10.

† Ogyg. prolog. p. 39, et part 2, p. 131.

‡ Ogyg. part 2, 131.

§ Id. part 3, c. 45.

|| Kennedy, p. 71.

¶ Ogyg. part 3, c. 44.

** Idem. cap. 45.

* Ogyg. part 3, cap. 11, et 43.

† Ogyg. part 3, cap. 47.

‡ Idem. part 2, p. 139. Idem. part 3, cap. 46.

§ Pol. 295, verso.

|| Ogyg. part 2, p. 129.

ever annexed to Munster.* This monarch having reigned thirty years, unfortunately ended his days by fire, in his castle of Bruighean-da-Dhearg, in Meath, which was set on fire by robbers, A.D. 35.† His successor, after an interregnum of five years, was Lugha-Riadearg, grandson of Eocha Feliogh, who killed himself in a fit of despair, by falling on the point of his sword, A.D. 38. He was succeeded by Conquovar-Abraruah, grandson of Rossa-Ruah, king of Leinster; the latter was succeeded by Crimthan-Nianair, son of Lugha-Riadearg, A.D. 39.

The Milesians began already to be known in Britain by the name of Scots.‡ Gildas Britannicus, an author in the sixth century, and after him Bede, mention their incursions into Britain, conjointly with the Picts; "Scotorum á circio, Pictorum ab aquilone."§

Crintham, on his return from an expedition into Britain, from whence he brought immense riches, died of a fall from his horse, A.D. 56, having reigned sixteen years, and left his crown to Fearadach, his son, who afterwards died a natural death at Tara, A.D. 70.

Fearadach was succeeded by Fiatagh Fin, of the race of the Earnochs, from whom the tribe of the Dal-Fiatachs derived their name; the latter was killed in battle by Fiacha V., surnamed Finola, son of Fearadach, of the race of Heremon, who succeeded to the throne, A.D. 73.

The first remarkable civil war broke out among the Milesians, at this time; it was caused by the revolt of the plebeians, and had almost proved fatal to the ancient constitution of the state. They were the descendants of the soldiers, mechanics, and labourers of every kind, who had accompanied the children of Milesius from Spain to Ireland, and who had shared their fatigues in the conquest of the island. The remains of the Firbolgs and the Tuatha de Danains, who had escaped the sword of the Milesians, and who had been permitted to remain by submitting to the conquerors, joined the plebeians. After the island had been subdued, they received no share in the lands, with the exception of a few families of the Firbolgs, who were established in Connaught. They always remained a body of people, and a distinct tribe of inferior rank to the Milesians, and were not allowed to intermarry with them. They were not suffered to emerge from a state of vassalage, nor aspire to any office under

the government—children were obliged to follow the profession of their fathers, which was that of the servile and mechanic arts; the liberal arts, such as history, judicature, music, and the profession of arms, medicine, &c., being reserved for the inferior branches of the Milesians. They were excluded from all share in the supreme power, which was confined exclusively to the descendants of Milesius. In fine, the nobility never degraded themselves by low and shameful alliances; and people of the lower order never attained the first dignities of the state, as is but too often the case at present. The plebeians groaned for many ages under the weight of their vassalage; but at length, weary of servitude, they made an effort to free themselves and shake off the yoke which appeared to them insupportable. As they required a chief, they fixed upon Carbre, surnamed Kin-Cait, which signifies the head of a cat, as it is said he had the ears of one, to head them in the rebellion. This man was a descendant of the Firbolgs, a decided enemy to royalty and nobility, intriguing and capable of great enterprises. (One Cromwell is able to overthrow the best established government.) The rebellion broke out in the reign of Fiacha V. The plebeians, not daring to raise openly the standard of revolt, had, by the advice of Carbre, their chief, recourse to treachery, in order to accomplish more securely their perfidious design. For this purpose they prepared a magnificent banquet at Moy-Cru, in the province of Connaught, to which they invited the monarch, princes, and all the nobility in the kingdom.* This banquet, which lasted nine days, terminated tragically for the guests, who were all murdered† in the banquetting hall, by armed men whom the conspirators had engaged for that barbarous purpose, contrary to public faith, as it occurred some centuries after to the Britons, who were massacred by the perfidious Saxons on the plains of Salisbury. The rebels being delivered of their tyrants, (as they termed the monarch and nobility,) chose for their king the monster who had so well abetted them in their rebellion. Carbre did not long enjoy his regicide—he reigned but five years. Moran, his son, too just a man to continue the usurpation, having abdicated the throne, was succeeded by Elim, who reigned twenty years.

O'Flaherty does not agree with Keating concerning the order and succession of the monarchy from Crimthan-Nianair, to Tua-

* Kennedy, p. 81.

† Ogyg. part 2, cap. 38.

‡ Idem. part 3, cap. 52.

§ Bede, cap. 12.

* Grat. Luc. cap. 8, p. 66.

† Anno. 80.

thal-Teachtmar; but they are in accordance as to the number and names of the monarchs who occupied the throne during that interval.* O'Flaherty seems also to insinuate, on the authority of the annals of Tigernach, that the monarch Fiacha V. was put to death by the provincial kings of Tara. However this be, Tuathal, son and heir of Fiacha, to save himself from the fury of the plebeians, withdrew into Albania, to the king of the Picts, his grand-father, by Eithne his mother, till, like a second Demetrius, he was re-established on the throne of his ancestors.

Agricola was sent about this time to Britain, in the capacity of prefect; he fortified the isthmus formed by the two seas, from Edinburgh in the east, to Dunbarton in the west. "*Præsidio firmavit,*" says Tacitus, "*summotis velut in aliam insulam hostibus.*" Some time after, he sailed round Britain with a fleet, discovered it to be an island and conquered the inhabitants of the Orkneys.

During this usurpation Ireland was torn by opposite factions. On one side, the plebeians being in possession of the supreme power, practised unheard-of cruelties against the nobility; on the other, a few nobles, at the head of their troops, ravaged the country, destroying all by fire and sword, and in their pursuit of the plebeians gave them no quarter. The most dreadful consequences ensued; mechanics gave up their work to run to arms; labourers abandoned their fields and left them uncultivated: famine was the result. In this confusion, the people began at length to open their eyes to the misfortunes of the state: they considered that the only remedy was to recall the legitimate heir, and place him upon the throne of his fathers. A deputation was sent to Tuathal, who was attended by a number of faithful subjects, the followers of his misfortune. He received the embassy with kindness, and embarked for Ireland, with the generous resolution of delivering his country from tyranny, and restoring peace, whereof little remained but a slender remembrance, and a deceitful shadow. Having landed at Irras Domnoin, in Connaught,† a considerable body of troops, commanded by Fiacha Caisin, joined him, with whom he marched directly to Tara, where he was received by the nobility, denominated the saviour and liberator of his country, and proclaimed king, with the usual ceremonies, by the name of Tuathal-Teachtmar, in Latin, Tuathalius Bonoven-

tura.* The law, enacted some centuries before, in favour of Ugane-More, one of his ancestors, was renewed to perpetuate the crown in his family.

Nothing less than the total annihilation of the chief could quell the rebellion. Elim kept the field with an army determined to support his claims. Tuathal immediately collected what troops he could, and marched forward to meet the enemy, whom he came up with at Acaill, near Tara. The two armies being in sight of each other, the signal was given and the action began. The rebels were unable to make a long resistance. The presence of the legitimate Prince inspired the royal troops with courage, as much as it depressed that of the enemy, who could not withstand the first onset; they abandoned the field to the conquerors, having lost several men, with their chief. Tuathal elated at this success, pursued the rebels everywhere; and having gained several victories over them, (to the number, it is said, of eighty five,) crushed a rebellion which had lasted twenty-five years. Being then in peaceable possession of the kingdom, and having no longer any thing to fear from the rebels, he convened the general assembly at Tara, in order to revive the old constitution of the state. He began by restoring the ancient proprietors, particularly those who had been the companions of his misfortunes, to the possession of those lands from which they had been expelled, and with which the tyrants had rewarded the rebels who had supported them in their usurpation. This Prince, although a pagan, did not think that the estates of his faithful subjects should become the pay of iniquity, or the reward of regicide, as has been the case in the same country within the last century.

The reign of Tuathal was long, and filled with troubles and disorders. He had several children by Bann, his queen, daughter of the king of Finland, and amongst others two daughters, Dairine and Fithir, the former of whom was married to Eocha Ainchean, king of Leinster. This barbarous prince either tired of his wife, or the younger sister having more attractions for him, confined the former in a castle, put on mourning, as if she had been dead; and having repaired to the court of his father-in-law, Tuathal, at Tara, appeared inconsolable for the pretended loss of his wife, and acted his part so well with the credulous monarch, that he obtained from him the other sister, to console him for the loss of the deceased. The marriage having

* Ogyg. part 3, cap. 55.

† Ogygia, part. 3. cap. 55.

* Ogyg. part. 3. cap. 56.

been concluded to the satisfaction of all parties, Eocha took leave of his father-in-law and the whole court, and returned to his province with his new queen. However, his joy was soon changed into sorrow. The two sisters were much surprised to see each other rivals; and having discovered the treachery of Eocha, they died a short time after of grief, without the slightest anger towards each other. Tuathal having learned the tragical end of his daughters, resolved to punish the perfidy of Eocha, and published manifestoes throughout the island, to show the justice of the war he was going to undertake against the king of Leinster, to avenge the affront he had received in the person of his daughters, the provincial auxiliary troops having joined him, he entered Leinster, laying waste the country as he passed. Eocha, not finding himself able to defend his country, nor face an army so superior to his own, had recourse to negotiation, which succeeded, after many humiliations on his part. The monarch, naturally disposed to peace, and wishing to spare the people, who suffered so much by war, listened to his proposals and consented to grant him peace, on condition of a tribute, payable every two years to him and his successors on the throne of Ireland. The king and people of Leinster submitted joyfully to the conditions, and peace was restored. This tribute, called in their language "*Boroimhe Laighcan*," and which consisted of six thousand ounces of silver, with a certain number of oxen, sheep, &c., having caused many wars between the monarchs, who required the payment of it, and the people of Leinster, who wished to shake off the burden, was abolished in the seventh century by the monarch Fionnach II., at the request of Saint Moling.

In the reign of Tuathal, the emperor Adrian had a wall built in Britain, with stakes fixed in the earth and sods of green turf, which extended from Newcastle and the mouth of the river Tyne in the east, to near Carlisle in the west, in order to check the irruptions of the Scots and Picts. This wall which was eighty-two miles in length, was eighty miles south of the limits fixed by Agricola, by which the empire lost eighty square miles of territory. But as the adherents of the Scoto-Milesians, notwithstanding the intestine wars so frequent in the reign of Tuathal, continued to make irruptions from time to time into Britain, the Romans were obliged to keep troops there to repress them, as well as the Picts and

Britons, who had revolted. The emperor Antoninus, having harassed them, removed the wall of Adrian as far back as the Forth, which Agricola had fortified some years before, and by this means extended the frontiers of the empire.

After a reign of thirty years Tuathal was killed at the battle of Moyline in Dalradie, a part of the province of Ulster, by Mal, king of that province, who by this victory succeeded him in the monarchy. In the life of Agricola, by Tacitus, we find an account, which throws considerable light on the history of Ireland of that time, fixes its period, and deserves to be investigated. "In the fifth year of the campaigns of Agricola," says Tacitus, "one of the kings of Ireland, expelled by an intestine commotion fell into his hands; the general detained him in his camp under the guise of friendship; but watched him closely as one who might, on the first opportunity, become an useful instrument in the design he had formed of attempting the conquest of Ireland."* Tacitus adds, "that he saw this prince in Rome, and heard him say, that with one legion and a few auxiliary troops he could reduce the whole country to subjection."†

By some reflection we may discover the relation that exists between the account of Tacitus, and the history of that period. This prince of whom Tacitus speaks, was an unfortunate king exiled by a civil commotion. The history of Ireland of that period only mentions Tuathal to whom this account can relate, and chronology also favours it; the expedition of Agricola into Britain is fixed in the year 82, and the massacre of the monarch and nobility by the plebeians in Ireland, about a year before this period. Agricola, says Tacitus, posted troops along the coast of Britain, next to Ireland. Tuathal was obliged to conceal himself from the plebeians, to take refuge with the king of the Picts, his grandfather. It was undoubtedly in this flight, that he was taken by the vanguard of Agricola, and carried off by force in irons by this Roman general. In effect the word *exceperat* means as much that he was taken by surprise, as that he

* "In the fifth year of Agricola's expeditions, he received one of the princes of the country who had been driven out by an insurrection of the people, and retained him under a show of friendship. That part of Britain which lies opposite to Ireland, he furnished with troops more from hope than alarm."
—*Tacitus' Life of Agricola*, p. 499.

† "I have often heard him say, that with one legion and a few auxiliaries, the country (i. e. Ireland) might be subdued."—*Tacitus' Life of Agricola*, p. 499.

* Ogyg. part. 3. cap. 56.

went of himself to implore the assistance of Agricola. The massacre of the monarch and nobility of Ireland was committed, according to Gratianus Lucius, in the year 65; and should we suppose as he does, that Tuathal was not then born, but that the queen Eithne, his mother, who was then with child, had fled to Albania, to the king of the Picts, her father, where she was delivered of that prince, it would nearly agree with our calculation, as the prince would be then 26 years of age, at the time of the expedition of Agricola into Britain. As it was not without some design on Ireland, that Agricola had posted troops along the coast of Britain, opposite to this island, it is probable that he offered to serve the captive prince, by proposing to re-establish him on the throne of his ancestor, and that Tuathal, seeing the unhappy state of his affairs had listened to him with eagerness; but the project failed. Agricola was recalled in 85, and brought his captive with him to Rome: it was there, according to the testimony of Tacitus, that this prince had said, that with one legion and a few auxiliary troops he could easily reduce Ireland. It may be observed, that at this same time, Agricola sent against the Caledonians three legions, 8000 Britons and 3000 horsemen, making in all about thirty thousand men; Ireland is larger than Caledonia, better peopled, and more warlike. How then could one legion reduce it to subjection? It is not difficult to explain the paradox, if we suppose that there was an understanding formed to second foreign forces. What understanding could be more powerful than the just obedience which a lawful prince would require from his old subjects, the cries of those always ready to submit to their legitimate sovereign, the striking image of a virtuous prince invoking the rights of justice, compassion, nature, and his throne? And who but the lawful heir to the crown could flatter himself with conquering a powerful kingdom with a single legion? We may readily imagine that a prince dethroned by the intrigues of an usurper, and the cabals of a few rebel subjects, always has a number of faithful people attached to his interests. Those are certainly the circumstances which made the king, expelled from Ireland by a domestic sedition, mentioned by Tacitus, say, that one legion and a few auxiliary troops, would suffice to reduce the whole country to submission; and those same circumstances naturally indicate prince Tuathal, who was reinstated a short time after in the kingdom of his ancestors, by his own subjects, without any foreign aid.

The merit of Tuathal conspires also to favour our conjectures. We see that on his return, he displayed not only that courage and valour which characterised his nation, but in all his actions, the prudence, discipline, and successful designs, that distinguishes a man formed in the best schools, which were those of the Romans at that time. It was only at Rome, that he could have received the happy education, which the histories of the country ascribe to him, and acquire that intelligence which made him a consummate general, from his first entrance into the career of arms. Thus every thing leads us to believe, that the king mentioned by Tacitus was Tuathal, and never did conjecture more closely resemble the truth. According to this calculation, he ascended the throne towards the end of the first century. He reigned thirty years, and died in 125, so it is in this year we should fix the beginning of the reign of Mal, his successor.*

Mal was descended from Rory the Great, of the race of Ir; he reigned but four years, and was killed by Feilim, surnamed Reachtmar, son of Tuathal, who thus revenged on him the death of his father. Feilim governed Ireland in peace for the space of nine years, and was commended for his great justice. He established the law of Talion, of which an example is found in the book of Kings. This penalty which generally consisted of money, and was proportioned to the crime, was called "Eruic" by the Irish. Feilim died a natural death, leaving several children, who were Fiacha-Suidhe, the ancestor of the Deasies; Conn, surnamed Keadcaha, who afterwards became monarch; Eocha-Fionn, father of the Fotharts; the three Conalls, and Luagne.

About this time the Munster people invaded Leinster, and the king of that province, called Cuchorb, assembled all his forces, of which he gave the command to Lugadh-Laighis, son of Laoighseach-Kean-More, and grandson of Conall Kearnach, who was the most skilful captain of his age.†

Lugadh to prove himself worthy of the confidence of the king of Leinster, began his march, and coming up with the Munster army at Athrodain, now Athy, in the county Kildare, he made a dreadful slaughter of them, and obliged them to repass the Barrow. The enemy having rallied at Cainthine, afterwards called Laoighise, Lugadh attacked them again, with the same success as before; but they were completely defeated at Slighe-

* Ogyg. part 3, cap. 57.

† Keating on the reign of Cormac Ulfada.

Dhala, now Bealach-More-Ossory, and rendered incapable of continuing the campaign. The king of Leinster, in gratitude for the services of Lugadh, conferred on him the country, called after him, Laoighise, Leix, or Leis, of which Maryborough, in the Queen's county, is now the capital.* This territory was in the possession of the O'Mordhais, in English Moore, his descendants, till the reign of queen Elizabeth.

Cathire Moore,† of the branch of the Here-monians, who governed Leinster, succeeded Feilim; he had thirty sons, ten of whom, that left posterity, were the ancestors of the kings who reigned in Leinster till the twelfth century, and of many other families of that province.

The will of Cathire More, cited by O'Flaherty, who mentions to have seen it in writing, and to which Rossa Failge, his eldest son, was executor, is the only thing curious in the reign of this monarch. I merely introduce it here to show the singular taste of those ancient times: this will contains the different legacies he had left to his children, and the nobility of Leinster.‡ To Breasal-Eineach-glass, his son, he left five ships of burden; fifty embossed bucklers, ornamented with a border of gold and silver; five swords with golden handles, and five chariots drawn by horses. To Fiacha-Baikheada, another son, he left fifty drinking-cups; fifty barrels made of yew-tree: fifty piebald horses, with the bits of the bridles made of brass. He left to Tuathal-Tigech, son of Main, his brother, ten chariots drawn by horses; five play tables; five chess boards; thirty bucklers, bordered with gold and silver, and fifty polished swords. To Daire-Barrach, another of his sons, he left one hundred and fifty pikes, the wood of which was covered with plates of silver; fifty swords of exquisite workmanship; five rings of pure gold; one hundred and fifty great-coats of fine texture, and seven military colours. To Crimothan he bequeathed fifty billiard-balls of brass, with the pools and cues of the same material, ten tric-tracs of exquisite workmanship; twelve chess boards with chess men. To Mogcorf, son of Laogare Birnbuadhach, he left a hundred cows spotted with white, with their calves, coupled together with yokes of brass; a hundred bucklers; a hundred red javelins; a hundred brilliant lances; fifty saffron-coloured great-coats; a hundred different coloured horses; a hundred drinking cups curiously wrought: a hundred barrels

made of yew-tree; fifty chariots of exquisite workmanship; fifty chess-boards; fifty tables used by wrestlers; fifty trumpets; fifty large copper boilers, and fifty standards, with the right of being a member of the council of state of the king of Leinster. Lastly, he bequeathed to the king of Leix, a hundred cows; a hundred bucklers; a hundred swords, a hundred pikes, and seven standards. Cathire, having reigned thirty years, was killed at the battle of Moyacha, near Taiton, in Meath.

Conn-Keadcaha, son of Feilim-Reachtmar, and of Ughna, daughter of the king of Denmark, succeeded Cathire-More, in the year 148: he was surnamed Keadcaha, from the hundred victories he had gained over his enemies. Gratianus Lucius calls him, in Latin, Constantius Centimachus;* he is called by O'Flaherty,† Quintus Centimachus, and by others Centibellis. The reign of this monarch presents a scene of blood and carnage. I shall not relate the great number of battles by which he acquired the surname of Keadcaha, but confine myself to the principal war which he waged with Modha-Nuagat, king of the province of Munster, and in which he had least success. To understand the cause of this war, it is necessary to refer to earlier times. The Deagades, a branch of the Earnocha, of the province of Ulster, having been expelled by the Clanna-Rorys, were kindly received by Duach, one of the ancestors of Modha. These new-comers, not content with the lands and possessions which they had received from the liberality of that prince, usurped the sovereignty of the province, after his death. Modha Nuagat, a prince of the race of Heber, and true heir to the crown of Munster, seeing with regret, three princes of the tribe of the Deagades established in this province, disputed the sovereignty of it with them; and not being of himself able to support his claims, he had recourse to Daire-Barrach, son of Cathire-More, and prince of Leinster, whose friend he was, they having been brought up together. Daire, who knew the justice of his cause, made an alliance with him, and gave him a body of troops to enable him to establish his right. With this succour, Modha returned to his province, and meeting the enemy, commanded by Angus, brother of Luigh-Allatach, at Vibh-Liathain, in the county of Kerry, he gave him battle; the action was very brisk, but at length victory declared in favour of Modha, who cut a

* Ogyg. part 3, cap. 51.

† Anno. 144.

‡ Ogyg. part 3, c. 59.

* Cap. 8.

† Ogyg. part 3, c. 60.

number of the enemy to pieces, and put the rest to flight. In this extremity, Angus implored the assistance of the monarch, who sent him fifteen thousand men. With this reinforcement he endeavoured to retrieve his affairs, but his fate was the same as before, being defeated at Crioch-Liathain, in the county of Kerry, by Modha, who after those two victories made himself master of the province, and ordered all the Earnochs who would not submit to his government to leave it.

This war was followed by another still more bloody and more obstinate. The assistance which the monarch had afforded the Earnochs, excited the anger of the king of Munster to such a degree, that he resolved upon taking revenge by force of arms. Hostilities began on both sides; but the king of Munster not feeling himself in a condition to make head against the superior forces of the monarch, wisely withdrew from the contest, and retired to Spain, where he remained for nine years, and married Beara, daughter of Heber-More, king of that country.* This alliance procured him assistance; he returned to his country with foreign troops, and began hostilities anew against the monarch. During the many years which this war lasted, the devastation was dreadful; the consequence of which was, the division of the island between the contending parties; and the monarch, after losing the battles of Broisne and Sampaite, in the King's county; of Greine, in the county of Waterford; Athlone, in the county of Roscommon; Gabhran and Usnigh, in east and west Meath, and some others, was obliged to submit. This division was called by the Irish "Leath-Cuin," and "Leath-Modha," which signifies the half, or portion of Conn, which was the northern part of the island, and the half of Modha, which was the southern.† After this division, Modha raised some fresh cause of contention, which gave rise to another war, and showed that nothing but the government of the whole island could satisfy his ambition. The two armies met in the plains of Moylena, in the country of Ferakeall. Before the engagement began, the king of Munster was murdered, in the morning, in his bed, by Golle, son of Morn, a descendant of Sanbus, king of Connaught. Conn, delivered from so formidable a rival, resumed the title of monarch of the whole island, without respect to the divisions, which never afterwards took place.

During the reign of Modha-Nuagat, in Munster, a general famine prevailed throughout Ireland: this king was warned of it some time before by a famous druid belonging to his court. To obviate this disaster, he appointed stewards and economists to prevent too great a consumption of grain. His subjects were compelled to limit their expenses; and a certain portion of the productions of each year was, by order of the king, collected into granaries. The time of the calamity having come, Modha availed himself of the opportunity to make the other provinces tributary to him. He sold his grain at an advanced price; and instead of ready money, he required of the purchasers an annual tribute for assisting them in their wants; by which means he increased his power considerably. During the wars of Conn-Keadcaba with the king of Munster, the Deagades or Earnochs still formed a considerable tribe, commanded by Mogalama, whose son, named Connare, married Saraid or Sara, daughter of Conn. The monarch formed this alliance with Mogalama in order to raise friends, and create a kind of diversion in the province of Modha, his enemy. He afterwards gave Sabia, his second daughter, widow of Mac-Niad, of the race of Ith, (by whom she had a son, called Lughaidh, otherwise Mac-Conn,) in marriage, to Oilioll-Olum, only son and heir of Modha. By this double alliance he reconciled the Deagades with the Heberians, and smoothed for Connare, his son-in-law, the way to the monarchy, his own son being yet a minor, and consequently, according to the fundamental laws of the state, incapable of reigning. The third daughter of this monarch was Maoin, wife of Inchade, son of Fionn-Chada, grandson of Ogmain, king of Ulster, and mother of the three Ferguses, one of whom, surnamed Dovededagh, was afterwards monarch.

After the arrival of the Milesians in Ireland, the form of government in Munster underwent many changes. It was sometimes governed alternately by the two tribes of Deirghthine, and Dairine, the former of the race of Heber Fionn; the latter of that of Ith. Whilst one commanded as sovereign, the other filled the office of chief justice, or supreme judge. It was sometimes divided into two parts, forming two kingdoms; namely, northern and southern Munster. This government was interrupted by the Deagades for more than two centuries; that is, from the death of Duach-Dalta-Deagha, till the time of Modha-Nuagat,* and the

* Ogyg. part. 3, c. 60.

† Grat. Luc. c. 8.

* Keat. on the reign of Art-Aonhir.

reign of Oilioll-Olum, his son, who was the first absolute king of the whole province, and of the race of Heber.* This king had three sons, by Sabia, daughter of Conn-Keadcaha; Eogan-More, Cormac-Cas, and Kiann. The first was killed at the battle of Moy-Muchrume, and left a son called Fiacha-Mulleathan, who was ancestor of the Mac-Cartys, and other collateral branches. Cormac-Cas was chief of the O'Briens, and other branches, which derive their origin from them. From Kiann are descended the O'Carrolls, of Ely, and others. Oilioll-Olum, having secured the crown in his family, made a law whereby the succession was rendered alternate between the descendants of Eogan-More and those of Cormac-Cas, which law was religiously observed for many centuries.† In the reign of Conn, the emperor Severus built a wall in Britain, to check the irruptions of the barbarians.

This monarch, after a long reign, filled with troubles, was betrayed by Eocha-Fionn-Fothart, and Fiacha-Suidhe, his brothers, and assassinated near Tara, by fifty robbers disguised as women, whom Teobraide-Tireach, son of Breasal, and king of Ulster, had employed for this purpose.‡ He was succeeded by his son-in-law, Conare II.

Conare II. was son of Mogalama, of the tribe of the Deagades of Munster,§ descended, in the sixth degree, from Conare the Great, monarch of Ireland at the time of the birth of our Saviour. His mother was Eithne, daughter of Lughaidh, son of Daire, of the tribe of the Coreolugaidhs, of the race of Ith, and paternal aunt of Lugaidhe-Mac-Conn, who succeeded to the monarchy some time after.||

Conare had by Sara, daughter of Conn-Keadcaha, three sons, called the three Carbres;¶ namely, Carbre-Musc, whose descendants, as well as the country they had possessed in the county of Tipperary, from Ballaigh-More-an-Ossory, as far as Carrick, on the river Suire, now known by the name of Ormond, took the name of Muscraighe, or Muskerry.** Carbre Baskin, to whose descendants, Corca-Baskin, in the western part of the county of Clare, anciently belonged: and Carbre-Riogh-Fada; otherwise Riada, who was chief of the tribe of the Dalreudini of Ireland and Scotland, men-

tioned by the venerable Bede.* His descendants, who had not gone over to Albania, first settled in Kiery-Luachra, and in Orery, near Muskerry,† from whence they afterwards went to Ulster,‡ and formed a new establishment in the county of Antrim, which was called Dalrieda, at present Route.§

In the reign of Conare, Ogaman, of the tribe of the Dalflatachs, of the race of Heremon, succeeded Teobraide-Tireach, in the government of Ulster, which till then had been governed by princes of the race of Ir.

Conare II. having been killed in the seventh year of his reign by Neivy-Mac-Straivetine, his brother-in-law, Art, surnamed Anofhir, son of Conn-Keadcaha, being of age, laid claim to the crown of his ancestors, and was proclaimed king without opposition. His first care was to banish his paternal uncle, Eocha-Fionn-Fothart, and his whole race from Meath, to punish them for the death of Conla and Crinna, his brothers, and for their perfidy to Conn-Keadcaha his father, whom they had betrayed to the assassins employed by the king of Ulster.|| Eocha, being stripped of his possessions near Tara, took refuge with his family in Leinster, where he was kindly received by the kinsmen of his wife, grand-daughter of Cathire-More; they gave him estates on both banks of the river Slaney, in the county of Wexford, which were called from his name, "the Fotharts," and remained for several centuries in possession of his descendants, the O'Nuallans.¶

In the reign of Art, his nephew, Lughaidhe-Mac-Conn, of the tribe of Dairine, race of Ith, and son of Saive (afterwards wife of Oilioll-Olum) by her first husband, being judge of the province of Ulster, was deprived of office, and afterwards driven into exile by Oilioll-Olum, as well for some injustice he committed in the fulfilment of his duty, as for having (notwithstanding his prohibition) espoused the quarrel of Neivy, against the three Carbres, who wished to revenge the death of their father. Mac-Conn withdrew into Albania, where he established a colony, the command of which he gave to his son Faha-Canan.** The ambition of reigning, and a desire of taking revenge for the disgrace of being driven into exile, induced him

* Ogyg. part 2. p. 174.

† Ogyg. part 3, cap. 65.

‡ Idem. cap. 62.

§ Anno. 183.

|| Ogyg. part 3, c. 63.

¶ Grat. Luc. c. 8. Walsh, Prosp. of Irel. sec. 6.

** Keat. p. 115, Lond. edit.

* Lib. 1, cap 1.

† Kennedy, p. 107, after the book of Lecal, fol. 112.

‡ Ogyg. part 3, cap. 63.

|| Usser. Primord. cap. 15, p. 611.

¶ Anno. 194.

** Ogyg. part 3, cap. 64.

** Ogyg. part 3, cap. 67.

to form an alliance with a British prince, who supplied him with troops to execute his design. With this succour he embarked, and after a few days sailing reached the bay of Galway, where he disembarked his forces, and was there joined by several of his adherents. After resting his troops for seven days, he began his march and came up with the monarch Art, accompanied by the nineteen sons of Oilíoll-Olum, and an army ready to meet him, at Moymucroimhe, near Athenry, eight miles from Galway. The action was bloody, and the resistance obstinate on both sides, but the monarch having been killed, with Forgo, king of Connaught, and seven sons of the king of Munster, the royal army was defeated. The king of Connaught was succeeded by Kedgin-Cruachna, his paternal uncle. After this victory, Lugaidhe-Mac-Conn had himself proclaimed monarch of Ireland.

During the reign of this monarch, Cormac surnamed Ulfada, son of Art, wishing to secure to himself the crown, which Mac-Conn had wrested from his father, endeavoured to attach friends to his cause.† With this view, he invited Fergus, surnamed Dovededagh, of the tribe of the Earnochs, king of Ulster, to a feast at Breagh, on the river Boyne, in Meath, near the frontiers of Ulster. But Fergus, jealous of the merit of this young prince, or rather of his right to the monarchy, to which he himself aspired, made his servants insult him by setting fire to his beard with a torch.‡ Cormac seeing plainly his life was in danger, sought shelter by flight, and withdrew into Connaught. It is asserted by O'Flaherty,§ after the book of Lecan,|| and other ancient monuments, which he quotes, that Lugaidh was already deposed and expelled from Tara by Cormac, and had retired to Munster; and that he was afterwards assassinated by a druid, called Comain-Eigis in a place named Gort-Anoir, near Dearg-Rath, in the plain of Magh-Feimhin. However this be, the result proved the ambition of Fergus. After the retreat of Cormac, he marched with an army towards Tara, and having gained two victories over Kiann and Eocha, both sons of Oilíoll-Olum, who opposed his claims, he was declared monarch, but did not long enjoy his elevation. Cormac being still a fugitive, had recourse to Thadee, son of Kiann, to whom he represented the dreadful situation of his affairs,

and implored his protection and assistance against the usurper. Thadee was a very powerful prince, lord of the vast domains of Ely, on the frontiers of Leinster and Munster. He received this persecuted prince, with all the distinction due to his birth, and the tenderness of a near relation. He furnished him with troops to support his right to the throne, which Fergus possessed so unjustly, and to take revenge at the same time, for the death of his father. Every thing being prepared, the two princes marched at the head of the army towards the frontiers of Ulster, and came up with the monarch and his two brothers, also called Fergus, who were waiting for them with considerable forces, at Crionn-Chin-Comar, in the territory of Breigia, (Breagh,) in Meath. Both sides fought for some time with equal success, and victory appeared doubtful, till Thadee, with a body of reserve, by one effort decided the fate of the day. The loss of the enemy was considerable: Fergus and his two brothers were found among the number of the slain. After this battle, Cormac was universally acknowledged monarch of the whole island, and to requite his kinsman and ally, for the services he had rendered him in this war, he granted him large possessions, extending from Damliagh, now Duleek, as far as the river Liffey. This territory, which remained for a considerable time in the possession of his descendants, called the Keniads, from Kiann, his father, was known by the name of Kiennacte.*

Fergus was succeeded in the government of Ulster, by Rosse, son of Inchad, of the race of Ir, A.D. 234, who was succeeded the following year by Aongus-Finn, son of Fergus-Dovededagh. Fergus-Fodha, of the race of Ir, succeeded Aongus two years after, who reigned seventy-five years, and was the last king of that race who reigned at Eamhain.†

In the reign of Cormac, the descendants of Fiacha-Suidhe, son of Feilim-Reachtmar, one of the brothers of Conn-Keadcaha, still possessed an extensive territory near Tara, called Deasie-Teamrach, now the barony of Deasie.‡ Those princes though nearly allied to the monarch, declared war against him, on some feigned cause of dissatisfaction. The monarch was unfortunate in the first battle, having lost an eye, and Keallach, his son, being killed; but in the second the rebels were cut to pieces, and forced to abandon Deasie.§ They sought refuge in Munster,

* Ann. 224.

† Keating on the reign of Fergus.

‡ Ogyg. part 3, c. 68. Grat. Luc. c. 8.

§ Ogyg. part 2.

|| Ad. an. 254.

* Ogyg. part. 3, cap. 68.

† Ogyg. part 2, p. 152.

‡ Keating on the reign of Cormac.

§ Ogyg. part. 3, cap. 69.

where Oilioll-Olum, king of that province, who was still living, received them favourably, and gave them a territory in the county of Waterford, which they called Deasie, after that which they had lost near Tara by their revolt. This territory was in the possession of the O'Fallons, their descendants, till the twelfth century.

About a century after their first establishment in this country they extended their dominion, through the liberality of Aongus, son of Nadfraoch, king of Munster, who gave them the plain of Moy-Femen, or Machair-Caissil, on the side of Cashel and Clonmel, which was called north Deasie.

Aidhe, grandson of Conall-Cruachan, who had succeeded Kedgin-Cruachan, on the throne of Connaught, having incurred the resentment of Cormac, was vanquished at the battle of Moy-Ai in the county of Roscommon, and afterwards deprived of his crown, by the monarch, who nominated Niamor, son of Lugne, his brother, in his stead; but the latter having been assassinated a short time after by Aidhe, whom he had succeeded, the monarch was so highly incensed, that he nearly annihilated the race of the Firdomnians, and placed Lugadh, brother of Niamor, on the throne of Connaught.*

Cormac had several wars to maintain against the provincial kings. Gratianus Lucius, after the annals of Tighernmach, says,† he defeated them in thirty-six battles, conquered the Ulster people twice near Granard; killed a considerable number of them, with their king. Aongus-Finn, son of Fergus Dovedagh, at the battle of Crinn-Fregabhail; banished several to the Isle of Man, and the Hebrides; punished the Leinster people for some crimes they were guilty of, and renewed the Boroime, or tribute, which Tuathal had imposed on them, some years before. He defeated the Munster people in several engagements, but was repulsed by Fiacha-Mulleahan, successor to Oilioll-Olum, who died in 250, and Cormac-Cas, his paternal uncle. He was also obliged to repair the losses caused by his army in that province. This prince was great and magnificent both in peace and war: "Vir tam marte quam arte, tam bello quam eruditione clarus."‡ During the wars in which he was engaged, he was not forgetful of literature, and enlarged the establishment founded at Tara by Olave Fola, instituted academies for military discipline, history and jurispru-

dence, and renewed the laws concerning the Psalter of Tara, and the registering of the history of individuals. Finally, he sent a considerable fleet to Albania, which ravaged that country, during three years.*

Eocha-Gunnait, grandson of Fergus Dovedagh, of the tribe of Dalriatagh, race of Heremon, succeeded Cormac, A. D. 258; he reigned but one year.

Carbre Liffeachair, son of Cormac-Ulfada, succeeded Eocha, A. D. 264. During the reign of this monarch, Aidhe, son of Garadh, succeeded Lugadh-Niamor, on the throne of Connaught. He was the last of the race of the Firdomnians, who reigned in this province.

The Irish militia having revolted against the monarch,† after the death of Fionn Mac-Cumhail, their chief, he took Connaught troops into his service,‡ with whom he defeated his rebel subjects, in seven different engagements.§ But at length Moda-Corb, son of Cormac-Cas, and grandson of Fionn Mac-Cumhail, by Samuir, his mother, being then king of Munster, and chief of the Dalcaiss, put himself at the head of the rebels, and marched to Tara, where the monarch, and Aidhe, king of Connaught, were ready to receive him. The battle was fought at Gabhra, near Tara, in Meath, in which the monarch, after defeating in single combat Osgar, son of Ossine, and grandson of Fionn, who was then commander of the militia, was killed by Simeon, son of Keirb, of the tribe of the Fotharts. The king of Connaught having survived this engagement gave battle a second time to the king of Munster at Spaltrach, in Muscry, and by the death of Modh-Corb, revenged that of the monarch.

During the reign of Carbre, Carausius, a native, it is said, of Menapia, in Ireland,|| assumed the regal dignity in Britain.¶ He was a man of low birth, but warlike, and an experienced mariner.** "Vir rei militaris peritissimus," says Eutropius, whom the emperors Dioclesian and Maximian had appointed to defend the maritime parts of Gaul, against the incursions of the Franks and Saxons;†† but his love for wealth having instigated him to act contrary to the public welfare, he was declared an enemy to the state, and condemned to death; whereupon

* Ogyg. part 3, cap. 69.

† Keating on the reign of Carbre.

‡ Grat. Luc. cap. 8.

§ Ogyg. part 3, cap. 70.

|| Camd. Brit. edit. Lond. p 748.

¶ Usser. p. 584.

** Warens, c. 10.

†† Ogygia, part 3. cap. 71.

* Ogyg. part 3, cap. 69.

† Grat. Luc. c. 8, p. 70.

‡ Grat. Luc. c. 8, p. 70.

he got himself proclaimed emperor of Britain, and in spite of the Roman power, supported himself in this rank for seven years, till he was killed by Alectus, who, after acting the same part for the space of three years, was defeated by Constantius Chlorus.

Faha-Airgeach, and Faha-Cairpeach, brothers, and children of Mac-Conn, reigned together for one year after Carbre: the former having murdered the latter, he shared the same fate himself, as he was killed by the militia at the battle of Ollarbha, a river at Moylinne, in the county of Antrim, A.D. 284.

Fiacha-Streabthuine, son of Carbre Lif-feachair, succeeded those two unfortunate princes, A.D. 285.* He was surnamed Streabthuine, from Dun-Streabthuine, where he was nursed.† He had one son, Muiradhach-Tireach, and a brother, Eocha-Dubh-lein: this brother had three sons by Glean, daughter of the king of the Picts, called Cairioll, Muireadhach, and Aodh; better known by the name of the three Collas; namely Colla-Vias, Colla-Da-Crioch, and Colla-Meann. In the reign of Fiacha, Conde of the tribe of the Corcofirtres, succeeded Aidhe, in Connaught, after whose death the sceptre of this province devolved on Muireadhach-Tireach, and remained in his posterity till the twelfth century.

Whilst Muireadhach-Tireach, son of Fiacha, fought with great success against the king of Munster, from whom he carried off both captives and booty, his father had encamped with another army at Dubhcho-mair, near Tailton in Meath. The three Collas, jealous of the reputation of Muireadhach-Tireach, their cousin, and fearing lest, if he became monarch, he should resent an injury they had done him, took advantage of his absence to make war against his father, and thus secure the crown for themselves. With this view, they collected what forces they were able; and having bribed some officers of the monarch's army, they gave him battle, in which he unfortunately perished. Colla-Vais, the eldest of the three brothers, was then proclaimed monarch, A.D. 315. Muireadhach-Tireach being informed of this sudden revolution, marched with a considerable body of troops towards Tara, where he gave the usurper battle, the success of which equalled the justice of his cause. After a reign of four years, Colla-Vais was dethroned; and dreading the punishment which his crime deserved, he left

the kingdom with his two brothers, and about three hundred men who followed his fortune, and took refuge in Albania, with the king of the Picts, his kinsman, who received him honourably.

Muireadhach-Tireach, son of Fiacha-Streabthuine, already king of Connaught, became by the flight of Colla-Vais, monarch of the whole island, A.D. 320. His mother was Aife, of the tribe of the Gallgaodhals or Gadelians of the Hebrides. He married Muirion, daughter of Fiacha, king of Kin-neal-Eoguin, now Tyrone.

Notwithstanding the kind reception the three Collas had met with from the king of the Picts, they considered their separation from their native country as a most insupportable exile: so that, hearing of a general amnesty, granted by the monarch of Ireland to all those who had been concerned in the late revolution, they embarked for their country, accompanied by but twenty-seven men of the three hundred they had brought to Albania, leaving the rest after them. On their arrival in Ireland, they appeared before the monarch with every mark of sorrow for their crime, and easily moved a prince, who was naturally inclined to clemency, to forgive them. As those princes had no possessions to support their rank or the dignity of their birth, the monarch advised them to make an establishment in some part of the country, either by right of conquest or otherwise. He told them that the insult sustained by Cormac-Ulfada, one of their ancestors, from the people of Ulster, and the murder of Conn-Keadcaha, by the orders of Teobraide-Tireach, had never been revenged; that it would be a specious pretext for them to enter this province sword in hand, and establish themselves by right of conquest, and that he would furnish them with troops. The three brothers, filled with gratitude, accepted the proposal, and set out for Ulster at the head of a body of troops, furnished them by the monarch. On their arrival they were joined by malcontents to the number of seven thousand men, headed by a few nobles. With this help, which sufficiently proved the disposition of the people, and was a happy omen of their success, they marched to meet the enemy, who were at Carn-Eocha-Leath-Dearg, in the territory of Fear-moy, in Monaghan. The action began, and the resistance was so obstinate on both sides, that they fought for seven successive days. At length, the king, Fergus-Fodha, being killed, and his army cut to pieces, the field remained in possession of the conquerors: it cost Colla-Meann, one of the three brothers,

* Keating on the reign of Fiacha.

† Ogyg. part 3, cap. 73, 75, et 76.

his life. The victorious army then pillaged the palace of Eamhain, the residence of the kings of Ulster.* Thus ended the reign of the Clanna-Rorys in this province. The Collas banished the people of Ulster to the north of Lake Neagh, and took possession of a large tract of country, which they called Orgiell, named by the English Uriel, or Oriel; it has since been divided into counties, namely, Louth, Armagh, Monaghan, and part of the counties of Down and Antrim, peopled by their numerous posterity. Muireadhach-Tireach was killed at the battle of Portriogh, near lake Dabhal in the twenty-sixth year of his reign. He was succeeded by Caolvach, the last monarch of the race of Ir. The first year of his reign was the last of his life, having been assassinated. He was succeeded by his murderer. A.D. 350.

Eocha XII., surnamed Moy-Veagon, son of Muireadhach-Tireach,† king of Connaught, succeeded to the monarchy.‡ He had four sons by Mung-Fionn, daughter of Fiodhuig, descended in the sixth degree, from Oilioll-Olum, by Eogan-More; namely, Brian, Fiachra, Fergus, and Oilioll. The succeeding kings of Connaught were descended from Brian and Fiachra, Eocha had a fifth son, called Niall, well known in history, by Carthan-Cas-Dubh, daughter of a king of Britain.§ This monarch was continually at war with Eana-Kinsealach, king of Leinster, and son of Laurade, great grandson of Cathire-More. After being defeated in thirteen battles, the monarch died at Tara, and was succeeded by Crimthan, his brother-in-law, son of Fiodhuig, and brother of Mung-Fionn, of the race of Heber, A.D. 360.

The throne of Munster having been vacant in the reign of this monarch, he gave possession of it to Connol-Eachluat, of the branch of Cormac-Cas, contrary to the regulation made by Oilioll-Olum, concerning the succession to the crown of that province,|| which incensed the princes of the branch of Fiacha-Mulleahan. They represented to Connol, that it was their turn to reign, according to the regulation of Oilioll-Olum, who decided that the two branches of Cormac-Cas, and Fiacha-Mulleahan, should reign alternately, and that, therefore, Core was real heir to the throne. Connol, as a just and disinterested man, left the affair to arbitrators, who having decided in favour of Core, Connol abdicated a throne which he

might have retained. This generosity increased considerably the esteem in which the monarch held him; and Core having died some time after, Connol re-ascended the throne.

After an expedition which Crimthan had made into Albania, Britain, and Gaul, from whence he had brought immense booty, he was poisoned by Mung-Fiona, his sister, at Inis-Dorn-Glasse, an island in the river Muade,* who hoped by that means to place Brian, her son, whom she loved tenderly, on the throne in his stead; but she was disappointed in her expectations; for having tasted of the poisoned cup before she presented it to her brother, she died the first: so that the whole race of Brian was excluded from the monarchy, except Roderick O'Connor, and Terdelach, his father.†

Niall the Great, son of Eocha-Moy-Veagon, and Carthan-Cas-Dubh,‡ succeeded Crimthan on the throne of Ireland, A.D. 379. He was surnamed Noygiollach,§ as we should say in Latin, "Noviobesæ," from the nine hostages which he had forced his enemies to give him. He had one son named Fiacha, by Inne, his first wife, who was descended in the sixth degree, from Fergus-Dovededagh, the monarch: and seven by his second wife, Roigneach; namely, Laogare, Eogan, Eanna, Cairbre, Maine, Conall-Gulban, and Conall-Creamthine.

The monarch was a valiant and experienced warrior, as appears by the number of captives he had taken from the Picts, Britons, and Gauls, and the immense booty he carried away.|| We must, however, examine the origin of the Scots, or Scotch, before we speak of his expeditions beyond sea; the relation which exists between them and the Irish, making this investigation necessary.

The histories of the Milesians mention several colonies which they had sent at different times to Albania, in the first ages of Christianity; from which the Scots of Albania, at present the Scotch, derive their origin. They are descended from the colonies which went from Ireland to Britain, and settled with the Picts in the northern parts of that island, which was at that time called Albania.

The first colony of the Scoto-Milesians,

* Grat. Luc. cap. 8.

† Ogyg. part 3, cap. 81.

‡ Keat. on the reign of Niall.

§ Ogyg. part 3, cap. 85.

|| "He was a man very valiant, most skilled in war. He overcame in several engagements the Albanians, Picts, and Gauls, and carried off great numbers of prisoners, and of cattle."—*Gratianus Lucius*, c. 8, on the reign of Nelliuss.

* Ogyg. part 3, cap. 75.

† Keating on the reign of Eocha.

‡ Grat. Luc. cap. 8.

§ Ogyg. part 3, cap. 79.

|| Keating on the reign of Crimthan.

which was established in Albania, was commanded, in the beginning of the third century, by Cairbre, otherwise Eocha-Riada, son of Conare II., monarch of Ireland.* The emigration of this colony could not have taken place before the year 211; as the territory inhabited by this colony on its first settlement in Albania, was, at the time of the expedition of Severus into the north of Britain, (which Usher fixes in the year 208)† in possession of the Dicaledonians, a tribe of the Picts, so called from their proximity to the wall of Adrian, which divided them from the Meaths in the south, as the Grampian or Drum-Albin hills, (called by Fordonius "dorsi-Britannici,") divided them from the Vecturians, another tribe of the Picts, occupying the north.‡

In this expedition, in which Severus lost fifty thousand men, he extended his conquests to the northern extremity of the country; however, it is not said he had any other enemies to contend with than the Meaths, Caledonians, and Vecturians. He died three years afterwards at York, as he was preparing for a second expedition against the Meaths and Caledonians, who revolted.§

Eumenes, the Rhetorician, is the first who in the panegyric he delivered a century after, at Treves, in presence and in honour of Constantine, spoke of the inhabitants of Albania, by the name of Picts, whom he divides, with Ammianus Marcellinus, into Caledonians and Vecturians, after comparing the state of affairs in Britain, under Julius Cæsar and Constantius Chlorus;|| so that in the whole of this history, given by Usher, after Herodian and Dio, no mention is made of a nation of Scots established in Britain. We must therefore fix their arrival in Albania, later than the year 211, which agrees with the time of Conare II., father of Riada, whose reign began in Ireland in 212.

Usher and O'Flaherty assert, that the colony of Cairbre-Riada had first settled in the north of Ireland, and it was not till the beginning of the sixth century that they went to Albania with Fergus, three hundred years after the death of Riada; but the former opinion seems more in conformity with Bede, who says that Riada went in person. The following are his own expressions;

* Kennedy, p. 105 & 106.

† Index. Chronol. p. 1079.

‡ Usher. appendix, p. 1021 et 1022.

§ Usserius, index Chronol. p. 1080.

|| "I do not allude, among his other numerous exploits, to his conquests over the Caledonians and Picts, besides whom there were others of that name as well as Vecturians."—Usher, c. 15, p. 586.

—"Besides the Britons and Picts, a colony of Scots having left Ireland under the command of Reuda, from whom they were called Dalreudini, settled in Britain with the Picts, either peaceably or by force."* The second opinion is true, if we mean thereby the perfect establishment of the Scots in Albania, forming a people governed by kings.

Riada, with his colony, having taken possession of a territory to the north of the gulf of Dumbarton, which was in the possession of the Dicaledonians in the time of Severus, and ceded to him by the Picts, in consideration of his aid against the Britons, gave the command of it to Kinta, his son; after which he returned to Ireland, where he died. This commencement of the Scotch nation in Albania, though weak at first, became afterwards very powerful.

To throw more light on this history, we must trace it back to its source, and examine the origin of Eocha-Riada, mentioned by Bede, under the name of Reuda.

Ængus III., (called Æneas by O'Flaherty) surnamed Turmeach, monarch of Ireland, had two sons, namely, Ennius, Enna, Eadna or Eanda, surnamed Aighmach; and Flacha A.M. 3870. B.C. 130.† By the former, who was legitimate, he was ancestor of all the kings of Ireland, who succeeded him.‡ By the latter, the fruit of the incest he committed with his own daughter, or sister, in a state of intoxication,§ he was ancestor of the Ear-nochs,|| Dalfiatachs, Deagades, Dalriads, and consequently of the Scotch, as we shall hereafter see.¶

Ængus was surnamed Turmeach, signifying shame, for, although a pagan, he was always so much ashamed of the infamous action he had committed, that he endeavoured to conceal it from the knowledge of the world, by committing the child, which was the fruit of his crime, in a little boat, to the mercy of the winds and waves, in hopes of its perishing. But like another Moses, the innocent child was preserved by some fishermen, who gave him the surname of Fearmara. Fiacha-Fearmara had a son called Oilíoll-Earn, who,

* "In the course of time, Britain, after the Britons and Picts, admitted a third nation the Scots among the Picts, who under the guidance of Reuda, left Ireland, and claimed from either friendship, or by the sword, a settlement among them, which they thus far hold; from that leader they retain to this day, the name of Dalreudini."—Bede's Church Hist. b. 1. c. 1.

† Ogyg. part 3, c. 40.

‡ Lecan, fol. 294, p. 8, col. 3.

§ Keating on the reign of Ængus.

|| Grat. Luc. c. 8, p. 64.

¶ Kennedy, p. 44.

with the consent of the tribe of Ir, which then possessed Ulster, settled with his vassals near lake Earn, from whence his descendants, forming a considerable tribe, were called Earnochs. After Oilioll Earn, the tribe was successively governed by Fearadach, his son, and Forgo, his grandson.

Sir George M'Kenzie, in the preface to the reader, which he has affixed to his Defence of the Royal Lineage of Scotland, mentions having seen an ancient manuscript belonging to the monastery of Hy, in which it was said that *Ængus-Turteampher*, (the same undoubtedly as our *Ængus-Turmeach*) reigned in Ireland five generations before their Fergus I., and that it was under him the separation of the Scots of Ireland from those of Albania took place. This manuscript agrees perfectly with the genealogy of Forgo who, according to the ancient monuments of the Milesians, is the fifth descendant in a direct line from *Ængus III.*, surnamed *Turmeach*. Would the conjecture be rash, were we to say that this Forgo, son of Fearadach, is the same as Fergus, son of Ferchard, who, according to Buchanan, was first king of Scotland? The names are very nearly alike; and the only difference arises from the Latin termination which Buchanan gives them, or from this author's ignorance of the ancient language of his country, in which those names were originally written. However, Forgo never left his country, but became after his father, chief of the tribe of the Earnochs of lake Earn. In this rank he was perhaps called king, through courtesy, as it was general among the Milesians to give that title to princes, and lords of extensive possessions. This conjecture will be much strengthened, if we compare the descendants of Forgo, down to Eocha-Riada inclusively, forming twenty generations, with the genealogy of the kings of Scotland, delivered by a Scotch antiquarian, at the coronation of Alexander II., and quoted by John Major, in his history: * it will be seen that those genealogies correspond exactly, in the names, pronunciation, and manner of writing them, in their order and number; except that the Scotch antiquary, or perhaps the author who published it, adds one more.

Those two genealogies are represented in the two following columns: the left gives the genealogy of Forgo, according to the Milesians, and the right, that of the kings of Scotland, according to the antiquary above mentioned.

Forgo.	Forgso.
Main.	Man.
Earndail.	Arindil.
	Rowein.
Rothrer.	Redher.
Thrér.	Thér.
Rosin.	Rosin.
Sin.	Syn.
Deaga.	Dechach.
Kiar.	Jair.
Olill.	Eliala.
Eogan.	Ewan.
Ederskeol, monarch of Ireland.	Edherskeol.
Conar-More, monarch of Ireland.	Conere-More.
Carbre-Fin-More.	Carbre-Find-More.
Dare-Dorn-More.	Dara-Deomore.
Corbre-Crom-Chion.	Corbre-Edancrum.
Luigh-Allatach.	Lughtach-Etholac.
Mogalama.	Mogalama.
Conare II., monarch of Ireland.	Conare.
Eocha-Riada.	Ethad-Riad.

It is evident, that, in those two columns, the names are fundamentally the same, and that if there are a few letters more or less, or any transposition of letters, it creates no essential difference, and the error should only be attributed to the copyists. The addition of the name Rowein, which is in the catalogue of the Scotch antiquarian, is probably derived from "*Roghein*," which signifies "to be born of;" and the antiquary having found it between the names Earndail and Rothrer, to show that Rothrer was son of Earndail, he took it for a proper name, thus adding a generation.

By special privilege, or rather by a license belonging only to poets, Buchanan deviates, in this catalogue of the kings of Scotland, from the genealogy left by this antiquarian. He has obscured and disfigured the names of the kings, so that very few of them agree with it, although the antiquarian lived three hundred years before him, and consulted the ancient monuments, unknown perhaps to Buchanan, for this genealogy; but the latter made up the deficiency by fiction. May we not reproach him as Camden has done in a like case, that he preferred deliberating with the subtlety of his wit, to think justly with others? "*Maluit cum suo acumine delirare, quam cum receptâ lectione rectè sentire.*"

With regard to the separation of the two people, mentioned in the manuscript of M'Kenzie, and from which this author claims

* De gest. Scot.

* Brit. page 62.

some advantage in favour of his system, it should be considered less a local than a genealogical separation of the two branches, the chiefs of which were Ennius and Fiacha, without either of them having gone to Albania.

Deaga, the ninth descendant in a direct line from Oilioll-Earn, was chief of the tribe of the Earnochs. The Clanna-Rorys, who had granted them an asylum, some time before, in their kingdom, taking umbrage at their growing power, declared war against them, forced them to quit their establishment at Lake Earn, and seek their fortunes elsewhere.

Deaga led them into the province of Munster, where Duach III., then monarch of the island, surnamed Dalta-Deagaigh, being the adopted son of Deaga, granted them a retreat in the northern part of the province, now called the county of Kerry, A. M. 3950, B. C. 50. This territory was called after their chief Luaghair-Deaghaigh.*

After the death of Duach, Deaga succeeded to the monarch of the whole island; he had three sons, Hiar, Dair, and Conal, to distinguish them from another tribe of the Earnochs, who descended from Eocha, brother of Deaga, and took the name of Dalfiatachs, from Fiatach, monarch in the first century; it was called the tribe of the Deagades, from the name of their chief, which according as they increased, were subdivided into other branches, as the Clan-Chonaires, Muskrys, Baskins, and Dalriads.

The Deagades became so powerful in Munster, that they frequently disputed the sovereignty of it with the ancient proprietors, the Heberians. They governed sometimes alternately with them, and sometimes alone, till their power was limited by Modha-Nuagaid. Though this king had humbled them in war, their chiefs always preserved the rank and dignity of princes, till the marriage of Conare, son of Mogalama, with Saraïd, daughter of Conn-Keadcaha. This marriage by which Conare became son-in-law to the monarch, and brother-in-law of Oilioll-Olum, heir of Modha-Nuagaid, king of Munster, who had married Sabia, sister of Saraïd, revived the expiring glory of the Deagades. Art, son of Conn-Keadcaha, was a minor at the death of his father; and being incapable of reigning, according to the fundamental laws of the state, Conare, his brother-in-law, was raised to the monarchy, by the name of Conare II. He had by

Saraïd three sons, who became chiefs of three considerable tribes; namely, Carbre-Musc, Carbre-Baskin, and Carbre-Riada. According to the book of Lecan, those three brothers were also known by the name of Angus, Oilioll, and Eocha.*

The tribe of Carbre-Musc, were called the Muscrys; and their possessions, in the county of Cork, are still known by the name of Muskerry. Dal-Baskin, that is to say, the tribe of Carbre-Baskin, possessed Corca-Baskin in the county of Clare; and the part of the tribe of Riada, who remained in Ireland, settled in Kiery-Luachra and Orrery, in the neighbourhood of Muskerry. Some commotions which afterwards arose in Ulster, between the Clanna-Rorys, and the three brothers, called the three Collas, the latter having invaded a part of this province, which they erected into a principality or kingdom under the name of Uriel, was a favourable opportunity taken advantage of by this demitribe of Riada, then commanded by Fergus-Ulidian their chief, and fifth descendant, in a direct line, of Carbre, to form a new establishment in the north of the island, which, according to Usher,† was called Dalriada; at present Route, in the county of Antrim.

Eocha-Riada, as we have already seen, having established his son at the head of a colony in Albania, called also the Dalriads, there always existed between them and the Dalriads in Ulster a league of friendship, and close connexion; although separated by a small portion of the sea, they were always considered as the same tribe, and were long governed by the same chiefs. Encouraged by the success of the Dalriads, several others went to Albania, in the same and succeeding centuries, either to settle there, or to second the Dalriads in the incursions they made from time to time into Britain. The principal chiefs of those first colonies were Mac-Coun, who, having succeeded to the monarchy of Ireland, left the command of the colony to his son, Caha-Fanan, ancestor of the Mac-Allens, Campbells, &c., and Colla-Vais, from whom the Mac-Donnells, and many other illustrious families, both in Ireland and Scotland, derive their origin. Criomthan, son of Fiacha VII., and many others, brought colonies there. Such was the state of affairs of the Dalriads of Albania. They possessed a small portion of the country which served as an arsenal and a retreat for their friends in Ireland, who came to join them. They did not yet form a kingdom or

* Ogyg. part 3, cap. 42.

* Fol. 200, p. A. Fol. 112, p. B. col. 1, 2, 3.

† Prim. cap. 15, p. 611.

state independent of Ireland; their little territory was nearly like Calais, which did not form a state independent of England. When this place was in the power of the English, the inhabitants were looked upon as English, and subjects of England, even the children born there. The Dalriads of Albania received from those of Ulster, assistance both in men and money; they enriched themselves with the spoils of the Britons, and began to live independent of the Picts, which excited the jealousy of the latter against them, and made them deliberate on some means of checking their increasing power.*

The Dalriads, justly alarmed at the storm which threatened them, implored the protection and aid of the monarch of Ireland, whom they still considered as their sovereign.†

Niall, being anxious to preserve this portion of his empire in Albania, crossed the sea at the head of his army, and having reduced the Picts to reason, forced them to give up the territories of Cantire and Argyle to the Dalriads, and to live in peace with them.‡ Having appeased the troubles in Albania, he entered Britain with his forces, and ravaged the whole country, A.D. 388. He then embarked for Armorica, from whence he brought considerable booty, with several captives, in the number of whom was Patrick, afterwards apostle of Ireland, who was sixteen years of age, and his two sisters, Lupidia and Darerca.§

The first of the three devastations committed by the Scots and Picts in Britain, mentioned by Gildas Britanicus, began in the reign of Niall,|| who, encouraged by his former success, and by the retreat of Maximus the tyrant,¶ who abandoned this island, by removing not only the Roman troops,** but also all the youth capable of bearing arms,†† whom he had taken with him into Gaul, (of which Gildas himself complains,)||

raised a powerful army and led it into Britain. It was to those preparations, and to this armament of Niall, that Claudion alluded in the subjoined verses, by introducing Britain as speaking for herself.*

Niall, discovering that the Britons lived without apprehension, and placed too much confidence in the defence of the wall and entrenchments which Severus had built to protect them from the insults of the barbarians, ravaged their lands and possessions, in conjunction with the Picts, and continued the devastation for several years.† It was at this time that the Britons sent a deputation to Stilico, a Roman General, who granted them one legion; but this succour proved ineffectual against the barbarians, who harassed the Romans by frequent skirmishing. Even this legion was recalled to Rome,‡ where Alaric, king of the Goths, was waging war in the centre of the empire, having given them battle at Pollens, and afterwards laid siege to their capital.

The fleet of Niall coasted along Britain during the time of this expedition,§ and afterwards sailed with him to Armorica,|| where he was killed, on the banks of the river Loire,¶ by an arrow discharged by Eocha, son of Eana-Kinseallach, king of Leinster,** who thus took revenge for some affront he had received from the monarch. It was in the reign of Niall, that the six sons of Muredus, king of Ulster, with a considerable fleet, took possession of the northern part of Britain, where they founded a nation called Scotia.††

forces and rulers (though great), and a number of her youth, (who, after accompanying the footsteps of the tyrant, never returned), she was unskilled altogether in the practices of war, and was now trampled upon by two nations from beyond the seas—the Scots from the west, and the Picts from the north. In this state of stupor and suffering has she continued for many years.”—*Usher on Gildas*, c. 15, page 593.

* “Stylichio, she says, hath fortified me when perishing by neighbouring nations: when the Scots put all Ierna into motion, and the sea foamed with the oar of the enemy.”—*Usher*.

† “The British people, living unguardedly on account of the security of the wall which was built by Severus Caesar, were attacked by two nations, viz., the Picts from the north, and Scots from the west, who laid their country waste, and overwhelmed them with misery, for many years.”—*Usher*, c. 15, p. 594.

‡ *Usher*, c. 15, p. 595.

§ Keating on the reign of Niall.

|| *Grat. Luc.* c. 8.

¶ *Ogyg.* part 2, p. 159. ** *Ib.* part 3, c. 85.

†† “When Niellus the Great was monarch of Ireland, the six sons of king Muredus of Ulster, seized, with a powerful fleet, upon the northern

* *Petr. Lombard. comment. de Hibern. cap. 2. p. 31 et 32.*

† *Keat. on the reign of Niall.*

‡ *Walsh. Prosp. of Irel. part 1. sect. 1.*

§ “At this time, a fleet from Ireland was ravaging the country in which St. Patrick was tarrying, and according to a custom among the Irish, many were led into captivity, and amongst them Patrick, who was then in his sixteenth year; also his two sisters, Lupida and Darerca. St. Patrick was carried prisoner into Ireland in the ninth year of Niall's reign, who ruled Ireland during 27 years, and laid waste Britain and Gaul.”—*Usher on the Life of St Patrick*, c. 17, p. 828.

|| A.D. 393.

¶ *Usher. primord. Eccles.* c. 15, p. 595.

** *Grat. Luc.* c. 8. †† *Ogyg.* part 3, c. 85.

†† “After this, Britain being stripped of her

Dathy, son of Fiachra, brother of Niall, succeeded him, and was the last pagan monarch of Ireland, after being king of Connaught, the throne of which he gave to his brother Amalgad, who gave his name to Ter-Amalgad, otherwise Tyrawly, a territory in the county of Mayo. In the time of this monarch, Nedfraoch, of the race of Oilioill-Olum, by Eogan More, governed Munster, having succeeded Cork, his father. The king who reigned in Leinster at that time, was Eocha, son of Eana-Kinseallach, who had killed Niall-Noygiollagh in Armoric; he was succeeded by his son Randubh.

During the reign of Dathy in Ireland, the Roman empire was torn on all sides. In Britain, Gratian had himself acknowledged emperor;* however his reign lasted but for a short time,† for at the end of four months he was killed by the militia, and Constantine put in his place. The latter drew with him into Gaul, the few troops that the tyrant Maximus had left in Britain, and by this means the island was abandoned to the fury of the barbarians. The Burgundians and Franks made their irruptions into Gaul; Rome was besieged by Alaric; the Vandals, Swedes, and Alani, fell upon Spain; the Goths, with Attalus and Atulphus at their head, entered Gaul, so that the empire became the prey of all these barbarous nations.

The Scots and Picts, always the implacable enemies of the Britons, availed themselves of these disorders to make their usual incursions into Britain. It was at that time that the second dreadful devastation mentioned by Gildas (and which Usher speaks of, to have occurred in 426,) took place, and caused the Britons to send deputies to Rome, in order to implore relief, that their country, so long a Roman province, might not be totally destroyed and effaced.‡

parts of Britain, and a people who were descended from them were called Scotch."—*Cambrensis in Topography*.

* Beda, lib. 1, c. 11.

† Ogyg. part 3, cap. 87.

‡ "From these things we have collected the second devastation, and the second persecution, which Gildas remarks to have happened to Britain, about the year 426. Sabellicus thus briefly describes the history of these events: 'When the Burgundians were ravaging Gaul, Ætius was forced to recall his troops from the island. He put all his forces into motion against the Burgundii, except one legion, which was left to guard the Parisians and their neighbours to south of them.' The Scots, after the departure of the legions, rise up, together with the people of Albania, and make their attacks with fire and sword, upon the maritime towns of Britain."—*Usher*, c. 15, p. 603.

Valentinian III., now emperor, sent to their relief the legion which Ætius had left at Paris. This cohort of disciplined troops repulsed the barbarians, and killed many of them. The Romans after this announced to the Britons that they could no longer undertake such distant and fatiguing expeditions; that they themselves should learn the use of arms and military discipline, in order to defend themselves against their enemies. The Romans, before their departure, had a wall built of stone, eight feet in thickness, and twelve in height, to check, if possible, the incursions of the barbarians. This wall was raised upon the same foundation, as that which the emperor Severus had constructed of earth two centuries before. Towers were placed at regular distances, on the south side of Britain to defend it against the incursions of the Scots, who were generally hovering around the coast with their fleet. The Romans having regulated the affairs of Britain, took their last leave of the island.*

In this interval, Dathy, monarch of Ireland, and a warlike prince, who followed the footsteps of Niall, his predecessor, entered Britain in person, at the head of a large army;† from thence he went to Gaul, and taking advantage of the consternation in which the Romans were,‡ on account of the number of enemies they had to encounter, he extended his conquests to the Alps,§ where he was killed by lightning, after having gained several battles over those who disputed his passage.|| His body was brought

"When their former enemies discovered that the Roman forces were withdrawn, they, aided with their fleet, invade the country, and put all to the sword; they mow down and trample upon every thing in their march. The Britons dispatch ambassadors to Rome, supplicating aid with tears and lamentations, saying, not to suffer their unhappy country to be entirely blotted out, nor that which had so long borne the name of a Roman province to be extinguished by wicked nations."—*Beda's History of the Church*, b. 1, c. 12.

* "The Romans then announced to the Britons, that they could no longer undertake painful expeditions for their defence: they advised them to run to arms and attack the enemy with eagerness; besides they considered (as they were now forced to abandon them as allies) that this would benefit them, viz., to construct a wall from sea to sea, to be built of solid stone, where Severus formerly made a rampart. On the southern parts adjoining the ocean, where their ships were kept to watch the enemy, they built towers at proper intervals, towards the sea, and thus bid adieu to their allies, intending never to return."—*Beda's Church Hist.* b. 1, c. 12.

† Keating on the reign of Dathy.

‡ Grat. Luc. cap. 8.

§ Ogyg. part 2, cap. 160.

|| Ogyg. part 5, cap. 87.

to Ireland, and interred at Cruachan, the burial place of the kings of Connaught.

It is not astonishing that foreign authors have not mentioned those rapid expeditions, the only fruit of which, was the devastation of the provinces, without leaving any colony, who might be interested in preserving to posterity, the remembrance of the deeds of their ancestors, like the Burgundians, Franks, and others who profited by their conquests. There were also but few writers in those ages of trouble and darkness; and the name of Pharamond would perhaps have remained unknown, were it not for the colony which he established in Gaul.

The relation of this expedition of Dathy, mentioned in all the Irish writings,* agrees with the Piedmontese tradition, and a very ancient registry in the archives of the house of Sales, in which it is said, that the king of Ireland remained some time in the castle of Sales. I received this account from Daniel O'Mulryan, a captain in the regiment of Mount Cashel, who assured me he was told it by the Marquis de Sales, at the table of Lord Mount Cashel, who had taken him prisoner at the battle of Marsaille. The army of Dathy, which was composed of select troops of the Scots from Ireland, and Dalriads from Albania, were obliged (when they lost their chief) to disperse, and seek safety in flight and disorder.

The Christian religion was not altogether unknown in Ireland, in the reign of Dathy. The first sound of the Christian name spread itself, it is said, in the island in the time of Conquovar Nesson, king of Ulster, through Conal Kearnach, a celebrated wrestler,† who travelling for many years in foreign countries, arrived at Jerusalem at the time of the passion of our Lord. O'Flaherty relates that this account accords with a tradition frequently mentioned by the antiquarians of that country;§ but he appears to doubt it himself, as well as the prophecy of Bacrach the druid, who foretold, as the sybils had done, the miraculous birth and shameful death of a divine person, who was to be the Saviour of the human race.

Indeed it is not surprising that the gospel should have been introduced at an early period into this island. The Scoto-Milesians were much inclined to travel; and the apostles had preached the gospel freely to all nations, from India as far as Britain,|| in

the time of the emperors Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, and till the tenth year of Nero.

The progress of Christianity was so rapid, that there was no nation from east to west, not only on the continent, but also in the islands in the middle of the sea, in which the gospel was unknown after thirty or thirty-five years.*

Grave authors assert, that the gospel had been preached in the Britannic isles, by some of the apostles; they do not agree, however, respecting the names of these apostolical missionaries. Nicephorus in his ecclesiastical history,† says, that, "Simon Zelotus had carried the gospel as far as the Western Ocean and the British isles, and that this apostle was crucified in Britain."‡ This opinion is supported by the Greek menologists, but is contradicted by the Roman Breviary and martyrology, and by Bede, Usserius, and Ado, who fix the martyrdom of that apostle in Persia, on the 28th of October.§

Simon the Metaphrast,|| after Eusebius, says, that St. Peter undertook that mission, who, according to him, had been a long time in Britain, "where he drew many to the faith of Jesus Christ, founded churches, ordained bishops, priests, and deacons."¶ Others assert that it was St. Paul, and others St. James, son of Zebedee, who according to Vincent of Beauvais, had preached

from India to Britain, were; even from the cold regions of the north and the south Atlantic; so great were the multitudes of men from all nations."—*St. Jerome.*

* "Not islands, nor a continent, nor three parts which nature hath assigned to men."—*Usher.*

† "The word of God has been preached not only on the continent, but even in those islands lying in the midst of the sea; they are full of Christians and of the servants of God. The sea does not separate him who has made it. Cannot the words of God approach where ships approach."—*St. Augustin.*

‡ "So great was the progress in virtue, that the Romans, the Persians, the Medes, the Scythians, the Ethiopians, Sarmatians, Saracens, and every race of men embraced the yoke of truth in a space of 30 years."—*Usher on St. Paul*, p. 1053.

§ "Being made preacher of the word of God, he gained the reputation of his faith, teaching both in the east and in the west. Coming to the boundaries of the west, and undergoing martyrdom, decreed by princes against him, he thus passed from the world."—*St. Clemens, disciple of Paul, according to Usher.*

|| Lib. 2, cap. 40, apud Usser. primord, cap. 1, p. 7.

† Ogyg. part 3, c. 48.

§ Tom. 2, Antig, Lect. Henr. apud Usser. ibid.

|| Metaphrast, Comment. de Petro et Paulo, ad diem 29 Junii.

¶ Baron. annal. vol. 1, art. 61, Usser. ibid.

* Kennedy, p. 137.

† Keating on the reign of Conquovar.

‡ Usser. Primord. cap. 16, p. 739.

§ Ogyg. part 3, cap. 48.

|| "Where men from every part of the world

the gospel in Ireland:* according to others, it was there that the canonical epistle was written, of which, in the general and more probable opinion, James the younger, who was bishop of Jerusalem, was the author.† All the history of his preaching in Ireland and in Spain, will fall of itself, if, as the critics say, he had been put to death by Herod, before the separation of the apostles. Although it be, among so many different opinions, difficult to discover the truth, it is probable that the gospel had been preached at an early period in those islands:‡ Gildas Britannicus bears testimony for his own nation, and the Christians whom Ireland produced in the first ages of Christianity are a proof in favour of this island. But as the divine word had fallen in a barren and ungrateful soil, and that it did not please God to give strength to it, those nations soon returned to their former worship.

Among the number of the first Christians in Ireland, is St. Mansuy, in Latin, Mansuetus, a disciple, it is said, of St. Peter, who having preached the gospel in Lorrain, by order of this apostle, became first bishop of Toul, where he is honoured as first patron. According to the present critics, the inhabitants of Toul were not converted till the third or fourth century, in which case this saint could not have been a disciple of St. Peter. However this be, St. Mansuy is always acknowledged first bishop of Toul, and was canonized in the eleventh century by Pope Leo IX., who was before bishop of this see.

Several ancient writers mention the sanctity and country of St. Mansuy,§ extracts from whose works are to be found in the history of the Gallican church, written by Francis Bosquet, pretor of Narbonne, and published in Paris in 1686. The most celebrated of those writers is Adso, abbot of Montiers-en-Derf, who wrote, in the tenth century, the life of this holy saint, by order of Gerrard, who was then bishop of Toul;|| but the verses which were placed at the head of his work, in which he sings the praises of the saint, are omitted in the Bosquet edition.

* In Spec. hist. lib. 8. c. 7. Usser. p. 5.

† Hug. Archipresbyter Toletanus in Chronic. apud Usser. primord. cap. 16. p. 743.

‡ Britannorum inaccess Romanis loca, Christo vero subdita, Tertull. contra Jud. cap. 7.

§ "From the annals of the Tullenses, St. Mansuetus, was bishop and a disciple of St. Peter: he was from the nation of Scotia."—Usher.

|| "Of Toul in Gaul, St. Mansuetus a native of Scotia was bishop and a disciple of St. Peter."—Usher.

Dempster, always eager for the glory of his country, and desirous that it should have the honour of giving birth to this saint, quotes the first line of Adso, in which he is simply called a Scot, "protulerat quemdam generosum Scotia natum, Mansuetum," but suppresses the following stanza,* which plainly indicates his country to have been Ireland, anciently called Scotia, and implies, that, in the time of this saint, his country abounded with true worshippers. Dempster possesses, in an admirable way, the talent of appropriating to himself what does not belong to him,† like the bird in the fable which decks itself with borrowed plumes; and by means of the analogy of the names Scotia and Scoti, claims, says Usher, every character celebrated for learning or piety, mentioned by the ancients, under the name of Scots, at a time when the Scoto-Britons were confined to the narrow limits of Dalriada, forming but an inconsiderable canton in Albania.‡

The modern Scotch follow the example of Dempster, and load the Irish with those reproaches which they themselves have reason to expect from this nation. Abercromby, one of their authors, says gravely, "that he is sorry to reproach Ireland with the robbery not only of flocks and cattle, but also of a number of great men. He must be poor indeed," adds he, "who boasts of what does not belong to him."

These are high-sounding words, which prove nothing; Abercromby should have begun with the source, by laying it down as an indisputable principle, and proving by authentic monuments, that the Scotch monarchy had been founded previous to the year 503: that this people alone were known by the name of Scots, before and after this period, till the ninth century, and the reduction of the Picts; and lastly, that modern Scotland had been celebrated in the first ages of Christianity for piety and learning, whilst ignorance and irreligion prevailed in Ireland; but, unfortunately for

* Incluta Manusueti Claris natalibus orti
Progenies titulis fulget in orbe suis,
Insula Christicolæ gestabet Hibernia gentes.
Unde genus traxit et stratus unde fuit.

† "The origin of Manusuetis descended of illustrious parentage, shines in the world; the island of Hibernia has borne a Christian people, and hath also borne him."—Ware.

‡ "And from thence, as many of the Scoti as he had discovered of celebrity among writers (when the Scoto-Britanni were confined within the narrow boundaries of Dalriada) to be drawn in crowds: he transfers them to the lesser Scotia, confines them to an angle, and confounds all in a mass."—Usher, c. 16, page 738.

him, the contrary has been frequently proved. The judicious reader may infer what degree of belief the Scotch authors, after Fordun, merit* (who was the first to forge their chimerical antiquity, in the fourteenth century) in comparison with Bede, Giraldus Cambrensis, Luddus, Camden, the bishop of St. Asaph, Stillingfleet, Usher, Ware, and so many others, who were foreigners, and not interested in this dispute. The learned Elfinstone, bishop and chancellor of Scotland, under James the IV., was so little pleased with the historical chimeras of his countrymen, respecting ancient times, that he refers the curious to the ancient monuments of the Irish, to acquire a more ample knowledge of them.† Buchanan himself was so diffident of this, that he confessed it was with difficulty he had determined on writing the history of his country.‡ But what should confound those plagiarists, and prove the vanity of their pretensions respecting the missionaries and learned men mentioned by foreign authors, under the name of Scots, is the obscurity of that people before the ninth century, and their neglect in those early days, as Innes, one of their modern historians, allows. Camden, who describes Scotland and Ireland in his *Brittania*, says nothing of the religion of the Scotch, while he gives the highest praise to the Irish, both for their piety and learning: he says that Ireland was called the Island of Saints, on account of the rapid progress Christianity had made in it, and that it supplied all Europe with swarms of missionaries.

Usher, Colgan,§ Ware, and others, mention four holy bishops called by Usher the precursors of St. Patrick, as they had preached the gospel in Ireland|| some years before Pope Celestine had sent him to convert this island.¶ Those saints were Declan, Ailbeus, Kieran and Ibar.** Usher gives an abridged

history of the life, country, and mission of these holy men. Declan, he says, son of Erc, prince of Nandesi, of the royal race of the kings of Tara, (who was apparently of the race of Fiacha-Suidne, brother of Con-Keadcaha, whose descendants were banished from Meath by the monarch Cormac Ulfa-da, on account of their revolt,) having been baptized by Colman, a priest distinguished for his sanctity, and afterwards, appointed bishop, was instructed in the Christian religion by Dymma, who had lately returned to the country, of which he was a native. The young proselyte made so rapid a progress in the doctrine, that he drew after him a great number of disciples; among others, Mochelloc, Bean, Colman, Lachnin, Mob, Pindlugue, and Caminan, each of whom built a cell or chapel in the environs of Mag-Scethih, otherwise "Campus-Scuti," in the territory of Nandesi and county of Waterford, which was the place where St. Declan resided.

The desire of becoming perfect induced our saint to go to Rome, with some of his disciples. He wished to take, from the source itself, the spirit and morals becoming his station, and to receive from the Vicar of Jesus Christ, the orders and mission necessary to preach the gospel. On his arrival at Rome, he was received with distinction by the Pope, St. Cyricius; and his noble, mild, and affable deportment rendered him the admiration of the Roman people. After remaining some time at Rome, St. Declan was ordained bishop by the Pope, and sent back to his own country, with full power to preach the gospel.

We discover in the life of St. Declan that he met St. Ailbeus at Rome.* The latter was a native of the territory of Eliach, otherwise Ely-ô-Carroll, in the province of Munster, but now in Leinster. His father and mother were Olenais and Sandith. In his youth he was instructed and baptized by a Christian priest, sent by the holy see as missionary to Ireland.

After some time St. Ailbeus went to Rome, where he perfected himself in the holy Scriptures, under the guidance of bishop Hilarius, who having witnessed the sanctity of his life, and purity of his doctrine, sent him to receive orders from the hands of the Pope. The sovereign pontiff received him with joy, and after keeping him for some time with him, consecrated him bishop for the mission of Ireland, his country, where

holy prelate Declanus, in his own district, called Nandesi."—*Usher, Church Hist.* c. 16, p. 781.

* Usser. Ind. Chronol. add ann. 397.

* See Chapters VI. and VII. of the first part of this history.

† See the Preface of Stillingfleet, p. 53.

‡ "Therefore I have long withheld myself from becoming one of that body, lest by admiring fables, as others, I should become puerile."—*Buchanan in Camd.* p. 85.

§ Colg. Triad. Thaum, append. 5: cap. 15.

|| Ware de Præsul. et Antiq. cap. 29.

¶ Ogyg. part 3, cap. 85.

** "Before St. Patrick, four very holy bishops came to Ireland, and preached the doctrine of Christ.—Ailbeus, Declanus, Ibarus, and Kieranus; who drew, in the net of the gospel, many to Christ. In the meanwhile, the Christian faith was advanced in Ireland, by the preaching of three other holy bishops, (besides Kieranus, before the arrival of St. Patrick. Bishop Ailbeus preached in various places, also St. Ibarus, who was bishop, and that most

he found an abundant harvest. It is said that he wrote rules for the monks.

St. Kieran was born in Ireland, of noble parents, about the year 352, according to the calculation of Usher.* His father was Lugny, descended in the ninth degree from Aongus-Osraige, who had given his name to the territory of Ossory, and was chief of the Fitzpatricka.† Liedan, his mother, derived her origin from Lugaidge-Mac-Ithy,‡ whose descendants were the O'Driscolls, lords of Corco-Luidhe, a maritime district in southern Munster, comprising the barony of Carbery, in the county of Cork, with the adjacent isles.

The authors of the life of this saint, do not agree concerning the places of his birth: some say he was born in Osraige, and others, in the territory of Corco-Luidhe, the country of his mother. However this be, Kieran dedicated the first thirty years of his life to God in Clere island, called in the Irish language "Innis-Clere," on the borders of Corco-Luidhe, in practices of abstinence and every moral virtue, without having been as yet baptized. Having thus performed his noviciate, and the name of Christianity having reached him, he left his retreat with the intention of seeking, in the Christian religion, what was wanting to his perfection. For this purpose he went to Rome, where he received baptism, and devoted twenty years of his life to the meditation of holy books. He was ordained bishop by Pope Anastasius, and set out on his return to Ireland, accompanied by five ecclesiastics of his own country, who were, Lugaid, Columban, Meldan, Lugace, and Cassan, about the year 402.

Before Kieran left Italy, he met St. Patrick going to Rome, and the saints of God were rejoiced, says the author of his life.§ At that time St. Patrick was not bishop, nor nominated apostle of Ireland. Colgan, according to an old manuscript of Kilkenny, says, that St. Patrick had on that occasion spoken to St. Kieran in these words:—"Continue your journey to Ireland; in the middle of that country you will discover a fountain, called Fuaran; you will there cause a monastery to be built, and in thirty years I shall visit you there. After this the two saints blessed each other with the kiss of peace, and then parted.

St. Kieran's first care, after his return to Ireland, was to seek the fountain pointed

out to him by St. Patrick, and having discovered it on the confines of Munster and Leinster, in the country of Heli, at present the barony of Ballybrit, he had a small cell built there, and led in it the life of a hermit. This cell became afterwards enlarged, and was surrounded by a town: it was then converted into a monastery, and an episcopal see, of which St. Kieran was first bishop: it was called Sayghir, otherwise Seir-Kieran. This see was probably transferred to Aghavoe, in Upper Ossory; whereas in the annals of Leinster, on the year 1052, a church is mentioned to have been built at Aghavoe, where the shrine of St. Canice was deposited. "Templum Aghavoe constructum est, et Cannici serinium ibi collocatum." Canice, son of Laidec, a celebrated poet, was the founder and first abbot of the abbey of Aghavoe, where he died the fifth of the ides of October, in the year 599 or 600. The episcopal see was at length removed from Aghavoe to Kilkenny, towards the end of the 12th century, by Felix O'Dullany, then bishop.

The talent which the Lord confided to Kieran produced good profit; he drew many from the darkness of paganism and idolatry, particularly in the country of Ossory. His doctrine was confirmed by a great number of miracles, as related by Colgan.* Ware says, "he was a man greatly celebrated for his sanctity and his learning. I cannot, however, (continues he) assert for truth, that he was the Quirinus to whom, as to other bishops of Albania, Pope Gregory I. addressed his 61st epistle,† which is still in the ninth book of the registry of that Pope, although the great celebrity of Kieran, the long life he enjoyed, and the analogy of the name, induce us to believe it.‡

Indeed the old Irish did not make use of K and Q; the C among them was pronounced like those letters: as Ciaran (it is thus the Irish write this name) was pronounced Kieran or Quiaran, as Cicero was among the Romans, Kikero: in the same manner Ciaranus, Kiaranus, and Quiaranus bear a strong analogy to Quirinus; this adds strength to the conjecture of Ware. But chronology is opposed to him; for by sup-

* In vita Kiarani. † Usser. Vet. Epis. Syl. epis. 2.

‡ "He was a man of great influence, on account of his sanctity and doctrine. I do not, however venture to affirm that Quirinus was the same as he to whom the 61st letter of Gregory I. was written, as well as to other bishops in Ireland. The letter is still extant in the registry of Gregory; though the name of Kiaranus, his great age, and eminent sanctity, would incline us to it."—Ware.

* Usser. primord. Eccles. Britan. cap. 16, p. 788.

† War. de Præsul-Bib.

‡ Colgan Act. Sanct. Hib. p. 458.

§ Usser. primord. cap. 16, p. 791.

posing that Saint Kieran died in 549, we should also suppose that St. Gregory had written this epistle in his youth, and long before his elevation to the pontificate, which did not happen till 590.

Saint Kieran ended at length his mortal career at an advanced age, the 5th of March, 549, so that we do not confound him with Saint Kiernan, abbot of Cluan-Mac-Noisk, who died this same year. The place of his death is uncertain; according to some English martyrologists, it was in the county of Cornwall in England; and Dempster, with his accustomed license, places him in the calendar of the Scottish saints.

The five companions of St. Kieran, who followed him from Rome, were ordained bishops, and laboured with great zeal for the conversion of souls, particularly in Leinster, where they founded churches; viz., those of Cill-Airthir, Cluain-Ernain, Cluano-Crema, Ferdrum, and Domnach-Mor in the plain of Magh-Echnach.* Lastly, St. Ibar, called in the Irish language Ibhur, a native of the province of Ulster, preached the gospel with success in different parts of Ireland, particularly in the territory of Geisioil. He there founded a celebrated monastery in an island called Beg-Eriinn, which means little Ireland, on the borders of Hua-Kinseallagh, at present the county of Wexford, where he ended his days with a high reputation of sanctity. This place was much frequented in succeeding ages by a great concourse of the faithful, who went thither for their devotion.

About this time is recorded the martyrdom of St. Eliph, whose acts are written at full length by Rupert, abbot of the abbey of Duitz, near Cologne, and briefly mentioned by Mersæus Cratopolius, in a small treatise on the saints of Germany.

Saint Eliph, says he, son of the king of Scotia (Ireland), having given up vast possessions in his own country, persuaded that it was delightful to serve God in poverty, came to Toul, followed by thirty-three disciples, where he was cast into prison as a traitor to the country; but he was delivered that night by the grace of God and in a miraculous manner; after this he preached every where with zeal the word of God, and converted in a short time, more than four hundred persons, whom he baptized; this irritated the emperor Julian the Apostate, (an avowed enemy to the Christian name) so powerfully against him, that he had him seized and beheaded.† This event hap-

pened, according to the catalogue of the archbishop of Cologne, in the year 393; but as that was the year in which Julian died in Persia, it is better to place the martyrdom of the saint in 360, when that emperor went into Gaul and was declared Augustus by the army, particularly as he suffered, according to Rupert, in conformity with the martyrologies of Bede, of Ado, and the Roman, the 6th of October, in presence of the emperor himself, on the banks of the river Vere, between the cities of Toul on the north, and Grands, an ancient city of southern Lorraine.

The body of the saint was buried upon a mountain at some distance from the place of his martyrdom, called after him, Mount St. Eliph, from whence it was transferred by Bruno I., archbishop of Cologne, and deposited in the church of St. Martin Major, which formerly belonged to the nation of the Scots. Rupert also mentions Euchar, bishop and martyr, brother of St. Eliph, and his three sisters, Menna, Libaria, and Susana, who suffered for the faith of Jesus Christ.

According to the Roman martyrology, the festival of St. Gunifort, martyr, is kept at Pavia, the twenty-second of August. The acts of this saint's life are found in Mombricitus, tom. 1: in the catalogue of the saints of Italy, by Philip Ferrarius; and in the Sanctuary of Pavia, by Guallas. This saint was descended of noble parents in Scotia, where he was converted to the Christian religion. Although persecution against the Christians was strong in his own country, still, being under the care of powerful parents, he had not the opportunity to indulge the desire he had of martyrdom: it was this that made him undertake to leave his country with his brother Gunibald, and his two sisters, and come into Germany, where his sisters gave a glorious testimony of their faith in Jesus Christ, by their sufferings.

It is difficult to determine the time in which these saints lived. The persecution which Ireland underwent in their time, would induce us to suppose that it was before St. Patrick, and the complete conversion of the

having abandoned vast possessions, was delighted to serve Christ the Lord God, in poverty. In the city of Toul, together with thirty-three of his faithful companions being betrayed, he was thrown with them into prison, but by the goodness of God, was miraculously delivered in the night. After this, he himself preached with constancy and fervour, and made a great harvest in the vineyard of the Lord; he converted in a short time, and baptized 400 persons. But the emperor Julian the Apostate, being incensed against him, because he boldly proclaimed the glory of Christ, of whom he was envious, caused him to be arrested, and had him beheaded, A.D. 350.—*Usher*, c. 16, p. 785.

* Usser. Vet. Epist. Syllog. epist. 2.

† "Saint Eliphius son of the king of Scotia,

island. The place of their martyrdom is likewise uncertain.

Dempster, who, in his doubtful acceptation of the name Scot, wishes to make them his countrymen, falls into strange contradictions on these two points. He first says in book I. of his ecclesiastical history, that the two sisters of these saints suffered martyrdom a year before their brothers, that is, in 419; but he appears to forget himself, when he says, in his fourth book, that St. Dardaluch, one of the sisters, whose festival is observed at Fressing in Bavaria, on the calends of February, and whom he imagines to have been Scotch, had gone with her brothers from Scotland in 420, a time when a Scotch kingdom had not been yet known to be founded in Britain. The contradiction is still more obvious when he says in the seventh book, that the two brothers had suffered martyrdom in 417, one at Como, and the other at Milan, in the time of the emperor Theodosius, as if the Christians had been persecuted at Milan; or in any part of Italy, in the time of that emperor.*

On the calends of December, the festival of St. Florentinus, priest and confessor, and a native of Ireland, whose life is taken from the ancient monuments of the church in the city of Amboise, according to the martyrology of Usuard, is kept.† That saint after leaving his country, made a voyage to Rome, and was thrown into prison by order of the emperor Claudius. During his imprisonment he baptized ninety-six persons, both men and women, in the number of whom was Asterius, the gaoler; he then sent them to pope Calixtus to be confirmed. Although this event be considered to have occurred in the third century, it is not easy to determine the epoch with precision, on account of the difference of about fifty years, discoverable between the pontificate of Calixtus, and the reign of Claudius. A further difficulty arises by supposing, that, according to the subsequent part of this saint's life, he had

* "That these things had been divided into periods without distinction of time, the arrangement of the years, which is incongruous and discordant, proves; but this it confirms, that Cunibaldus was put to death at Canara or Comi, for Christ; but Gunifortus was said to be put to death at Milan by the arrows of unbelievers; as if Theodosius, who ruled as emperor at Milan, rendered the times pagan and not Christian."—*Usher's Church History*, c. 18, p. 795.

† "Florentinus, a glorious confessor of Christ, was born in Ireland, and being brought up under the care and solicitude of his parents, Theophilus and Benigna, became worthy of the grace of God, from his earliest youth."—*Usher's Church History*, p. 760.

been contemporary of Theodebert, and Clothaire, who reigned in Gaul at the beginning of the sixth century.

Laogare, son of Niall-Noygiollach, and cousin-german to Dathy, was his successor in the supreme government of Ireland, A.D. 428.

According to Usher, the third devastation of the Britons happened in the year 431, and consequently in the reign of Laogare. The Scots and Picts having learned that the Romans refused assistance to the Britons, assembled all their force, and advanced to the side of the famous wall which the Romans caused to be built, extending from sea to sea, with the towers at proper distances, in which sentinels and armed men were placed for its defence. This barrier, defended by the undisciplined Britons, held out but for a short time. The sentinels were dragged by the barbarians from the walls by means of hooks.* A breach being afterwards made, they entered the country, and committed every species of cruelty, forcing the poor Britons, who escaped the sword, to seek for safety in caverns and other hiding places, to conceal themselves from their fury.† It was on this occasion, that the Britons wrote to Ætius, the Roman consul, to represent to him the deplorable state of their affairs, and to seek for some assistance from him. They mentioned amongst other things, "that the barbarians drove them into the sea, and that the sea drove them back on the barbarians; so that they had only the choice remaining, of being either put to the sword or drowned."‡ This letter did not produce the effect the Britons expected: the Romans had to defend

* "The hooked weapons of the enemy cease not: the undisciplined defenders being miserably dragged from the walls, were dashed against the ground."—*Bede*, b. 1. c. 12.

† "The Romans having withdrawn themselves from Britain, the Scots sally forth from their curraghs, in which they were carried over the Scythian valley, these foul flocks united with the Picts though differing in custom, were agreed in a similar thirst for blood; in the 8th year of Theodosius, the Roman army being taken out of Britian, and their denial to return having become known to the Scots and Picts, these return and attack the whole country from the north as far as the wall. The guards being either slain or entirely routed, and the wall partly broken down, the cruel robbers triumph in their career."—*Bede and Usher*.

"In the 8th year of the Emperor Theodosius, the Roman army being withdrawn from Britain, the Scots and Picts return and attack the entire country from the north to the wall."—*Chronicles of Usher*.

‡ "The barbarians drive us into the sea, the sea drive us back upon the barbarians, so that between this two-fold destruction, we are either drowned or put to the sword."—*Bede's Church Hist.* b. 1. c. 13.

their own frontiers against the Huns, and could not send them the succour which they sought. But they found a remedy for their misfortunes in one noble effort, often the result of despair. Seeing themselves abandoned by their old protectors, the Romans, and on the eve of perishing with famine, or falling into the hands of the barbarians, they formed the bold resolution of leaving their retreats, and to risk their lives in order to deliver themselves from slavery: they attacked the Scots and Picts unawares, and made a dreadful carnage among them. The Scots or Dalriads, alarmed at this resolution of the Britons, and not being supported as hitherto by the Scots of Ireland, abandoned their settlement in Albania, and withdrew to Ireland, having Eocha, surnamed Munraver, for their chief, and the Picts took refuge among the mountains of Albania.* It was on this occasion that Bede, after Gildas, said, that those daring robbers, the Irish, returned home, intending to go back in a short time.† Is not the dissolution of their pretended monarchy, mentioned by the Scotch, contained in the above account? May it not be supposed that Eocha, who commanded the Dalriads, in this shameful flight, Erc, his son, who led them back from Ireland to Albania some years afterwards, and Fergus, son of the latter, who became their king, are the same as Ethac or Echo dius, who, according to Fordon, withdrew with his son Erth to Ireland, at the time of the edict of Maximus, and Fergus, son of Erth, who re-established the monarchy?

Although these refugees were well received by the Dalriads of Ulster, their kinsmen and allies, they did not relinquish the desire of recovering their patrimony in Albania. They returned after some time, commanded by Erc, son of Eocha, their last chief, whom Usher calls the father of the Scotch kings: "Qui Scotiæ regibus dedit originem."‡ They were soon followed by Maine-Leavna, son of Core, king of Munster, who settled with his colony in a territory, called after his name, Mor-Mor-Leavna, now the duchy of Lenox. The six sons of Muireadh, son of Eogan, and grandson of Niall, namely, the two Lodains, the two Aonguses, and the two Ferguses, with their vassals, followed the example and fortune of their countrymen, the more willingly, as Erca, their mother, was of the family of Erc, then chief of the Dalriads, by Loarne, his eldest son, whose

grand-daughter she was.* All those tribes, united by the ties of a common origin, afterwards formed a numerous and powerful people. Besides Cantyre and Argyle, the residence of their fathers before their retreat, they possessed the territories of Knapdal, Lorn, Brunalbain, and Lenox, with all the islands on the western coast of Albania;† but still something was wanting to the perfection of this colony. The Dalriads had till that time been divided into tribes, without laws, or any other form of government, commanded only by a chief, whose attention was divided between them and the Dalriads of Ulster. To obviate the disadvantages arising from so imperfect an administration, they thought on electing a king: the lot fell on Fergus, son of Erc, descended in the ninth degree from Eoeha Riada. Fergus was in Ulster at the time of this election; he departed immediately with a new colony, accompanied by his brothers, to take possession of his kingdom, where he was solemnly crowned on the superstitious stone, which Mortagh-Mac-Earca, his grand-nephew, had sent him for this purpose.‡ Kinal-Loarn derived his name from Loarn, eldest brother of Fergus, from whom are descended, by Ferguard-Fada, the Mac Lanes, the Mac Kenseys, and several other distinguished families in Scotland.

Usher says, that the Scots had returned to Ireland, their country, after the third consulship of Ætius, that is in 446; that they soon afterwards returned, and settled again in the north of Britain, which was, he says, effected by Fergus, whose reign, according to the Scots of Ireland, agreeably to the arguments of Gildas and Bede, was subsequent to the consulship of Ætius.§ In his chronological table, he fixes the passage of Fergus, and his brothers, from Ireland to Albania, in the year 503. He afterwards refers to the life of St. Patrick, written in the twelfth century by Jocelin, an English monk, in which it is said that Erc, a prince of the Dalriads in Ulster, dying, had left twelve sons, of whom Fergus was the youngest; that the latter seeing himself despised by his brothers, and excluded from participating the right to succeed his father, had

* Ogyg. part. 3. cap. 39.

† Usser. Primord. c. 15. p. 612.

‡ Lecan. fol. 119. p. A. col. 2.

§ "After the third consulship of Ætius, in the year 446, the Scots returned into their own country, (Ireland) and after a short time fixed a settlement in North Britain. This, it is thought, was effected through means of Fergusius: his reign according to the Scots of Ireland, as Bede has it, was later than the consulship of Ætius."—Usher's Church Hist. c. 15. p. 609.

* Kennedy. p. 138.

† "These daring robbers the Irish return home, purposing to come back after a short time."—Bede, b. 1. c. 14.

‡ Primord. cap. 15. p. 689

recourse to St. Patrick, and entreated him to make them do him justice; that the saint, knowing the justice of his claims, interceded with his brothers, and made them restore to him the portion which belonged to him by right; that having given him his benediction, he foretold that, although he then appeared humble and despised by his brothers, he would soon be their prince; that his descendants would be powerful kings who would reign not only in Ireland, but also in a distant region.* The prophecy, says Jocelin, was literally fulfilled, Fergus obtaining the sovereignty in Albania, where his posterity have since reigned. Usher again quotes the annals of Tigernach, which fix the reign of Fergus, in the beginning of the pontificate of St. Symmachus, about the year 498; according to these annals, Fergus-More-Mac-Erca, which signifies, Fergus the Great, son of Erca, with the Dalriads, possessed a part of Britain, where he died.† Speaking afterwards of Ethach or Eochamunravair, father of Eric, who, the modern Scotch historians say, was brother of king Ugene, and who was killed according to them by Maximus; he says that Camden, after a more ancient author, affirms him to be descended from Chonarus, and not from a doubtful line of the preceding kings.‡ “Fergus,” says Camden, “was the first that reigned in Albania, from Brun-Albain as far as the Irish sea and Inch-Gall, and from that time, the kings of the race of Fergus reigned in Brun-Albain, until the time of Alpine, son of Eochal.”§ This kingdom, which did not comprise one-fourth of the present Scotland, remained in this state, governed by kings who were the descendants of Fergus. The Picts, who possessed the rest of Albania, had also their kings until the ninth century, when the Dalriads overthrew their monarchy, made themselves masters of all Albania, and suppressed even the name of Picts; but the

* “Though you may appear humble and despised now by your brothers, you will be in a short time their prince. From thee the best kings will come forth, who will rule not only in their own, but also in a distant and foreign land.”—*Usher's Church Hist.* c. 15. p. 609.

† “Fergus-More-Mac-Erca, with the people of Dalriada, held a part of Britain, and died in it.”—*Usher's Church Hist.* p. 610. c. 16.

‡ *Camd. Brit. edit. Lond.* c. 15. p. 610.

§ “But a more ancient author, cited by Camden, mentions the descent of Fergus not from that doubtful race, of preceding kings, but from another stock. Fergus, he says, the son of Eric, was the first who from the seed of Chronarus, ruled over Albania, as far as the Irish sea and Inch-Gall (the Hebrides) and from thence were kings of the seed of Fergus, who ruled over Brun-Albain, till Alpinus son of Eochal.”—*Usher*, c. 15. p. 610, 611.

country was not yet called Scotland: “as neither Dalriada,” says Usher, “which was the seat of the British Scots until 840, nor even all Albania after the defeat of the Picts, had taken the name of Scotland, which did not take place until the eleventh century, when those two people united together, formed but one and the same nation. Ther cannot be produced (continues Usher) any author who has described* Albania under the name of Scotland, before that period.”†

When the English had given the name of Irish (in Latin Iri or Irenses) to the Scots of Ireland, and that of Ireland to their isle, this name was then adopted by the Germans, the French, the Spaniards, the Italians, and the Arabians, (which did not happen at first, for the name, Ireland, was not yet generally used among strangers,‡ as Adam de Brema, who lived in the eleventh century, and Nubigenensis, in the twelfth, were the first who mentioned it;§) the name of Scotland was by degrees appropriated to Albania,|| which was for some time called Scotia Minor, to distinguish it from Ireland, which was called Scotia Major,¶ the inhabitants of which did not lose, all of a sudden, the name of Scots; they are so called, in the eleventh century, by Hermann, in the first book of his chronicle, and by Marianus Scotus, whom Florentius Wigorniensis mentions in his annals; when speaking of 1028, he says, “in this year was born Marianus, probably a Scot from Ireland, by whose care this excellent chronicle has been compiled from several histories.”** We discover the same thing in a chronicle in the Cottonian library. Theo-††

* “Dalriada had not been, in the year 840, the seat of the British Scots, neither had it the name of Scotia; nor did Albania itself, after the defeat of the Picts, and until the two people forming but one body, receive the name of Scotia, which happened in the eleventh century after the nativity of Christ.”—*Usher*, c. 16. p. 734.

† “Thus we think, that no one can be named among those who have written in former years, that ever gave to Albania, the name of Scotia.”—*Usher*.

‡ *Hist. Eccles.* cap. 217.

§ *Geograp. Arab.* part 2, Climatis 7.

|| *Petr. Lombard. Comment. Hib.* cap. 2, p. 34. cap. 13, p. 116.

¶ “It appears there were two Scotias, the greater and the lesser. Ireland is designated by the name of ‘Scotia Major,’ and that part of Britain called by some Albania, and now in common, ‘Scotia,’ was known by the name of Minor. So that the Albanian Scots flowed as it were from a river, out of Ireland, to the land which they now inhabit.”—*Stanishurst*, b. 1. p. 17.

** “In this year, was born Marianus an Irishman; he was probably a Scot, by his labours and study, these excellent chronicles were condensed and formed from different works.”—*Usher*, c. 16. p. 735.

†† “Marianus the chronographer, a Scot, was born

doric, abbot of the monastery of St. Trudon, in the neighbourhood of Liege, who wrote, in the beginning of the twelfth century, the life of St. Rumold,* mentions this saint to have been from the island of Scotia, "Scotiæ insulam," separated from Britain by the sea, which can only have reference to Ireland. St. Bernard, in his life of St. Malachy, distinguishes this island from British Scotland, by calling it "Ulterior Scotia;"† and when St. Malachy wished to build an oratory of stone, in the monastery of Benchuin, in Ulster, St. Bernard alludes to some envious person who said to the saint, "Oh, good man, why do you think of introducing novelties amongst us? We are Scots, and not Gauls."‡

According to Bede, the building of stone churches was at that time unknown not only in Ireland but also in Britain.§ Lastly, we have the testimony of Caesarius d'Heisterbach, in the thirteenth century, who makes use of the name "Scotia," to designate Ireland,|| saying that if any one doubted the existence of purgatory, he need only go to Scotia, where he would find the purgatory of St. Patrick.

The claims of the Milesians respecting the migrations of their colonies which gave rise to the Scotch nation, are supported by the authority of a number of celebrated authors. Bede says, that besides the Britons and Picts, there was a third nation of Scots in Britain, who having left Ireland under the conduct of Reuda, their chief, took possession, either by force or peaceably, of the habitations which they had till then preserved, and were called from his name, Dalreudini.¶

Giraldus, surnamed Cambrensis,** says, that, in the reign of Niall the Great in Ireland, the six sons of Muredus, king of Ulster, with a considerable fleet, seized on

in Ireland; he composed the chronicle of chronicles."

—Usher, c. 16. p. 735.

* Vit. Rumold. lib. 7.

† "From the further Scotia, he continued till he died."—Usher, c. 16. p. 376.

‡ "O good man, what hath induced thee to introduce into our country this novelty? We are Scots and not Gauls."—Usher, c. 16. p. 736, 737.

§ Hist. Eccles. lib. 3, cap. 25. Hib. 3, cap. 4. Dialog. lib. 12, c. 38.

|| "He who doubts of purgatory, let him go to Ireland and enter the purgatory of St. Patrick."—Usher.

¶ "Britain after receiving the Britons and Picts, received among the Picts a third nation the Scots, who after leaving Ireland, secured for themselves, either by friendship or the sword, those parts which they still possess, and are from their leader Reuda, called Dalreudini."—Bede's Christ. Hist. b. 1. c. 1.

** Topog. Hib. dist. 3. cap. 16.

the northern part of Britain, and founded a nation called Scotia.*

"It is certain," says Camden, "that the Scots went from Ireland into Britain; for Isidorus calls that island Scotia, from a nation of Scots who inhabited it." Orosius, Bede, and Eginard, bear indisputable testimony, that Ireland was inhabited by the Scots.† Besides, he calls the Irish the ancestors of the Scotch. "Hiberni Scotorum atavi."‡

The same author again expresses himself in a manner which leaves no doubt on this subject. If all history were lost, and that there remained no possibility to prove by writing, that the Scotch are descended from the Irish, the unity of the two languages common to these people, would convince us of it more easily than the authority of the greatest historians.§

However, it is not necessary to have recourse to the English to prove what is allowed by the Scotch themselves. "It is proved by many arguments," says John Major, "that we have derived our origin from the Irish. We are told it by Bede, and our very language proves it; nearly half the Scotch speak Irish, and it is not long since a still greater number spoke it." Immediately after this, when speaking of the Irish: "they have conveyed," says he, "their language from Ireland to Britain, which appears by our annals, and which authors have not omitted to observe, on this head. Thus, I say," continues this author, "that the Scotch derive their origin from the same source as the Irish, though in an indirect line."||

* "Scotia is called the Northern part of the British island, because that nation was originally propagated by them, and are known to inhabit that country. The analogy of their dress and arms, as well as of their habits, proves it to this day."—Giraldus Cam. in Stanikurst, and in Usher, c. 17. p. 245. c. 16. p. 725.

† "It appears indeed that they passed from Ireland into Britain, for Isidorus calls Hibernia 'Scotia,' from the nation of the Scots. And that the Scots inhabited Hibernia, the testimony of Bede and Eginarius, is above all disputation."—Camd. p. 36.

‡ Camd. Brit. edit. Franco. p. 59.

§ "Who are indeed allied by a similarity of language, and that they have been of one origin, I think no one will deny. Even if every history had failed, and that no one had committed to writing that the true Scots had been produced from Ireland, their language being one and the same, would prove it more ably than the authority of the most grave historians."—Camden.

|| "From various arguments it is admitted, that we have drawn our origin from the Irish, and this we have learned from Bede, an Englishman. A

Buchanan is not less decisive on this subject: saying, as Orosius, that all the inhabitants of Ireland were called Scots in the beginning: he adds, "Our annals make frequent mention of the transmigration of the Scots from Ireland to Albania."* Immediately after he refers to the distinction made between these two people, both called Scots. "Formerly," says he, "when both, that is, the inhabitants of Ireland and the colonies which they had sent to Albania, were called Scots, the former were called the Scots of Ireland, and the latter the Scots of Albania, to distinguish one from the other;"† and in another place, speaking of the Scots of Albania, he says, "at the time that they were called Albini or Albains, their neighbours gave them the name of Scots, a name which denotes, that they derived their origin from the Irish."‡

Although the Scotch agree with the Milesians or Scots of Ireland, concerning their origin; they, however, differ widely as to the time of the transmigration of the first colonies from Ireland to Albania.

As a modern origin is not flattering to pride, and as every nation desires to be considered ancient, the Scotch authors of latter times have formed a system of antiquity for themselves, by fixing their migration, and the beginning of their monarchy, a few centuries too early, and by multiplying the number of their kings.

"Fame has given us to understand," says Buchanan,§ "that a great number of Spaniards, either forced to quit their country, or leaving it of their own accord in order to relieve the state, which was already overburdened with inhabitants, came and settled

similarly of dialect proves it. A great part of Scotland speak the Irish language, and lately the greater portion of Scotch spoke Irish: from Ireland they carried their dialect into Britain, this is manifest by our annals, in which our writers were not remiss. I say, therefore, that from whomsoever the Irish have taken their origin, the Scotch have received from them their beginning, as a grandson derives his from a grandfather."—*Joannes Major*.

"Nor is it only once, that, as our annals say, the Scots passed from Ireland to Albania."—*Buch.* b. 2, p. 55.

† "But when both in the commencement, i. e. the inhabitants of Ireland and their colonies who had been sent into Albania, might be distinguished by some mark, one from the other, they began to be called Irish Scotch, and the Albanian Scotch."—*Buchanan*, b. 2, p. 55.

‡ "Though they call themselves Albanians, their neighbours the Irish call them Scotch, by which name their descent from the Irish, is implied."—*Buchanan*, p. 64, b. 2.

§ Lib. 4, Rev. Scot. page 97, et seq.

in Ireland, where they became extremely numerous, under the name of Scots: from hence many spread themselves through the neighbouring islands, without a king, or any form of government. In the interval, a fleet of Germans, or Scythians, according to Bede, without either women or children, was cast by a tempest on the coast of Ireland. Those new comers, after a long voyage, being destitute of every thing except their arms, sent to ask permission of the Scots to settle among them. The answer given them was, that their own numbers were already too great for the island, from which, in consequence of its numerous population, they had been obliged to send colonies to the neighbouring isles. However, being struck with compassion for the deplorable state of those strangers, they advised them to go to Albania, where they might easily make a settlement amongst a people disunited by civil war, and the opposite factions of several petty princes who commanded them. Pleased with the advice, and promises of aid from the Scots in case they met with resistance, they set out for Albania, where, after some battles, in which they were victorious, a considerable part of the eastern coast of Albania was surrendered to them, and they were long after called Picts, by the Romans, and other neighbouring people.

"The Picts, confiding in the happy omen of future friendship from the Scots, obtained wives from them, and thereby contracted so close an alliance, that they seemed to form but one people; so that the passage between the two countries being free, a number of Scots came and settled among the Picts, who received them with joy. The pleasure, however, at first produced by the arrival of these new guests, soon gave way to jealousy; they saw, with pain, that they were becoming powerful; and began to dread their future aggrandizement; so that distrust was soon productive of quarrels, which ended in the separation of the two people that were friends so recently. The Scots withdrew to the mountains, and the Picts remained in possession of the fertile lands on the coast of the German Ocean.

"The Britons, equally hostile to both parties, beheld their separation with pleasure, and being desirous to take advantage of it, did all in their power to increase the discord which had already prevailed amongst them: they even offered to assist the Picts against their enemies. The Scots seeing the danger which threatened them, and fearing they should be crushed by the united power of the Picts and the Britons, thought of de-

an letter, subject, Scotland
see Keatinge 375-381

fending themselves; but as their chiefs could not agree about the command, each thinking himself as well qualified as his neighbour, they sent to Ireland for a considerable body of troops, under the command of Fergus, son of Ferchard, an experienced general; and to interest him still more, he was declared king with unanimous consent. Being invested with this dignity, and to justify the high opinion entertained of him, Fergus collected his troops with all possible diligence, to march against the enemy. Both armies being come in view of each other, a rumour was spread in both camps amongst the Scots and Picts, which prevented them coming to an engagement. It was reported that the Britons were equally opposed to both; that they excited discord amongst them for the purpose of weakening and subsequently overthrowing them. The Scots and Picts being justly alarmed, hostilities ceased on both sides, and they began to treat of peace, that they might unite against their common enemy. The Britons being thus disappointed, resolved to take immediate revenge. They assembled all the troops that they were able, and invaded the territory of the Scots, spreading terror every where they marched; but they were soon checked by the Scots and Picts, who attacked them by surprise, during the night, and made a dreadful carnage among them. The greater part of the British troops, with their king, Coilus, perished on this occasion, which prevented the Britons from disturbing the Scots and Picts, after this, in their possessions. After this victory, Fergus again received the homage of his subjects, who confirmed, by oath, the succession of the crown to his descendants. He then returned to Ireland, to allay some troubles which had arisen during his absence; but being desirous of going back to his new kingdom, he unfortunately perished, in the twenty-fifth year of his reign, having been shipwrecked on a rock, called, from his name, Carrig-Fergus. The arrival of Fergus in Albania, is fixed in the time that Alexander the Great took Babylon; that is, about three hundred and thirty years before Jesus Christ.*

* "In the first place a story incessantly prevails, strengthened by numerous discoveries, that a number of Spaniards, whether driven from the country by their more powerful masters, or from a redundancy of population, went of their own accord, passed over to Ireland, and seized upon the adjoining parts of that island. To Fergusius, who was victorious, and to his posterity, the Scots on his return, confirmed by an oath, his title to that kingdom. After this, having brought matters in Scotia

Such is the account which Buchanan, and nearly all the historians of his country, give of the origin of the Scotch, and the foundation of their monarchy in Albania, by Fergus, son of Ferchard, which leaves no doubt concerning it; they almost agree on this point with the Milesians. The greatest difficulty respects the time, and the real or affected error of the Scotch concerning Fergus I.

They assert that their monarchy began under Fergus, son of Ferchard, three hundred years before Jesus Christ;† that it lasted under thirty nine kings, till the year 360; that Eugene, who was at that time king, was killed in a battle by Maximus, a Roman general,‡ who, at the instigation of his allies, the Picts, pronounced sentence of banishment against all those who had escaped in the battle, and that in obedience to this edict, Etach, brother of the deceased king, with Erth, his son, and many others of the same nation, took refuge in Ireland, and some in Norway, and the neighbouring islands.‡

John Major fixes this event in 353,§ Buchanan in 377, Hector Boetius, in the second year of the reign of Julian the Apostate,|| that is, in the year of Christ 362 or 363. After this dispersion, which, according to Fordon,¶ lasted about forty-three years, the Scots regained the patrimony of their ancestors in Albania, in 403, through the valour of Fergus II., son of Erth, and grandson of Etach, brother of Eugene, their last king.

The Milesians, on the other hand, take off a few centuries from this antiquity of the Scotch; they maintain that Fergus, son of Earcha, (who was, we are sure, the same as Fergus, second son of Erth, mentioned by Fordon,) who is only the fortieth in the catalogue of kings, according to Buchanan, was first king and founder of the Scotch monarchy, towards the end of the fifth, or be-

under subjection, he passed over to Ireland, to suppress by his influence, an insurrection, and this being accomplished, after sailing out of the harbour, for the purpose of returning, he was overtaken by a storm, and perished on a rock, which was thence called Fergusium; this happened in the 25th year of his reign. His arrival in Albania, is placed in the same year that Alexander, of Macedonia, took Babylon, almost 330 years before the birth of Christ.—*Buchanan*, b. 4, p. 97.

• Walsh, *prosp.* of Ireland, sect. 6.

† *Usser. prim. Eccles.* c. 25. p. 592.

‡ *Fordon. Scoti. Chronic.* lib. 2. p. 45.

§ *Buchan. Degest. Scot. lib.* 2. c. 1.

|| *Rev. Scotia.* lib. 5.

¶ *Scot. Hist.*

ginning of the sixth century; that the thirty-nine kings who had preceded Fergus, son of Erth, in the government of Scotland, according to the catalogue of Buchanan, were indeed his ancestors in genealogical order, without having ever been kings of Scotland or elsewhere, with the exception of a few who reigned in Ireland. I could quote many Irish books in support of this statement; but the authority of Camden and Usher, two celebrated authors, who have thoroughly investigated this subject, is sufficient; the former, an Englishman, and incapable of resorting to a falsehood for the purpose of heightening the glory of the Irish nation; the latter, though born in Ireland, was of English origin, and being neither a Milesian nor a Scotchman, quite disinterested in the dispute.

Camden, after refuting these two miserable arguments, (it is thus he describes them) one drawn from a panegyric, the other supported only by mere conjectures, which Buchanan, an excellent poet, advances in favour of the pretended antiquity of his country in opposition to Humphry Lhuid, a good antiquarian, says, that the name of Scotch is not discoverable in any author before the time of Constantine the Great.* He adds, that the accounts, in which it is said, the name and kingdom of the Scotch already made a figure in Britain, many centuries before Jesus Christ, are all fabulous.† "Let us then learn," continues he, "the time of their first settlement in Britain, A.D. 379, from Giraldus Cambrensis, who says, that in the reign of Niall the Great, king of the province of Ulster, the six sons of Muredus came to settle in the North of Britain, where they founded a nation under the name of Scotia. These people, who till then led a wandering life, according to Ammianus, 'cum antea per incerta vagantes,' settled in Britain, which happened, says Camden, at the time of the decline of the Roman empire under Honorius."

The number of authors quoted by Usher, in the fifteenth and sixteenth chapters of his treatise, on the antiquities of the British churches, to prove that the name of Scots,

* "He will never remove from writers the name of Scots, before the time of Constantine the Great, which because Lhuidus asserts, he rushes on the man, attacks him, and endeavours to stab him with two miserable arguments, the one a panegyric, the other a conjecture."—*Camden*, p. 61.

† "These are trifles which are written by the Scots, viz., that the name and kingdom of the Scots flourished in Britain many centuries before Christ."—*Camd.* p. 62.

and Hibernians or Irish, were synonymous till the eleventh century, and designated but one and the same people, leave no doubt as to the opinion of this learned man on the subject. Although those authors had frequent occasion of mentioning the Scots, respecting their exploits and enterprises against the Romans and Britains, they all describe them as a wandering people, having no settled residence in Britain. No mention is made, in any of their writings, of any people called Scots, but those who came from Ireland. They knew no Scotch nation established in Albania before the Dalriads or Dalreudini, as Bede calls them; which is evident from the distinction made by Gildas Britannicus, an author of the sixth century, (who had an opportunity of knowing his neighbours,) between the two enemies of the Britons. First, at the time of their attack on Britain, he calls them Scots and Picts; then, speaking of the retreat of these barbarians, he says, that the daring robbers, the Irish, had returned home to Ireland with the intention of coming back in a short time, and that the Picts had remained in the northern part of Britain.* Usher observes three things in this passage of Gildas:† first, that the Picts had rested for the first time, in the north of Britain; that is, they had for the first time ceased to ravage Britain; secondly, that the Scots were the inhabitants of Ireland, as observed, says he, by Polidore Virgil;‡ and thirdly, that the return of the Hibernians to Albania from Ireland, and their establishment in that country, were subsequent to the consulship of Ætius, and in the year 446.

It appears that Le Nain de Tillemont, was not well acquainted with this history, whereas he, as well as Bollandus, insinuates that all the Scots had passed into the north of England, to establish the kingdom of Scotland, and that they were distinguished from the Hibernians, and raised above them, &c. It was, it seems, reserved for Tillemont to make observations not known to ancient or modern authors who have treated on this subject; those authors speak, not of the

* From two very cruel nations beyond seas—the Scots from the west, and Picts from the north, Britain suffers and sighs during many years. The daring robbers, the Irish, return home, intending to come back in a short time. The Picts then settled, for the first time, in the north of the island."—*Usher* c. 15. p. 593-609.

† *Usser. prim. eccles.* c. 15, p. 609.

‡ "This being known, the Scots, influenced either from a hope of booty or an eagerness for a revolution, flew from Ireland, as Gildas relates, with precipitancy against the island."—*Virgil*, b. 3. p. 122.

whole nation, but of some colonies of Scots, who had gone to Albania; they make use indiscriminately of the names Hibernians and Scots, to signify the same people.

A foreigner writing of a people with whom he is unacquainted, is often liable to mistakes, and easily falls into error, when he follows his own ideas, in preference to authority: aiming at being a critic, he has sometimes need of being set to rights himself.

The Scotch writers of our days, artfully circulate their doubts about their origin, and affect to render it uncertain. They differ not only from the authority of all foreign writers on this subject, but even from that of their ancestors.*

Abercrombie, who published in Edinburgh, in 1711, "The Military Exploits of the Scotch," says, that according to most antiquarians of his country—amongst others, Fordon, Boëtius, and Buchanan—the Scots, or Scotch, having derived their origin from Greece and Egypt, and having passed through Spain to Ireland, came from thence to Albania. But the conjectures of Sir W. Temple appear to flatter him still more.† He confidently decides, that the Scotch have their origin from the Scythians of Norway, from a pretended conformity of manners, and a similarity which he supposes to have discovered in their customs. This supposition, says Abercromby, is supported by many observations and arguments taken from ancient and modern authors, which make it a problem, whether the Scots of Ireland derived their origin from those of Albania, or the latter from the former. However, the testimony of Orosius, Isidorus, Bede, Eginardus, Henry of Huntingdon, Cambrensis, Camden, Usher, and so many others, who assert, that the first Scoto-Britons derived their origin from the Irish, ought to outweigh the surmises of a few individuals. Abercromby was so well aware of this difficulty, notwithstanding his inclining to the contrary opinion, he is forced to acknowledge that history and tradition are on one side, and mere conjecture on the other.‡

Our author complains of the antiquarians

* "When I speak of the Scotch, either here, or in any subsequent part of this history, I do not pretend to attack that nation, rendered respectable by the many rare qualities with which they are endowed; and whose origin is common with that of the people of whom I write; I only complain of the injustice of some of their authors." *Abbé M'G.*

† Page 2, 3, and fol.

‡ Abercromby on the life of Fergus I., b. 1, c. 1, p. 28.

who reject the history of Fergus I., and the foundation of the Scotch monarchy in the time of Alexander the Great; and who, as well as Luddus, Camden, the bishop of St. Asaph, Usher, Stillingfleet, Du Chêne, le Père Labbé, Thomas Rose, and others, fix this event in the year of Jesus Christ, 503; but his spleen is more strongly excited against Kennedy, who maintains this opinion in his genealogical dissertation, in which he proves that the royal family of the Stuarts are descended from the Scots of Ireland. He gives a brief sketch of some principles, or rather some circumstances quoted by Kennedy, to support the authority of the ancient monuments or manuscripts of his country; but he displays his insincerity, by giving those principles in a mutilated sense, and quite different from what they are in the writings of Kennedy, in order to make them appear ridiculous, and thereby apply to them this verse from Horace:

"Spectatum admissi, risum teneatis amici."

"Sir George M'Kenzie has (says our author) already, in a great measure, proved from Irish manuscripts; and the Right Honourable the Earl of Cromarty promises (and what one of his lordship's high rank, and still more eminent qualities, is pleased to promise, will, no doubt be performed) to show from records and writers of the same nation, that the Scots were settled in Albania, long before the birth of our Saviour."*

But will a system established on such proofs be received? Mouldy and contemptible manuscripts,† (it is thus Abercromby describes those cited by Kennedy,) constitute the basis and proofs which M'Kenzie gives us of the antiquity of his country. Still the proofs are imperfect: and the promise of the Earl of Cromarty should be considered as real and unanswerable proofs. Might we not rather apply here the words of Horace?—

"Risum teneatis amici."

In order to judge of the strength of M'Kenzie's testimony, we should examine the link of the tradition and history of the Scotch, according to Abercromby; "there were," he says, "both priests and druids in Britain:‡ they have probably written the history of their own times; and even if they did not, men lived then to so advanced an age, that twelve generations could perpetuate from father to son, the tradition of eight

* Page 5.

† Aber Life of Fergus II., lib. 1, c. 2, p. 92.

‡ Page 5, 6.

hundred years; namely, from Fergus I., who lived three hundred years before Jesus Christ, till 503 of the Christian era; which, according to the opposite party, was the time the monarchy had been founded. Besides, until Fergus I., the antiquarians were accustomed to deliver the genealogy of kings at their coronation.

"The first monks succeeded the druids. The monastery of Hy, or Icolm-Kill, was founded in 560, and was the burial-place of the kings of Scotland, till the reign of Malcolm-Can-More. The monks of this monastery, as well as those of Paislyscoun, Pluscardin, Abercorn, &c., always wrote and preserved the history of Scotland, and the lives and history of her kings. Verimond, a Spanish priest, and archdeacon of St. Andrews, composed, in 1076, his history of Scotland, which he copies from those of the druids and monks. Verimond was copied in the fourteenth century by Fordon, and Fordon by Boëtius, Lesley, Buchanan, &c." Such is the link and order of the Scotch history according to Abercromby. It appears that we have no proof but the authority of Verimond, for all that happened in that country, before the eleventh century; it is the spring on which the whole of their history is supported, and the only means whereby M'Kenzie can fathom the antiquities of his country.

But besides that this history is not at present in being, and the existence of the author is doubted by many learned men—a circumstance well known to Abercromby, from his having appealed to Chambers of Ormond, and others, to support, by their testimony, that the author and his works have existed, how could a Spaniard read and understand the manuscripts of a language so difficult and little known, that the natives themselves could scarcely decipher it? How could a stranger be judged more capable of this undertaking than the inhabitants, who had the advantage of possessing the language in which those ancient monuments were written?

Abercromby discovering, as is seen, the insufficiency of the tradition of his country,* has recourse to Gildas, Nennius, and Bede. Gildas, who wrote in 540, "acknowledges," he says, "that he knew nothing concerning the Scots, except what he had borrowed from strangers." He thence infers, that if the Scots had not been established in Britain before the year 503, Gildas would have had some knowledge of them. It seems, however, that the inference would have been more just

to say, that if the Scots had formed a nation, governed by kings for the space of eight centuries, till the time of Gildas, as asserted by the modern Scotch, that author would have known them, and not have been obliged, in order to acquire a knowledge of their history, to have recourse to the Scots of Ireland, or to the Romans, who are probably those strangers to whom he alludes. But it is not surprising that this inconsiderable kingdom, which was only beginning to emerge from obscurity in the time of Gildas, and the extent of which was confined to three or four small territories in the western part of Albania, had been unknown to Gildas, at a time when there was so little trade and intercourse between the different nations.

Abercromby derives but little advantage from Nennius in favour of his system. "This author," says he, "who lived in the beginning of the eighth century, had composed his history, partly from that of the Scots. The Scots therefore, had historians at that time." Who doubts it? Before he proclaims victory, he should remove all ambiguity, and prove, that in the ages which preceded the time of Nennius, his ancestors alone were called Scots, even exclusive of the inhabitants of Ireland, known by the ancients as the true Scots. He then says, that Nennius affirms, that the nation of the Scots is as ancient in Britain as the supposed king Brutus. Such far fetched proofs, however, avail but little, whereas, according to Baker,* this Brutus lived a thousand years before Julius Cæsar, that is, about seven hundred years before the period in which the Scotch fix the foundation of their monarchy by Fergus I.: it also appears, that this passage in Nennius is obscure, as Usher thinks Brutus to have been the first Roman consul.†

After Gildas and Nennius, he calls the venerable Bede to his aid, and uses all his subtlety to serve his interest. He confounds the facts related by this respectable author, and inverts the chronology and order of his history. "Bede," says he, "reckons the Scots amongst the most ancient inhabitants of Britain:" he says, "that the Britons having at first possessed the southern parts of the island, the Picts afterwards settled in the northern, and that after the latter, the Scots, under Reuda, their chief, founded a third nation with the Britons and Picts." He then introduced the Romans as a fourth colony, notwithstanding that Britain was not known to them till the time of Julius Cæsar.

* Chron. p. 1.

† Primord. cap. 15, p. 612.

"The Scots therefore were settled in Britain," says Abercromby, "before the invasion of the island by that conqueror."

But, with his permission, the order of events does not always follow the order of the chapters in which they are related; an historian is sometimes obliged, according to the matter he treats of in a chapter, to derange facts, and extend his narrative beyond what is contained in the chapter which follows. It is thus that Bede, speaking of the colonies which had settled in Britain, mentions the Scots after the Picts, and before the Romans, although Usher and others fix their establishment in the island in the beginning of the third century. He indeed introduces the Scots after the Picts, not immediately, as Abercromby insinuates, but long after, and in succession of time, "procedente autem tempore." His naming them immediately after the Britons and Picts, arises from his having considered them as a colony, which had, like them, made Britain their country, and whose posterity still existed in his time, and formed a body of people. It is not so with the Romans, whom he considers less as a colony than as conquerors. It was not customary with this people to settle colonies in conquered provinces, nor to dispossess the old proprietors, but were satisfied with their submission, and a tribute which they levied to defray the expenses of a prefect or legate, and of the troops which they maintained in them to keep the people in obedience, and defend them against the incursions of their enemies. Abercromby has an admirable turn for bringing facts together, when his interest is concerned; and applies to the second century what belongs to the fifth. "Severus," says he, still quoting Bede, "caused a wall to be built, to serve as a rampart against the unsubdued nations, namely, the Scots and Picts, two foreign nations, thus called, not that they were established out of Britain, but because they were separated, by two arms of the sea, from that part which was subject to the Romans."

It is true that Bede says all this, but at different times, and under different circumstances. He says, in the fifth chapter, that Severus, who lived in the second century, constructed, not a wall, as Abercromby affirms, but a ditch, with pallasades, to check the unsubdued nations,* which he does not name; but we may suppose that they were

the Scots and Picts, the former of whom were a wandering people, having no settled residence in Britain,* or, perhaps, some cantons of the Britons, who, dissatisfied with the yoke of the Romans, sometimes revolted against them. But when Bede, after Gildas, speaks, in the twelfth chapter, of the transmarine or foreign nations, and adds the following reflection, which is not in Gildas, namely, that those nations were not so called on account of having been established out of Britain, but only because they were separated from it by two arms of the sea; he speaks only with respect to the situation of the affairs of the Britons with the Scots and Picts in the fifth century, when the Roman power began to decline in Britain, and in other parts, under Honorius, as he says in the preceding chapter: "Ex quo tempore Romani in Britannia regnare cessarunt." Then Bede's remark on the epithet, "transmarine," which Gildas gives to the Scots and Picts, is applicable to the former, who began, in the third century, to form settlements in Britain, without, however, constituting a kingdom or making a state distinct from that of Ireland. Gildas and Bede speak of those foreign nations when mentioning the dreadful ravages committed by those barbarians in Britain, in the beginning of the fifth century. They first call them Scots and Picts, and particularize the countries from which they came. They say, "the Picts came from the north, and the Scots from the west"—"Scotorum a circio," or according to Fabius Ethelwerdus, "Scoti ab occidentali plagâ," that is, from the west; which can only refer to Ireland, and by no means to Scotland, which is immediately in the north of Britain, or, to speak more plainly, constitutes the northern part of the island. Those Scots who came from the west, are called by the same authors, at the time of their retreat, Irish, "revertuntur impudentes grassatores Hiberni domum."

This account agrees with the comment affixed to the manuscript of Gildas, in the library of Cambridge, in which it is said, that the passage in Gildas, "a duabus gentibus transmarinis,"† should be rather applied to the Scots, whose love of pillage made them come every year from Ireland to Britain, than to those already established by

* "Where after many severe battles, the part of the island which he had recovered, he thought should be distinguished from the other unconquered parts, not by a wall but by a rampart."—*Bede's Church Hist.* b. 1 c. 5.

* "As it may appear, that these times were in the reign of Honorius Augustus: whereas then, according to Ammianus, they had no settled abode, that they had long harassed Britain and the parts designated by limits, but they appear to have settled in Britain."—*Camd.* p. 63.

† Petr. Lombard. *Comment. cap.* 15. p. 27, 28.

Reuda, according to Bede, in Albania, "quia Scoti tunc temporis in Hiberniâ habitabant, et Picti in Scotiâ, id est, ab aquilone."*

It would still be repeating the same things were we to follow and repeat the proofs which Abercromby advances in favour of his system. All that he can say on this subject has been as often refuted as proposed. His arguments are generally founded on sophisms and false principles. He always supposes, that the ancients who spoke of Scotia or the Scots, plainly indicated his country, though most of those authors express themselves differently on that head. He often contends with phantoms, by supposing that they dispute with him the existence of the Scots in Albania, before the foundation of their monarchy in 503, though Bede, Cambrensis, Camden, and Usher, together with historians of Ireland, repeatedly mention that the Dalreudini, and many other colonies from the same country, had settled in Albania in the third and fourth centuries. It is also known that their adherents and vassals, allured either through their alliance with the Picts, or by the hopes of plunder, crossed the sea to attack the Britons in their own country, even before the time of the Romans, as appears by the panegyric delivered by Eumonius, on the Emperor Constantius,† in which he says, that when the Britons were conquered by Julius Cæsar, they were rude and ignorant in the art of war, having till that time contended only with the Picts and Irish. Hegesippus,‡ in his treatise on the destruction of Jerusalem, says, that Joseph Ben-Gorion, wishing to divert the Jews from going to war with the Romans,§ the conquerors of the world, tells them, that even Scotia trembles at the approach of their arms: "Tremet hos Scotia quæ terris nihil debet." But, says Abercromby, this passage cannot, as Camden asserts, relate to Ireland, which was never invaded by the Romans; as if a conqueror, who had already entered the neighbouring country, was not to be feared: "When a neighbour's house is on fire, we become alarmed for our own safety." Besides, these words,|| "quæ terris nihil debet," naturally indicate an island separated from the rest of the world.¶ The Scots of Ireland dreaded

the fate of the Britons, Gauls, and so many other nations conquered by the Romans. Their fear, according to Peter Lombard, was one of the motives which induced them to make war against the Britons and Romans, plundering the former, whom they regarded as enemies to the Picts, their allies; and forcing the latter to stop in Britain, in order to divert them from the idea of wishing to reduce Ireland into a Roman province, as they intended.* Accordingly, they ceased hostilities against the Britons, as soon as they had nothing to fear from the Romans; "Cessavit vastatio hostilis."†

The great reputation of Bede, Luddus, Camden, Usher, and others, whom Abercromby would have here to contend with, intimidate, and prevent him from undertaking to refute them. He attaches the blame solely to Kennedy, who is not, however, more criminal than they are; invectives are the strongest arguments which he uses against him and his nation—arguments which generally supply the place of reasoning with ignorant and hasty men.‡ He reproaches them with the obscurity of their origin, of which, notwithstanding, they have no reason to be ashamed, says he, no more than their neighbours: their savage customs, until the reign of James VI. of Scotland, and I. of England; the instability of their government; the multiplicity of their kings, always at war with each other; their want of commerce with foreign nations, their ill success against the superior forces of the Danes, their submission to the English; their idleness, and the poverty which is inseparable from it; in fine, the negligence in the cultivation of their lands, and in building with stone and cement. Such are the calumnies which Abercromby has published against the Irish nation, (not sparing even a number of ancient English families, who have constituted part of it for more than five centuries:) these aspersions deserve rather to be despised than refuted; he attacks a whole nation for the supposed error of an individual. Kennedy proves, by the most authentic monuments, that the Scotch are the descendants of colonies which went at different periods from Ireland to Albania; that their monarchy was not founded till the

* Usser. Primord. Eccles. c. 15, p. 593.

† Page 258. ‡ Camb. Brit. edit. Lon. p. 89.

§ Usser. prim. c. 16, p. 726.

|| Petr. Lombard, c. 2, p. 19.

¶ "By the name Scotia, he obviously means Ireland, which he makes an island, neither joined nor connected with any other land, which Camden himself admits."—Usher, c. 16, p. 726.

* "That they might restrain the Romans, and keep them from passing over to Ireland."—Peter Lombard, c. 2, p. 22.

† "They had a hope, and if opportunity presented itself, to conquer it."—Tacitus in his *Life of Agricola*.

‡ Bede, lib. 1, cap. 14.

§ Abercromby, vol. 1, c. 1, p. 14.

sixth century, as had already been affirmed by Bede, Camden, Usher, and others. He mentions that the Stuarts derive their origin from Ireland, by those same colonies; is there any thing in that dishonourable or extraordinary for the Scotch nation, of which this author otherwise speaks with respect? It appears that the assertions of Kennedy should not have drawn on his nation those bitter invectives with which Abercromby assails it, and which were only heightened by a foolish apology on his part. He says, "that he is sorry to be obliged to expose a people whom he esteems, on account of their acknowledged bravery, particularly in foreign countries, their inviolable attachment to justice, and so many other good qualities, which are too numerous to mention here." Would it not appear, that he makes allusion, in this tirade, to the fidelity of the Irish to their legitimate princes, and their religion, in which he does them more justice than he intended? In fine, since the union of the ancient and modern Irish, and their submission to the kings of England, until the accession of James I. to the throne, (a fatal period for them,) so far from betraying their lawful prince, they sacrificed all they possessed to preserve his crown. The loss of their property and liberty is a decided proof of their loyalty, and the number of those who retained the catholic faith, after a persecution of two centuries, pleads strongly in favour of their attachment to religion. Abercromby appeals to the testimony of Ware, for all he advances against the Irish;* and after flattering this author highly, he quarrels with him, and says he dishonoured himself, to the great astonishment of the learned, (of Scotland apparently,) by affirming, that the most celebrated writers, missionaries, and Saints, that Scotland had produced from the fifth to the sixteenth century, were Irish, solely on account of their being called Scoti, or Scots. But why have all authors, even the ancients, who have treated upon this subject—except the Scots of latter times, whose evidence should not be admitted in their own cause—fallen into the same error as Ware, and deserved the same censure from Abercromby? It would seem that this author wished to anticipate the reproaches he deserves himself. Usher, having thoroughly investigated this matter,† declares that all he has said was necessary to repress the insolent audacity of Thomas Dempster,‡

* Page 12, 13, 14.

† Usher. primord. c. 16. p. 737.

‡ "That the insolent audacity of Thomas Dempster might be repressed."

who, he says, was not ashamed to affirm, in his letter to Cardinal Barberini, (who was afterwards Pope, under the name of Urban VIII.) that Ireland was never called Scotia, "*Hiberniam nunquam Scotiæ nomen habuisse asseverare non puduit;*" though he himself acknowledges, that, according to Isidorus and Bede, Ireland was the country of the Scots: and to deprive Scotia Major, that is, Ireland, of every character celebrated for learning and piety, mentioned by the authors, under the name Scots, even those who had preceded the year 840, when the Scoto-Britains were confined to the narrow limits of Dalriada, which constituted but a small part of Albania.* "When Dempster," continues Usher, "endeavoured to deceive Philip Ferrarius, who was composing a supplement to the Roman martyrology, and to make him an accomplice in his plagiarism, by giving him a list of the saints of Scotland to enrich the martyrology, this learned Italian having discovered the fraud, added an advertisement to his work, in which he says, that having followed certain authors, he attributed some Irish saints to Scotland, because, according to the ancients, Ireland was formerly called Scotia, and the inhabitants Scots, and that he thought fit to apprise the public of it, on account of certain authors who have robbed that island of her saints." It is thus he speaks of Dempster and his partizans.†

But what can be the advantages which Abercromby derives from the history of Ware to authorise his calumnies. This learned man begins his history of Ireland with Laogare, son of Niall the Great, and monarch of Ireland in the beginning of the fifth century. He says that he does not mention the predecessors of this monarch, as almost all that has been said of them is

* "After this he transfers, in crowds, from our Scotia Major into Scotia Minor, and shoves and confines them also in an angle, all Scots whom he discovered celebrated by writers for their piety and learning, even those who flourished in the year 840. The Scoto-Britanni Dalriads were confined to very narrow limits."—Usher, c. 16. p. 738.

† "Of this plagiarism, whilst Dempster was endeavouring to make Philippus Ferrarius an Italian a participator, the discovery of the Irish saints being made known to him; this learned man, having at length discovered the fraud, took care to prefix for his readers, the following admonition:—'I have thought fit to apprise you, that copying after other writers, I have attributed to Scotland or England some Irish Saints, which it was the more necessary to inform you, in order to be guarded against robbers;' such was the name he affixed to Dempster and his confederates, pointing them out as robbers of the saints."—Usher. c. 16. p. 738.

fabulous, or, at least, mixed with fable. There were, then, from the acknowledgment of Ware himself, kings in Ireland before Laogare, and histories which make mention of them: and though they were intermixed with the fabulous, as he asserts, he would have dated his history much farther back than Laogare, if the undertaking had not been too difficult for a man, who, not knowing the language of the country, was unable to fathom its antiquities sufficiently. Besides, this mixture of truth and fable is a vice common to the ancient historians of every country. Ware also says, that they considered it praiseworthy to seize on the property of strangers, as it tended to the public welfare; but he also adds, that they imitated therein the Gauls and Spartans. He says that their judges, called "Brehons," distributed justice and decided law-suits in the open air, and on high mountains, and that bastards frequently succeeded to the property of the father with the legitimate children. It would be indulging in trifles to reproach a people with the ridiculous customs of their pagan ancestors, at a time when all nations were barbarous. Lastly, he says, they had no walled cities; that their houses were built of wood, and covered with thatch or straw. Those people who always fought in the open field, needed no fortified cities, and would have considered it as cowardice to conceal themselves behind walls in order to defend themselves against the enemy. With respect to their houses, it is unfit to reproach them with a custom common to all other nations. Cambrensis speaks of the castle of Pembroke* to have been built in the time of Henry I., with branches of trees and green turf, by Arnulph de Montgomery. The Britons, says Cæsar, gave the appellation of "a city," to a wood surrounded with a ditch and a hedge.† There are still to be seen in France, (which surpasses every other nation in refinement and good taste,) whole towns built of wood, and covered with thatch and straw.

We easily discover the bad faith of Abercromby, who ascribes to Ware sentiments very foreign to him, concerning the succession to the monarchy, and the inauguration of the kings of Tyrone and Tirconnel, which he only relates historically, after Cambrensis, as an imposition strange and incredible, "mirum videatur, et vix credibile quod tradit Giraldus,"‡ and not an historical fact taken from the registries of the country, or

from any respectable author; particularly as he suggests, in the twenty-third chapter, that the Topography of Cambrensis should be read with caution, and expresses his surprise, that men in his time, otherwise grave and learned, could have imposed on the public, by giving for truth, the fictions of Cambrensis.*

Abercromby draws inferences injurious to the authenticity of the histories of the ancient Irish, from those barbarous customs, so called from not being conformable to the customs of the present day. He thinks to annihilate thereby the authority of manuscripts, which are made use of to combat the assumed antiquity of his monarchy: he has not, however, gained his cause, having to contend with enemies, who being better known are the more formidable. Such are the authors whom I have already quoted, and whose authority is so respectable. I might here add very many remarks on the means which Abercromby makes use of in favour of his system. I do not pretend that this subject has been exhausted; but, as that is not the chief object in view, I leave the matter to others.

CHAPTER VII.

ON THE DIFFERENT NAMES OF IRELAND.

IRELAND was not unknown to the Phœnicians nor Greeks. Orpheus of Crotona, contemporary, according to Suidas, of Pisistratus the tyrant,† who died in the sixty-third olympiad, and of Cyrus the Great, about 543 years before Christ, in his poem on the Argonauts, and Aristotle, in his Book of the World to Alexander, mention it under the name of "Ierna," whence Usher says, that the Roman people could produce no testimony so authentic for the antiquity of their name.‡

Juvenal, Pomponius Mela, and Solinus, call this island "Juverna;"§ Ptolemy, "Juernia;" and Diodorus Siculus, "Iris." It is called "Iren," in the life of Gildas Bado-nicus,|| who went, says the author, to Iren

* "I cannot but wonder, how men otherwise grave and learned, could have imposed upon the world for truths, the fictions of Giraldus."—Ware's *Antiquities*, c. 23.

† Ogyg. part 2, page 95.

‡ "Of a similar antiquity, neither the Romans themselves could produce a testimony."—Usher, p. 724.

§ Peter Lombard, comment. cap. 1.

|| Lib. 5, p. 309, cap. 6.

* Itim Cambræ lib. 1, cap. 12.

† De bello Gall. lib. 5.

‡ Cap. 4, p. 17.

(Ireland) to consult the doctors in philosophy and theology ;* whence it arises, that we call the Milesians or Irish, "Irenses," and "Iri."†

Claudianus, Strabo, and Stephen of Byzantium, call it "Ierne."

Rufus-Festus Avienus, in his book entitled "Oræ Maritimæ"—Maritime Coasts, which he composed after the most ancient Greek geographers, calls it the Sacred Island, "Insula Sacra ;"‡ so that this island, which was one day to become, and bear the name of "the island of saints," in the time of Christianity, was called in the times of paganism, by the heathens themselves, "the sacred island," which, perhaps, originated from its nurturing no venomous reptile.§

Plutarch in his book "De facie in orbe lunæ," calls Ireland "Ogygia." The poets, says Rhodogonus, call every thing that is ancient "Ogygium," from Ogyges, an ancient king of Thebes.¶ Egypt was also called "Ogygia"¶¶ for the same reason, the Egyptians having been considered the most ancient people, and the inventors of most of the arts and sciences, from whom the Greeks themselves had borrowed them.

Cæsar, Pliny, Tacitus, Orosius, and generally all the Latins call it "Hibernia." The derivation of this name is unknown. Some assert, that it is derived from the Iberians,** a people of Spain, who inhabited this island, or from Iberus, a river in that country, or from Iberia, which was sometimes the name of it. Others say, that the name of Hibernia, is derived from Heber, one of the sons of Milesius, or from Heremon, his brother.

Lastly, this island was called by the English, within the last six or seven centuries Ireland.†† The derivation of this word is manifest, as it is evident that the word Ireland has been composed of "Iris," or "Fea-

ron Ire," signifying the land of Ire, and the English word "Land."

It is absurd to seek the derivation of proper names amongst foreigners.* Every one should know the name of his own land or patrimony, better than his neighbours.

Pliny informs us,‡ that we should seek the proper and natural name of a country, among the learned in the language of the country itself. The natural name of a country is that which is acknowledged and adopted by the inhabitants, and which has its root in their language, and not that which the caprice of strangers may give it. The following are the observations of the historians of the country on this subject :—

Keating,‡ copying after the ancient monuments of this nation, says, that, at the time of the first colonies, Ireland was sometimes called "Inis Alga," signifying the noble island ;§ sometimes "Inisfail,"|| that is, the island of Fail, from an enchanted stone called in them "Lia-Fail;" and "Saxum Fatale," by Hector Boetius, which the Tuatha de Danains had brought thither.¶

This island was afterwards, and immediately before the arrival of the Milesians, called sometimes Eire, sometimes Fodla, and sometimes Banba, the names of three queens, sisters, that married three brothers who governed this island alternately ; but Eire was at all times, and still is, the most general name, and the inhabitants are yet called in their language "Eirinachs," signifying natives of Eire, in Latin "Erigena." It was in this acceptance of the word that John Scot, an author of the ninth century, was generally called "Scotus Erigena."

Camden agrees, that Erin (which is the same as Eire) is the real name of this island ; he says, that the names Ierna, Juverna, Juernia, Iris, Hibernia, and Ireland, are derived from it. "Ab Erin ergo gentis vocabulo originatione pretenda."*** But he is mistaken in his conjectures concerning the derivation of the word Erin, which he supposes to have discovered in the Irish word "Hiar," signifying the west, as Ireland is the most westerly country in Europe. The name of Erin was given to this island by the inhabitants themselves: if we derived it from "Hiar," it would be giving the island a name

* "He went to Ireland that he might find out the opinions of other doctors of philosophy and divine learning."—*Life of Gildas*, c. 6.

† Odericus vitalis, ann. 1098. Hist. Eccles. lib. 10. Elnothus Cantur vita Canuti, cap. 10.

‡ "From this the ancients have given it the name of Sacred Island ; it possesses a deep soil amidst the waters. The Hibernians (Irish) are its most extended possessors ; an island of the Albions lies near and open."—*Festus Avienus in Camden*.

§ "Which name on account of its happy soil, has been given it ; likewise because no venomous reptile lives in it."—*Ogyg.* part 1, p. 21, 22.

¶ "The poets call that "Ogygia," which is signified to be most ancient."—*Rhodogonus*, b. 15, c. 33.

¶¶ *Ogyg.* part 1, p. 22.

** Peter Lombard, comment. c. 1, p. 9.

†† Philip O'Sullivan, lib. 1, cap. 1.

* "It is vain to deduce the cause of its name from any other language."—*Camden*.

‡ Hist. nat. lib. 1.

§ Book of Emigrations.

|| Psalter of Cashel.

¶ Lecan and others.

¶ War, Antiq. Hib. c. 1.

** Page 677.

which implies, that it lies to the west of itself. Besides, O'Flaherty, a man learned and ably conversant in the language of the country, rejects this conjecture of Camden, as an absurdity.*

This island was also called by the Milesians "Scotie, or Scuitte," in Latin *Scotia*,† and the inhabitants Kinneadh-Scuitte, or Clanna-Scoitte, from *Scota*, daughter of Pharoah, king of Egypt, wife of Milesius, and mother of the Milesians; or, according to others, from the word *Scythia* or *Scythe*, (*Scythians*,) of whom this people were a colony.

Whatever be the derivation of this name, it is certain that the island was known to foreigners by the name of *Scotia*,‡ and the inhabitants by that of *Scoti* or *Scots*, from the third till the eleventh century.§ The number of authors quoted by Usher, to support the truth of this statement, forms a link which nothing can sever.||

Porphyrius, the philosopher, whose words St. Jerome quotes, in his epistle to Ctesiphon, against Pelagius, a Briton, and Celestinus, a Scot, makes mention, in the third century, of Britain, a province fruitful in tyrants, and of the Scotic nations, which, he says, were unacquainted with Moses and the prophets. "Neque enim Britannia fertilis provincia tyrannorum, et Scoticæ gentes..... Moysen Prophetasque cognoverant." Usher here corrects Erasmus, who affirms, that in some copies he had read "*Scythicæ gentes*," instead of *Scoticæ*.

The Picts and Irish, called by Eumenius the Rhetorician, towards the end of the same century, in his eulogium on Constantius, the general enemies of the Britons, are designated by Ammian and Claudian, in the following century, by the names of *Scots* and *Picts*; which proves, according to Usher, that Ireland should be acknowledged as the country of the ancient *Scots*; in confirmation of which, he quotes the lines of Claudian, wherein this poet represents the *Scots* as the inhabitants of the country called *Ierne*.¶

* "As much as the East is distant from the West, so much does *Ere*, *Hiar* in the Irish language, which implies westerly, differ in its meaning." — *Ogyg.* p. 20, part 1.

† Philip O'Sullivan, *Hist. Cathol. compend.* cap. 2.

‡ Petr. Lombard, *Comment.* cap. 1, p. 5.

§ *Idem*, cap. 2, p. 15.

|| Usher, *Prim. Eccles.* cap. 16, p. 728, et *Ogygia*, part 3, cap. 72.

¶ "It proves that *Hibernia* was the country of the ancient *Scots*, as is confirmed by the following lines from Clodianus. 'The icy *Ierne* bewailed the heaps of the *Scots*; when *Scotia* and all *Ierne* were moved, and the sea foamed from the hostile oar.'" — *Usher*.

We have the testimony of Paulus Orosius, in the fifth century, who says, in his description of this island, that it was inhabited by the *Scots*; "*à Scotorum gentibus colitur*."* St. Prosper, speaking of the pastoral solicitude of Pope Celestine for the British isles,† in destroying the heresy of Pelagius in Britain, and causing the gospel to be preached among the *Scots* by Palladius,‡ distinguishes the island of *Scots*, by the appellation of barbarous, from Britain, which he calls the Roman Isle.§ The Island of *Scots* in the acceptance of the word by Prosper, can only refer, says Usher, to *Scotia Major*, that is Ireland, and by no means to *Albania*, which was not then called *Scotia*, and is not an island, as it forms a part of that of Great Britain.||

In the sixth century we have the authority of Gildas, a British author, who, after saying that Britain had been trampled on by two barbarous nations, namely, the *Scots*, who came from the west, and the *Picts*, from the north, adds that the daring robbers, (the Irish,) had returned home, with the design of returning in a short time, and that the *Picts* had settled in the northern extremity of the island.¶ It is manifest that Gildas here mentions the *Scots* and *Irish* as the same people; which is the inference that Usher draws from it, adding that *Cogitosus*, in the life of St. Bridget, agrees with Gildas.**

In the seventh century, Isidorus Hispalensis says, that *Scotia* is the same as *Ire-*

* *Hist. lib.* 1. c. 2.

† Petr. Lomb. comment. c. 2. p. 16.

‡ Grat. Luc. c. 25. p. 213.

§ "Nor with less care has he rescued the British isles from the same distemper, when he secretly excluded some who occupied the soil of their birth, from that part of the ocean, and a bishop being ordained for the *Scots*, whilst he labours to keep the Roman isle Catholic, he made that which was Christian, barbarous." — *St. Prosper in Usher*, c. 16. p. 797.

|| "And Prosper distinguishing eloquently this island of the *Scots* from the *Britains*, must be necessarily understood to mean *Scotia Major* to be Ireland, and not the *Minor Scotia*, which is *Albania*, (which was not *Scotland* at that period, neither is it an island but forms a part of Great Britain.)" — *Usher's Church Hist.* c. 16. p. 798.

¶ "From two very cruel nations beyond seas — the *Scots* from the west, and *Picts* from the north, Britain suffers and sighs during many years. The daring robbers, the *Irish*, return home, intending to come back in a short time, the *Picts* then settled, for the first time, in the north of the island." — *Usher*, c. 15, p. 593-609.

** "Where he takes the *Scots* and *Irish* for one and the same people; this is also observed by *Cogitosus*, as well in his prologue as in his epilogue upon the life of St. Bridget." — *Usher*, c. 16, p. 729.

land; "*Scotia eadem et Hibernia*."* The abbot Jonas affirms, in the life of St. Columbanus, that the saint was born in the island of Ireland; which island was inhabited by a nation of Scots; that this nation, though not governed by the same laws as others, was remarkable for its fervour in Christianity, and surpassed all the neighbouring countries in its faith.† We may add the authority of Aldhelm, abbot of Malmesbury, in his epistle to Ealfrid, and that of Adamnanus, abbot of Hy, in the life of St. Columba. Those holy men always make use of the names of Irish and Scots, Ireland and Scotia, as synonymous.‡

The venerable Bede, who lived in the eighth century, and whose authority is so respectable, bears testimony to the truth of this statement; to be convinced of which it is only necessary to read, with attention, his Ecclesiastical History. According to the title of his first chapter, he proposes to treat of the situation and ancient inhabitants of Britain and Ireland, "*de situ Britanniae, vel Hiberniae, et priscis earum incolis*;" and in the same chapter introduces the Scots as the inhabitants of Ireland, without mentioning the name of Irish. We discover, in the sequel of his history, the distinction he makes between the Scots of Ireland, and those of Albania. He frequently mentions the former, whom he simply calls Scots; and designates their country by the names, Scotia and Ireland; he says that the Picts had discovered the nation of the Scots in Ireland,§ "*inventâ ibi gente Scotorum*," and that Ireland was their country, "*hæc autem propria patria Scotorum est*."|| He distinctly characterises them in the second chapter of his second book, when speaking of the pastoral solicitude of Lawrence, archbishop of Canterbury, for the churches of the Britons, English and Scots, who inhabited Ireland, which he points out as an island bordering

upon Britain; "*necnon Scotorum qui Hiberniam insulam Britanniae proximam incolunt*:" he says that this prelate knowing that the Scots were in error concerning the observance of the Easter, had written a letter to them, exhorting them to preserve unity with the Church of Rome; this letter was entitled "*Dominis charissimis, fratribus Episcopis vel Abbatibus per universam Scotiam*." It is remarkable that in the title, he uses the word Scotia to indicate the same country, which he had shortly before named Hibernia. Bede says elsewhere,* "*that Pope Honorius sent letters to the Scots, who were in error concerning the celebration of Easter, as mentioned above, exhorting them not to think themselves more enlightened than every other church in the world, particularly as they formed but a small nation, situated at the extremity of the earth.*"

"Misit Papa Honorius litteras genti Scotorum, quas in observatione sancti paschæ errare compererat juxta quod supra docuimus." It is plain from these words of Bede, "*juxta quod supra docuimus*," and which are an incontestible proof of it, that the letters of pope Honorius, and that of Lawrence of Canterbury, were intended for the same people, that is, for the Scots of Ireland, who were in error concerning the Easter, which they celebrated from the fourteenth to the twentieth of the moon. In speaking of Oswald, king of Northumberland,† he says, that, "*this prince, seeing himself in peaceful possession of his kingdom, and eager for the conversion of his subjects, sent to the Scots, (amongst whom he and his attendants had received the grace of baptism,) to request, that they would send him a prelate capable of instructing his subjects. The Scots attended immediately to the pious request of Oswald, and sent over Aidan, a man remarkable for his mildness, piety, and zeal in the cause of God, but not better instructed than his countrymen in the celebration of the Easter, which, as I have often mentioned, (continues our author,) was from the fourteenth to the twentieth of the moon. It was thus, says Bede, that the northern Scots and the whole nation of the Picts, celebrated the Easter; but the Scots of the southern provinces of Ireland, he says, had already, by the admonition of the apostolic See, conformed to the canonical rite.*"‡ To-

* Origin. lib. 14, cap. 6.

† "Columbanus was born in Ireland, an island of the sea: this is inhabited by the Scots, a people though differing in their laws from every other nation, are strong and flourishing in the doctrine of Christ, agreeing herein with the neighbouring nations."—Usher, c. 16, p. 729.

‡ "From this cause, we discover in Aldhelm, abbot of Malmesbury, in the epistle to Ealfrid, that the Irish and Scots, Ireland and Scotia are synonymous terms, and in Adamnanus, abbot of Hy, who writes of St. Columba. He makes use of the words, *Scotia and Hibernia*, (Ireland,) signifying that they are one and the same."—Usher, c. 16, p. 729.

§ Lib. 1. cap. 1.

|| Grat. Luc. c. 14, page 126 et 127.

* Lib. 2. cap. 19.

† Idem. lib. 3, cap. 3.

‡ "In this way the northern Scots and the whole nation of the Picts celebrated the Easter at that time. Besides this, the Scots who inhabited the southern parts of Ireland, had listened to the admo-

wards the end of the same chapter, he mentions, "that Aidan was a monk and bishop; that he came from the monastery of the island of Hy, and that this island had been given to the Scots by the Picts, in gratitude for their having preached the gospel amongst them."* In the beginning of the following chapter, he plainly indicates the country of the Scots, by saying, "that there came from Ireland a monk called Columbanus,† eminent for the austerity of his life; that he preached the gospel to the northern Picts, and that they granted him the island of Hy, where he built a monastery." The venerable Bede expresses himself otherwise about the country of St. Columbanus. In his chronological table, he says, "that this great man came from Scotia to Britain to instruct the Picts."‡ We should then misinterpret the history of Bede, if we did not discover that, according to this author, the terms Scotia and Ireland, Scots and Irish, are synonymous, and signify the same nation and the same people; that St. Columbanus, the apostle of the Picts, and founder of the monastery of Hy, was a Scot from Ireland; that Aidan, the apostle of the Northumbrians, and first bishop of Landisfarn, was from the same country, namely, from the province of the northern Scots, who were involved in the error of the Quartodecimans, amongst whom Oswald had received baptism, that this northern province which Bede distinguishes from the southern Scots, on account of their difference in opinion, respecting their observance of the Easter,§ is the north of Ireland, comprising the neighbouring islands, amongst others that of Hy; were it otherwise, there would be a want of precision in the account which he gives; besides it is obvious, according to the plan and thread of his history, that he always mentions those Scots as inhabitants of Ireland, to whom Lawrence, archbishop of

Canterbury, had addressed a pastoral letter respecting their observance of the Easter, "which I have often mentioned," says Bede. "Cujus sæpius mentionem fecimus." "The Picts, (continues this author,) laboured under the same error as the Scots." Besides the proximity of those nations, separated by an arm of the sea but fifteen miles in breadth and besides the commerce which had always existed between them, the Picts received from them the light of the gospel; so that it is not surprising, that they inhaled the venom of the error with which their apostles had been infected. "There came from Ireland, (continues Bede,) a holy man named Fursy, (and resuming the narrative towards the end of the same chapter,) who, after preaching the word of God for many years in Scotia, quitted this island, of which he was a native."* Finally, Bede tells us that Ecgrid, king of the Northumbrians, had sent an army into Ireland, under the command of Berte, to destroy an unoffending people. In the same chapter, he again quotes this passage of history where he again makes use of the word Scotia, instead of Hibernia which he had used in the beginning.† With respect to the Scots of Albania, this author having ranked them with the Picts, as forming long afterwards, a third colony in Britain, "procedente autem tempore,"‡ they are seldom mentioned by him; and he carefully distinguishes them from those of Ireland, by calling them sometimes Dalreudini, sometimes the Scots, who possessed, together with the Picts, the north of Britain. "*Pictorum quoque ac Scotorum gentes quæ septentrionales Britanniae fines tenent;*"§ and frequently the Scots who inhabited Britain; "*Scoti qui Britanniam incolunt.*"|| He also speaks of Edan, king of the Scots, who inhabited Britain, without alluding to a kingdom of Scotland in that island. "*Edan, rex Scotorum, qui Britanniam inhabitant.*"¶ Although Bede

nition of the Holy See, and conformed to the canonical observance of the Easter."—*Bede*, b. 3, c. 3.

* "Aidan was monk and bishop, and was appointed to the island of Hy: as a present from those Picts who inhabit these tracts of Britain, Hy was given to the monks who had preached among them the faith of Christ."

† "There came from Ireland, in the year of our Lord, 565, the holy monk Columbanus, about to preach the word of God to the northern Picts, from whom he received the island, and permission to found a monastery."—*Bede*, b. 3, c. 3, 4.

‡ "The presbyter, saint Columb, came from Scotia into Britain, to instruct the Picts, and in the island of Hy he founded a monastery."—*Epitome*, p. 244.

§ Peter Lombard, c. 15, p. 185.

* "A holy man named Fursius came from Ireland, and (to resume the narrative,) he preached, for many years afterwards, the word of God in Scotia, and left the island of which he was a native."—*Bede*, b. 3, c. 19.

† "In the year of the Redemption, 684; Ecgridus, king of the Northumbrians, sent an army to Ireland, under the command of Bertus. He devastated the country, and inflicted great miseries on a people, who were innocent and most friendly to the English. The preceding year, he would not listen to the most reverend Egbertus, lest he should not carry war into Scotia, a country which did him no injury."—*Bede*, b. 4, c. 26.

‡ Lib. 1, cap. 1.

§ Lib. 2, cap. 5.

|| Lib. 5, c. 24.

¶ Lib. c. 34.

says Usher, carefully distinguishes the Scots of Ireland from those who, in his time, inhabited a part of Albania; he allows, however, but of one Scotia, which is Ireland.*

Alcuin, disciple of the venerable Bede, follows his example on this subject, in speaking of St. Willibrord, bishop of Utrecht, whose life he wrote; and in saying that this saint was a native of Britain, and studied divinity in Ireland he uses indiscriminately the names Ireland, and Scotia, which, according to him, says Usher, signified, in the time of Charlemagne, the same nation and the same people.†

Eginhard, secretary to Charlemagne, or, according to some, his son-in-law, in his annals on the year 812,‡ informs us that the naval forces of the Normans landed in Ireland, the island of the Scots, and having given them battle, in which they were defeated, that those barbarians who escaped, shamefully took to flight, and returned to their country.§

This fact is supported by the authority of several writers of that century, mentioned by Usher: as the monk of Angouleme, who wrote the life of Charlemagne, and Ermenoldus, by whom the annals of Fulda were compiled, who says in a few words, that the Danish fleet having attacked Ireland, was defeated by the Scots.||

Rabanus, archbishop of Mayence, says, in his martyrology, on the eighth of the ides of July, "Ireland is the island of the Scots:" and in another place, "Scotia and Ireland signify the same country."¶

Walafrid, in his preface to the life of St.

* "Though Bede distinguishes with care the Scots who inhabit Hibernia (Ireland) and the Scots who inhabit Britain, still Scotia is to him, (as we have shewn,) always one and the same."—*Usher's C. Hist.* b. 4, c. 23.

† "A man powerful in virtue, full of divine love, eloquent, vigilant, and ardent in acting, came to thee, O happy France, in the days of Pepin; fruitful Britain was his mother, and the learned Hibernia nurtured him in sacred study; he was named Willibrordus. As I have already pronounced, fertile Britain was his mother, and the country of the Scots his illustrious instructor. He obviously shows, that Hibernia and Scotia were one and the same in the time of Charles the Great."—*Usher's Syllog.*

‡ Pres. Hain. *Abrégé de l'Hist. de France*, p. 43.

§ A Norman fleet having attacked Hibernia, the country of the Scots, a battle was fought between the Normans and Scots, they were shamefully put to flight, and returned with a part only of their force."—*Annals of Eginardus, on the year 812.*

|| "A fleet of Danes are overcome by the Scots in battle."—*Fulden's Annals.*

¶ "Hibernia the island of the Scots, is the same as Scotia."—b. 12.

Gal, says he was a native of Ireland, "de Hibernia insula;"* and again, that he was of the nation of the Scots, "de gente Scotorum."†

Ninius, a British author, affirms that the Scots came from Spain to Ireland; "Novissimè venerunt Scoti à partibus Hispaniæ ad Hiberniam."

Rathrannus, a monk of Corbie, assures us, in his fourth book against the Greeks, that the Scots, inhabitants of Ireland, were accustomed in their monasteries and other religious houses, to fast till sunset, (the usual time of their repast) except on Sundays and holydays.‡

In the tenth century, Hucbald, a monk of the Abbey of St. Amand,§ and the abbot Adso, in his poem on St. Mansuy, (in Latin Mansuetus,) to Girald, bishop of Toul, use indiscriminately the names Scotia and Hibernia, to signify the same country.

Fabius Ethelwerdus,|| and the Anglo-Saxon annals, mention three Scots from Ireland, "tres Scotos de Hiberniâ," who came in the year 891 to Alfred, king of England; their names were Dufslanus, Macbothus, and the third Magilmumenus, who was well versed in the arts and sciences, and a celebrated doctor among the Scots: "Artibus frondens, litterâ doctus, Magister insignis Scotorum."

We discover in the life of Charlemagne, written in the same century, by Notker le Begue, a monk of St. Gal, that two Scots from Ireland, deeply conversant in sacred and profane learning, came to France, with some British merchants.¶

The same author in his martyrology on the sixteenth of the calends of April, fixes in Scotia the birth of Saint Patrick, a bishop and native of Brittanny, who preached the gospel to the Scots, in the island of Ireland:** on the fifth of the ides of June in Scotia, the decease of St. Columb, surnamed Columbkil, on account of having been founder and

* Lib. 1, cap. 2.

† Lib. 2, cap. 46.

‡ "The nation of the Scots who inhabit the island of Ireland, have a custom in all the monasteries and religious houses to fast every day, except on Sundays and holydays, and to take food only at noon, or in the evening."—*Rathrannus Corbeiens, b. 4, against the Greeks.*

§ In vitâ Lebuini.

|| Ethelwerd. chron. lib. 4, cap. 3.

¶ "It happened that two Scots came from Hibernia with British merchants, to the shores of Gaul, who were most learned in sacred as well as in profane writings."

** "St. Patrick bishop, died in Ireland, where he first preached the gospel of our Lord to the Scots: he was of the nation of Brittanny."—*Notker le Begue in Usher.*

rector of several churches and monasteries;* and on the eighth of the ides of July, the passion of St. Kilian, first bishop of Wurtzburgh, and of his two disciples, Colonat a priest, and Totnan a deacon, who came from Ireland the island of the Scots, and after receiving their mission from the holy see, preached the gospel in the same place, and the adjacent country.† An ancient author of the life of St. Kilian, quoted by Usher,‡ says that Scotia, which is also called Ireland, is an island in the ocean, the soil of which is very fertile; but that it is still more celebrated by the illustrious saints to whom it gave birth; among that number are St. Columbanus, who gave lustre to Italy, St. Gal, to Germany, and St. Kilian, to Teutonic France.¶

The unanimous opinion of so many respectable authors, during seven or eight centuries, should be an incontrovertible proof of the truth of what I assert. It appears that the Abbé de Fleury had thoroughly investigated this matter, as, in his Ecclesiastical history, when speaking of Scotia, and the Scots or Scotch, he always takes care to add, "that is Hibernia and Hibernians," and sometimes Ireland and Irish. Had the author of the abridgment of the history of France, by question and answer, published in Paris some years ago, informed himself more accurately on the subject, he would have been more explicit respecting the name of the country, to which Dagobert, son of Sigebert III., king of Austrasia, was sent by Grimoald, mayor of the palace; he would not have simply said that it was to Scotland; he would have added, like the Abbé Fleury, "that is, to Ireland."

* "In the island Hibernia or Scotia, the decease of Saint Columb, took place, he was surnamed Columb-Kill, on account of the number of cells, monasteries, and churches, which he had founded."—*Nother le Begue, in Usher*, c. 15, p. 687.

† "The martyrdom of Saint Kiliannus, the first bishop of Wurtzburgh, and of his two disciples Colonatus a presbyter, and Totnatus a dean, who coming from Hibernia the island of the Scots, having received their authority from the apostolical see, preached the name of Christ in that place and the surrounding country."—*Nother le Begue, in Usher*, c. 16, p. 732.

‡ Prim. Eccles. cap. 16, 733.

¶ "Scotia called also Hibernia, is an island in the ocean, very fruitful in its soil, but still more renowned for the sanctity of its people; from among them, St. Columbanus gave lustre to Italy, St. Gal, to Germany, and Kilianus, to Teutonic France."—*Usher*, c. 16, p. 733.

CHAPTER VIII.

ON THE DIFFERENT DIVISIONS OF IRELAND.

IRELAND was at all times divided according to the views and interests of those who possessed it. Partholan divided it into four parts, in favour of his four sons; Nennius for the same reason divided it into three, and the Firbolgs into five. The children of Milesius, on their accession to the government of this island, made a new division of it: Heber, with the descendants of Ith, had the southern part, called Munster; Leinster and Connaught fell to Heremon; and the northern part, called Ulster, to the children of Ir. Ugane the Great, who lived three centuries before the Christian era, divided this island into twenty-five parts in favour of his children.* But the most celebrated division of the island, which was confirmed by Eocha IX. before the time of Jesus Christ, and which still partly exists, was that of the four parts or provinces, and the separation which was shortly afterwards made of a certain portion from each province, by Tuathal Teachmar, to form the king's domain,† called in their language, Fearon-Buoird-Riogh-Erinn, which signifies, "domain of the king's table," at present the counties of East and West Meath.‡ Those parts answering to our provinces,§ were called, in their language, Coigeadh, which implies a fifth. It would appear that the king's domain formed the fifth part of this division, or that one of the other four were, at some time, subdivided into two, as Munster was divided into Eastern and Western Ireland, was long after divided into two parts, by Conn, monarch of the island, and Mogha, king of Munster. The line of separation called Eisker Riada, extended from Dublin in the east, to Galway in the west. The northern part, which fell under the dominion of Conn, was called "Leath Coinn, or the half of Coinn," and the southern, "Leath Mogha." The venerable Bede alludes probably to this division, when he mentions the northern and southern Scots.¶

Besides those general divisions which were made either by the wisdom of legislators or by force of arms, Ireland was anciently divided by the Milesians into territories, that is, into principalities and dynasties, as it has been since by the English into counties and

* Ogygia, page 18.

† Peter Lombard, comment. de Hib. cap. 3, page 41. ‡ Grat. Luc. c. 8, page 68.

§ Ogyg. part 3, cap. 46. ¶ Ogyg. part 1, p. 24.

baronies. The chiefs of those territories and the families who possessed them, were chosen from the tribe. The dynasties formed about thirty burghs or villages, comprising nearly the same extent of land as the baronies among the Anglo-Saxons, and the principalities were the same as our counties. Their chiefs were elective, and chosen by their own tribes, for life only; they were subordinate to the chief of the province, as the latter was to the monarch. Those chiefs who naturally convey to us the idea of the titles of duke, earl and baron, were called *Taoiseachs*,* that is, lords; Thane among the Anglo-Saxons, signifies the same thing, namely, the chief of the tribe.

The ancient names of those territories had a strong analogy and connection with the names and origin of their possessors, who were sometimes called kings, through courtesy, according to the extent of their possessions, and the number of their vassals; men never took the names of their lands; on the contrary, they generally gave to their patrimonies names that indicated the proprietors, which are still preserved among the people, notwithstanding the efforts of the English to obliterate them, by giving foreign names to the lands and lordships which they usurped.

To understand more clearly the analogy between the names of the dynasties, and the names and origin of the proprietors, we should observe, that the words *Dal*, *Hy* or *Ibh*, *Sioll*, *Clan*, *Kinall*, *Mac*, *Muintir*, and others, are adjectives frequently used in the Milesian or Irish language, and which, in their primitive signification, denote the chiefs of families, and sometimes the different branches; but taken in a wider sense, they are applied to their territorial possessions.

The word *Dal*, according to Bede, means part of a thing,† and may be used to signify a portion of territory, or the branch of a family; but in its most natural signification, *Dal* means tribe or race, as *Dal Riada*, or tribe of Riada;‡ *Hy* or *Ibh*, signifies "of;" and *Sioll*, *Clan*, *Kinall*, *Mac*, *Muintir*, &c., the race or descendants of any one.§

The ancient territories of Ireland,|| according to Keating, Gratianus Lucius, O'Flaherty,¶ and others, after the ancient monuments of the country, amongst others

the very ancient poem of O'Douvegan, are arranged in alphabetical order, in the different provinces, at the end of this chapter, with the names and origin of the ancient proprietors, as far as they are known.

There are some territories, the names alone of which have been preserved, whilst those of the proprietors are unknown; and others, the names and proprietors of which are known, but their situation and extent cannot be ascertained, owing to the boundaries and ancient names having been confounded and changed by those strangers who have usurped them. We shall, however, subjoin them in the form of a supplement, to those territories which are better known in each province, and distinguish them by an index.

The province of Ulster remained, from the settlement of the Milesians in Ireland, in possession of the descendants of Ir, known by the name of Clanna-Rorys, or Rudricians.* This province underwent many revolutions; the reign of the Rudricians was disturbed for the first time,† in the beginning of the third century, by the policy of the monarch Conare II,‡ who, dreading the power of those people, placed Ogaman, a prince of the tribe of the Dalriatachs, of the race of Heremon, on the throne; but they received the severest blow from Colla-Huais and his brothers, princes of the race of Heremon, in the fourth century, who destroyed the palace of Eamhain,§ put an end to the sway of the Clanna-Rorys, and founded the small kingdom of Orgiell, which comprised the counties of Louth, Ardmach and Monaghan.||

The tribe of the Magennises chiefs of the Clanna-Rorys, though excluded from the

* From the Clanna-Rorys, are descended, the MacGenises, the MacCartans, the O'Mordhans, (in English O'More) O'Connors-Kerry, O'Loughlins, O'Ferralls, MacGranulle, or MacRanells, Mac-an-Bhairds, (in English Ward) O'Lawlors, Magillagans, Scanlans, Brosnaghans, O'Cathils, O'Conways, Casies, Tiernys, Nestors, O'MacCachains, O'Tyns, O'Hargans, O'Flahertys, Doreys, O'Hualachains, MacSheanloichs, O'Morains, O'Rodachains, (in English Body) O'Duains, O'Mainings, MacGilmers, O'Kennys, O'Kenellys, O'Keithernys, Mac Eochaidhs, O'Carrollans, the Mac-an-Gaivnions, (in English Smith,) and others.

† Ogyg. part. 2. p. 146.

‡ Id. part. 3. cap. 63.

§ Ogyg. part. 3. cap. 75, 76.

|| The race of those brothers were numerous, and formed many noble tribes, such as the Mac Donnells of Ireland and Scotland, the MacMahons, Maguires, O'Hanluans, Magees, O'Floinn-Tuirtre, O'Ceallais, or O'Kelly, O'Madaighins, or O'Maddin, O'Niallains, MacEagains, Neachtains, or Nortons, Shiehys, Dowels, Kerins, and the Nenys, &c.

* Ogyg. part. 1. p. 24, 27, et 57.

† Hist. Ecclesiast. lib. 1. part. 1.

‡ Ogyg. part. 3. cap. 63.

§ Id. part. 3. cap. 76.

|| Cambrens. Evers. cap. 3.

¶ Ogyg. part. 3. passim.

crown of Ulster, made at all times a considerable figure in the province, and possessed the principality of Dalaradie, so called from Fiacha-Araidhe, one of the chiefs of that tribe, and king of the province in the third century: it is now the county of Down.

Eogan and Conall Gulban, sons of Niall the Great, and brothers of Laogare the Monarch, took possession of Tir-Eogan (Tyrone), and Tyrconnel, so called after them in the beginning of the fifth century.*

Though the kingdom of Orgiell was confined to narrow limits, being surrounded by those principalities, which were so many sovereignties, it existed for a considerable time in this state.† Eocha, son of Muredach, son of Forga, son of Dallan, of the tribe of the Dalflatachs, ruled over it in the time of St. Patrick; but his impiety and opposition to the gospel having drawn on him the malediction of that apostle, the sceptre was transferred to Carell, his brother, and his descendants, to the number of thirty-five.‡

Leinster was possessed by a branch of the Heremonians. This race had formed two branches by Cobthach, surnamed Caolbreagh, and Laogare Lorck, his brother, both sons of Ugane-More, who lived about three hundred years before Christ. Most of the monarchs who followed, derived their origin from Cobthach: the descendants of Laogare reigned in Leinster.

Cathoir, otherwise Cahire-More, of the race of Laogare, from being king of Leinster, became monarch of the whole island, in the second century, and left a numerous posterity;§ the king who reigned in Leinster,

* The descendants of Eogan were, the illustrious tribe of the O'Neils, divided into three principal families; namely, that of Dunganann, that is Tyrone, which was the first, Clanneboy, and Fewa. The collateral branches are the Maglachluins, O'Cathains, (O'Kean) MacSuibhnes, (MacSwiny) O'Gormleaghada, (Gormly), O'Heodhasas, O'Connallains, O'Craobhies, (Creagh), O'Madagains, (Mullineux), O'Mulvihils, O'Horins, O'Donallys, O'Cathmhaoills, (Caulfield), MacGiollkellys, O'Hebertys, and the O'Dubhdairmas. Conal Gulban, gave birth to the illustrious tribe of the O'Donnells, O'Dohartya, O'Galaghers, O'Boyles, and the O'Dalys, or Siol-Ndala.

† Vit. Tripart. lib. 3. cap. 63. not. 92 et 93. in eund. lib.

‡ It appears from this historical fact, taken from Colgan, that the O'Carrolls, kings of Orgiell, descendants of Carrell, of the race of Dalflatachs, should not be confounded with the O'Carrolls of Elie, who derived their origin from Heber, by Oilioll-Olum, and his son Kiann.

§ This monarch had thirty sons, twenty of whom died without issue: the two most distinguished were Roosa-Failege, and Fiacha-Baiceada.

From the first are descended the noble families

of his race, in the time of St. Patrick, was Criomthan, son of Enna-Kinsealach.

Oilioll-Olum, of the race of Heber, first absolute King of the two Munsters, after the expulsion of the Earnochs, in the beginning of the third century, enacted a law rendering the succession to the crown of the province, alternate, between the descendants of his two sons, Eogan and Cormac-Cas, called after those two chiefs, the Eoganachts, and the Dalcaiss. In the time of St. Patrick, the sceptre was held by the descendants of Eogan. Aongus, son of Nadfraoch, of this race, governed the province, while Carthan Fionn, son of Bloid, of the race of Cormac-Cas, was prince of Thuomond, and chief of the Dalcaiss.*

In the beginning of the fourth century,

of the O'Connors-Faly, the O'Dempsies, O'Dunns, O'Branains, O'Riagans, MacColgaine, Clan-Carbrys, O'Maolchiarains, O'Bearras, O'Hartaigs, O'Floinus.

From Fiacha-Baiceada, the youngest, are descended the royal family, and the other considerable tribes of this province, as the MacMoroughs, (Cavanaghs), O'Morochus (Murphy), O'Broins, O'Tuathails, (in English O'Byrnes and O'Tools,) O'Dowlings, O'Moel-Ryans, O'Kinsealaghs, O'Mulduins, O'Cormacs, O'Duffys.

From Dair-Barrach, another son of Cahire-More, are descended the O'Gormains, O'Moonyas, Mullins or O'Maolans; and from Cuchorp, are descended the O'Feadhails of Fortuath. The noble tribes of the Duibhidirs, or O'Dwyers, with the O'Donogains and the Macgiolla-Phadrugs, (in English Fitzpatrick), formed two collateral branches of his race, some generations beyond Cahire-More. The former derive their origin from Conchorb, ancestor of the monarch, and the latter with the O'Braonains, from Broasal-Breac, one of his ancestors in the twelfth degree.

* The descendants of Eogan, after the illustrious tribe of the MacCarty's, chiefs of this race, are the O'Sulleavans, MacAulifs, O'Callaghains, O'Keefs, O'Mahonys, O'Mariarty's, O'Donoghoe's, O'Donovans, O'Conaills, O'Dalys, O'Cuilleans, O'Hehirs, O'Meighans, Devorens, O'Treasaighs, O'Garvans, MacFinnins.—Ogg. part. 3. cap. 81.

From Cormac-Cas descended the illustrious tribe of the O'Briens, chiefs of this family, O'Kenedies, MacMahons, MacCoghlaings, O'Finallans, O'Regans, MacCraiths, O'Hogans, O'Shannaghains, O'Meadhras, Artureighs, (Arthur) O'Henraghtys, O'Hicidhes (Hickys), Loinsighes (Lonsy), Seasnains (Saxon), Huainins, Cormucains, Ryadys, Slatrys, MacNemaras, Hurlys, O'Mullownys, O'Kearnys, O'Hiffernans, O'Henegains, O'Neaghtains, Conrays (King), O'Deas, O'Brody's, Grady's, Clanchys, O'Cuins, Keilliochairs, O'Beolains, O'Spealains, O'Hanraghains, O'Siodhachains, (Sihan), Macelneirys, Congalaighs, O'Tuama (Twomy), Murroneys, Healys, and the Hartagans.—Idem. cap. 82. Grat. Luc. cap. 3.

From Kiann, third son of Oilioll-Olum, are descended the O'Carrolls of Ely, O'Connors, Kianachts, O'Meaghairs, O'Haras, O'Garas, O'Flanagans, Dulchontas, Corcrans, O'Casies.

Connaught was wrested from the Firdomnians, a branch of the Firbolgs, who had possessed it until then with the good will of the Milesians. Muiradach-Tireach, son of Fiacha-Straivetine, was first king of Connaught, of the race of Heremon; which remained in the possession of his posterity for many ages.* Eocha-Moy-Veagon, his son, succeeded him; who, having become monarch, left the province to his sons, namely, Brian, Fergus, and Oilioll. The two first were to be the ancestors of the Hy-Brunes, and Hy-Fiachras, whose posterity reigned in this province till the twelfth century.†

Lastly, from the beginning of the fifth century,‡ Meath remained in the possession of the southern Hy-Nialls,§ that is, the descendants of Laogare, Conall-Crimthine, Fiach and Maine, son of the monarch Niall the Great, of the race of Heremon.||

Such was the general state of the provinces of Ireland and its inhabitants, in the first ages of Christianity. We shall now examine the particular distribution of the island into dynasties, and the families to whom they belonged.

IN ULSTER.

Arachty-Cahan, a territory comprising nearly the whole of the county of Derry,

* Ogyg. part 3. cap. 73.

† The O'Connors Don derive their origin from the illustrious tribe of the Hy-Brunes, of which they were chiefs; the collateral branches are the O'Connors-Roe, O'Connors-Sligo, O'Rourke, O'Raghallaighs (O'Reilly), MacDermots, MacDonaghs, O'Flahertys, O'Malys, O'Floinn (Flynn), O'Flanagans, O'Hanly, MacMaghnus, O'Fallons, MacKiernans, MacBradys, O'Donallans, O'Gairbhias (O'Garvy), O'Brins, O'Malons, MacBrenans, Maollallas, or Lally, O'Creans, Maol-Breanoinns, Maol-Mocheirges, O'Faithaighs (Fahy), O'Camhins, O'Domhleins, O'Breislins, MacAodhs, O'Cosnamhas, MacSamhragains, MacOirighaigh-Tumaltaghs, O'Gealbhuighes, Cruadlaoch (O'Crowly), O'Concheanains, O'Fionnagains, O'Hallurains, O'Muirgheasas, O'Mahady's O'Curraains.

The descendants of the tribe of the Hy-Fiachras, are the O'Dowds, O'Sheagnassys, O'Heyns, Killkellys, Kearaighs, O'Cleirighs, O'Braonains, Chomaltains, Chedaighs (Cead), Cathmhoghias (Caf-fuighs), Chreachains, Leanains.

‡ Ogyg. part 3, cap. 85.

§ Ogyg. part 3, c. 85, Trias Thau. not. 1, in lib. 2, Vit. 4. S. Brig. p. 564.

|| The O'Conlivans, or Kindellans, O'Maoleachlains, owe their origin to Laogare, and Conall-Crimthine; Fiacha gave birth to the Maolmhuadhs (Mulloy) Mac-Eochagains (Mac-Geoghegan) Mac-Cullins, and the Huighins. The descendants of Maine are the O'Sionachs (Fox), O'Hagains, O'Ronains, Magawlys, O'Braoins, O'Dalys, O'Quins, Mac-Conmeies, Slambains, Mulcornys, Cio-bliochains, Shiels, Cathalains, Murrys, and the O'Deignans, Ogyg. part 3, c. 85.

the patrimony of the O'Cahans, of the race of Heremon, by the monarch Niall-Noygiolach and Eogan his son.* Towards the end of the thirteenth century, Magnus, brother of O'Cahan, possessed that part of the country, now called the barony of Coleraine, situated on both sides of the river Bann, at that time called Douhy Clanna-Magnus. His eldest son, named Henry, gave to his posterity the name of Mac-Henry. His second son settled on the river Buash, in Route, in the county of Antrim, and his descendants always preserved the name of O'Cahan; they were called Clann Magnus na Buasha, to distinguish them from the Clann Magnus na Banna, who, though the eldest branch, bear the name of Mac-Henry. O'Cahan was dispossessed in the beginning of the seventeenth century, and Mac-Henry in 1641, by Cromwell.

Ardes, an ancient territory, now a barony in the county of Down, forming part of lower Clanneboy, is a peninsula, eighteen miles in length. This territory belonged to a branch of the O'Neills.

Boylagh, a territory, now a half-barony, in the county of Donegal, the patrimony of the O'Buidhills, otherwise O'Boyle, a collateral branch of the O'Donnells.

Breifne, Briefnia, or Brenny, formerly comprised the counties of Leitrim and Cavan.† Aod-Finn, of the race of the Hy-Brunes, was prince of this country about the year 572; his race was called Sliocht Aodha-Finn. This country was divided into two territories, namely, eastern and western Briefne, in favour of the two principal branches of this race, the O'Rourkes and the O'Raghallaighs (Reilly). Eastern Briefne, also called Muntir-Maol-Morda, at present the county of Cavan, was the patrimony of the O'Reillys.

Clan-Bressail, a territory to the south of Lough Neagh, in the barony of O'Nelands, in the county of Ardmach; it formerly belonged to the Mac-Canns, of the race of the Dalfiatachs.

Clanneboy, or Clan-Hugue-Boy, a territory which takes its name from the descendants of Hugue Boy O'Neill, and was divided into two parts, one northern, and the other southern, belonged formerly to the different branches of the O'Neills, of the race of Heremon.

Southern Clanneboy comprised part of the territory of Ardes, with the land which

* Phill. O'Sull. Compend. Hist. Cathol. tom. 3, lib. 1, page 115.

† Act. Sanct. Hiber. vit. 8. Berach. ad. 15. Februar. note 20. et seq.

extends from the bay of Dundrum, to the bay of Carrick-Fergus, in the county of Down, that is, the baronies of Castlereagh and Kinalcarty.

Northern Clanneboy is a territory in the county of Antrim, bounded on the east and south by the bay of Carrickfergus, and the river Lagan; on the west by the territory of Kilultagh, and on the north by the countries called Route and Glinnes, now the baronies of Kilconway and Glanarn.

Conal-Muirthemne, an ancient territory, comprising nearly the whole county of Louth.* This territory was also called Hy-Conal, and Machaire-Conal, from Conal-Keamach, to whose posterity it belonged.

Dalaraidie, an extensive territory which comprised part of the county Antrim on the south and south east, and most of the county of Down: this territory, which was sometimes called Ulidia, was divided into several smaller ones.

Dalrieda, otherwise Reuta and Route, a large territory of thirty miles extent, in the county of Antrim, from the river Bush, to the cross of Glenfrinaght. This territory was so called from the demi-tribe of the Dalriada, which had been established there in the fourth century, by Fergus Ulidian, descended in the fifth degree from Cairbre Rieda; the other demi-tribe mentioned by Bede under the name of Dalreudini, had already settled in Albania. To this territory has since been given the name of the country of Mac-Surley-Boy, that is, of the Mac-Donnells, of the race of Heremon, by Colla-Huais to whom it belonged.

Dufferin, at present a barony in the county of Down, forming a part of the country of the Mac-Cartans, of the race of the Clanna-Rorys.

Fanid, a territory, now the barony of Kil-Macrenan, in the county of Donegal,† the patrimony of the Mac-Sweenys, a collateral branch of the O'Donnells. The territories of Tueth and Banach in the same county, were possessed by other branches of the Mac-Sweenys.

Fermanagh,‡ an ancient territory, now a county, the patrimony of the Maguires of the race of Heremon, by Colla da Chrioch.§

Fews, at present a barony in the county of Ardmach, the patrimony of a branch of the O'Neills.

Hy-Macarthen, a territory on the borders of Lough Foyle, in the county of Derry, so

called from Carthen, great grandson of Colla Huais, to whom it belonged, and whose descendants were the Mac-Carthens, the O'Colgans, and the O'Conaills.

Hy-Meith-Tire, a territory in the county of Ardmach,* at present the barony of Orior, the country of the O'Hanluans, (O'Hanlon,) of the race of Heremon, by Colla da Chrioch.

Northern Hy-Niellia, so called from the descendants of four of the sons of Niall-Noygiollach, monarch of Ireland, to whom it belonged, comprised part of the counties of Tyrone, Tyrconnel, and other territories.

Hy-Turtre,† a territory on the borders of the counties of Antrim and Down, east of lake Neagh, the patrimony of the O'Floinnns and O'Donnellans, of the race of Heremon, by Colla Huais, and his grandson Fiacha Tort.

Hy-Veach, or Iveach, a territory of ancient Dalaradie, in the county of Down, now forming part of the baronies of upper and lower Iveach, with some other territories in the same county, the domain of the Magennises, of the race of the Clanna Rorys, by Conall-Kearnach, and his son Irial or Vriel.‡

Inis-Eoguin, a territory, at present the barony of Ennis-Owen, that is, the isle of Owen, (being a peninsula formed by the ocean on one side, and Lough Foyle and Lough Swilly on the other,) in the county of Donegal, the patrimony of the O'Doghertys, a younger branch of the O'Donnells.

Kinel-Conail, otherwise Tirconnell, now the county of Donegal, the domain of the O'Donnells, of the race of Heremon, and of the monarch Niall, by his son, Conall-Gulban. This territory was divided into several dynasties, inhabited by the different branches of this name.

Kinel-Eoguin, a territory of northern Hy-Niellia, comprising the county of Tyrone, the domain of the O'Neills, of the race of Heremon, and of the monarch Niall-Noygiollach, and Eogan, his son; this territory was divided into several dynasties belonging to the different families of this name, of whom Dungannon was the chief, and in case of his dying without issue, one was chosen from Clan-Hughboy, or the Fews.

Maghinis, or Moy-Inis, a territory in the county of Down, now the barony of Lecale; which formerly belonged to the Magennises.

Mugdorne, now the barony of Mourne, a territory in the county of Down, bounded on

* Ogyg. part 3. c. 47.

† O'Sull. Comment. tom. 3, lib. 1, page 115.

‡ Ogyg. part 3, c. 76.

§ Keat. Geneal.

* Ogyg. part 1, c. 66, Keat. Geneal.

† Ogyg. part 3, c. 76.

‡ O'Sull. Comment. tom. 3, lib. 1, page 115.

§ O'Sull. ibid.

the south by the bay of Carlingford, and belonging to the descendants of Colla-Maine.

Oilean-Magee, a peninsula in the county of Antrim, north of Carrickfergus bay, the patrimony of the Magees, of the race of Heremon, by one of the Collas.

Orgiel, Oriel, or Uriel, was an extensive territory, comprising the counties of Louth, Monaghan, and Ardmach, sometimes governed by feudal kings.* Monaghan, called in the language of the country, Uriel, belonged to the Mac-Mahons, who were divided into several branches, descendants of Heremon, by Colla-da-Chrioch.

Ulidia, see Dalaradie.

Uriel, see Orgiel.

Calrie, a territory in eastern Breifny,† the patrimony of the O'Carbhailla, of the race of the Hy-Brunes, from whom are descended the Mac-Bradys.

Clancarne, in the county of Orgiel, the patrimony of the O'Heagnys.

Clanfogartaid, a territory in Orgiel, the patrimony of the Mac-Cartans, of the race of the Clanna-Rorys.

Cualgne, a territory in the county of Louth.

Donamaine, a territory in the county of Monaghan, the patrimony of the O'Nenys, of the race of Colla-da-Crioch.

Glinnes, a territory between the bay of Oldfleet and Route, adjoining the barony of Glanarm.

Hy-Bruin, a territory in the county of Tyrone, commonly called Muinter Birne. There are other territories of this name, the situation and extent of which are unknown, though mentioned in history, as Hy-Bruin-Ay, Hy-Bruin-Brefne, and Hy-Bruin-Scola.

Hy-Cormaic, a small territory in the county of Derry, on the borders of Lough Foyle, enclosed by the territory of Hy-Macarthen.

Hy-Conall, or Conall-Muirthemne, in Louth.‡

Hy-Fiachria, a territory between the counties of Tyrone and Derry,§ on the river Derg, which comprised the ancient bishopric of Ardsratha, afterwards united to that of Derry.

Hy-Meith-Mhara, a maritime territory in the county of Louth, near Carlingford.

Hy-Niellain, a territory near Ardmach, the patrimony of the O'Niellans, of the race of Colla-da-Crioch.

Hy-Semnia, a territory in ancient Dalaradie.

Kenelmoigne, the patrimony of the O'Gormlaidis.

Kiennachta-Glennegemhin, a territory in the county of Derry, whence O'Connor Kiennachta had taken his name.

Kilwarlin, a small territory in the county of Down, forming part of the ancient territory of Iveach, now the barony of lower Iveach.

Kilulta, a small territory in the county of Antrim, on the borders of lake Neagh, extending southward into the county of Down.

Magh-Murthemne or Machaire-Conaill, the same as Conal-Murthemne.

Muintir Birne, see Hy-Bruin.

Oirthir, a territory in the county of Ardmach, the same as Hy-Meith-Tire.

Route Reuta,* see Dalrieda.

Sioll-Eoghuin, see Inis-Eoghuin.

Tirconnel, see Kinel-Conaill.

Tirmaccarhuin, a territory in the county of Tirconnel, the patrimony of the O'Macologains.

Tirmbrassail and Tirtiole, in the same country, the patrimony of the O'Donnagains.

Tuaithratha, a territory in Orgiel, the patrimony of the O'Flanagans.

Ulidia or Ullad, see Dalaradie.

Uriel, see Orgiel.

IN LEINSTER.

Annaly, at present the county of Longford, anciently called Conmacne, the country of the O'Ferrals, of the race of Ir, by Feargus Roigh, and Maude, queen of Connaught.

Clan-Malugra, otherwise Clenmalire, lying on both sides of the river Barrow, in the King and Queen's county, and including the baronies of Geashill and Portneinch. This territory was in the possession of different branches of the O'Dempsies, of the race of Heremon, by the monarch Cahire-More and his son Rossa-Failge.

Coille-Culluin, a territory on the frontiers of the counties of Wicklow and Kildare, the patrimony of the O'Culluins, of the race of Cahire More, by his son, Fiacha Baicheada. This noble tribe possessed another large tract of land in the vicinity of Dublin, on which part of this city has been built.

Crioch-Culan,† a territory in the county of Wicklow, including part of the baronies of Arklow and Newcastle, possessed by the

* Ogyg. part 3, cap. 76.

† Grat. Luc. c. 3.

‡ Ogyg. part 3, c. 66.

§ Ibid. cap. 76.

* Ogyg. p. 3, cap. 59, 46.

† Ogyg. part. 3, c. 59.

O'Kellys, descendants of Maine Mal, brother of Cahire More.

Ely O'Carrol, formerly a territory in the province of Munster, at present in the King's county, including the baronies of Clonlish, Ballybrit, and probably that of Eglisli, the domain of the O'Carrols of the race of Heber, by Oilioill-Olum,* and his son Kian. This territory was called Ely from Eile Riogh-Dearg, one of the ancestors of this tribe, who lived in the fourth century.†

Fothart, a territory on the banks of the river Slaney,‡ in the county of Wexford, the patrimony of the O'Nuallans, descendants of Eocha-Fionn-Fothart, brother of the monarch Conn Keadcaha. The barony of Forth, situated in this canton, still preserves some vestige of that name.

Hy-Failge,§ or Offaly, otherwise Douhy-Faily, that is the patrimony of Failge, an extensive territory, including part of the King and Queen's county and that of Kildare, bounded on the west and south by Kinalyach, Fearcall, Hy-Regan, and Clenmalire, on the north and east by part of the county of Meath, the barony of Carbury, and the great bog of Allen, and comprised part of the county Kildare, towards the river Liffey. This territory belonged to a tribe of the O'Connors-Faly, of the race of Cahire More, by his son Rossa Failge, from the second till the last century, and was divided into several fiefs; part of it still remains in the county of Kildare, erected into a barony under the name of O'Phaly.

Hy-Kinseallagh, a territory comprising a considerable part of the county of Wexford, from the Barrow to the river Slaney, and from thence towards the east. This territory formerly belonged to the O'Kinseallaghs, the Murchedas (O'Murphy), and the O'Dowlings, of the royal race of Cahire More, by his son Fiacha-Baikeada.

Hy-Mairche|| or O'Mairche, a territory in the Queen's county, at present the barony of Slieve-Margie, on the river Barrow, bounding the counties of Kilkenny, Carlow, and Kildare, the patrimony of the Mac-Gormans, of the race of Cahire-More, by his son Dair-Barrach.

Hy-Regan, or O'Regan, a territory in the Queen's county, now the barony of Tinehinch, the patrimony of the O'Duinns¶ of the race of Heremon, by the monarch Cahire

More, and his son Rossa Failge, but belonging anciently to the O'Regans.

Idrone, a territory, at present a barony in the county of Carlow, on the river Barrow, the patrimony of the Mac-Murroughs or Cavanaghs, of the race of Heremon, by Cahire More and Dirmuid Na-Nagall, king of Leinster, by whom the English were introduced into Ireland in the twelfth century.

Imayle,* a territory in the county of Wicklow, the ancient possessors of which were the O'Tuathails, (O'Toole,) of the race of Cahire-More, by his son Fiacha-Baikeada.

Idough, at present the barony of Fassadining, in the county of Kilkenny, the ancient patrimony of the O'Brennans, a branch of the Fitz-Patricks, of the race of Heremon.

Lagisia, Lesia, or Leix, an extensive territory in the Queen's county, including the baronies of Maryborough, otherwise Porteloise, Cullinagh, and other tracts of land which formerly belonged to the O'Mordhas, (in English Moor,) of the race of Ir, by Rory the Great, Connal-Kearnach, and his son Laoiseach-Kean-More.

O'Moerough, a maritime territory in the county of Wexford, in the barony of Beblaghkeen, commonly called the Murrowes, forming part of Hy-Kinseallagh, the ancient patrimony of the O'Murchudas, otherwise O'Murphys.

Osraigh, or Ossory,† an extensive territory in the Queen's county, now a barony, belonged to the Mac-Giolla-Phadruiga, or Fitz-patricks, descendants of Heremon,‡ by the monarch Ugane More, Breasal-Breac and Angus Ossory,§ the first of that race who settled in this territory in the first century.¶

Ranilough, also called Colconnel, or the country of Fiagh-Mac-Hughs,|| a territory in the western part of the county of Wicklow belonging to different branches of the O'Birne's of the race of Cahire-More, by his son Fiacha-Baikeada.

Feargualuin, the patrimony of the O'Coscraids.

Fingall, a country in the county of Dublin, in the possession of a colony of Danes before the twelfth century.

IN MUNSTER.

Aradh-Cliach, a territory north-east of Limerick, probably the half-barony of Arra,

* Keat. Geneal. of O'Carrol.

† Ogyg. part 3, c. 68, et 87.

‡ Idem. c. 59.

§ Idem. c. 59.

|| Grat. Luc. c. 3, et c. 26, page 242.

¶ Ogyg. part 3, c. 59.

* Walsh, page 287.

† Keat. on the reign of Cahire-More.

‡ Idem. Geneal. of the Mac-Murroughs.

§ Ogyg. part 3, c. 27.

|| A. M. 3700.

in the county of Tipperary, belonged to a branch of the O'Briens, of the tribe of the Dal-Caiss.

Beare, a territory in the western part of the county of Cork, now forms part of the baronies of Beare and Bantry, the domain of O'Sullivan-Beare, of the race of Oilioll-Olum, by his son Eogan-More.

Carbury, a territory in the southern part of the county of Cork, now the baronies of east and west Carbury, the patrimony of the Macartys-Riaghs, divided into several branches, and descendants of Oilioll-Olum, by his son, Eogan-More; the O'Donavans, a branch of the Mac-Cartys, had extensive possessions in the neighbourhood of Ross.

Coillnemanagh, now the barony of Killnemannan,* in the county of Tipperary, the domain of the O'Dwyers, of the race of Heremon, by Ugane-More and Breasal-Breac.

Corcobaskin, a territory in the county of Clare, now the barony of Moyarta,† the patrimony of the Mac-Cartys, a branch of the Dal-Caiss.

Corcumruaidhe, now the baronies of Corcumroe and Surrin,‡ in the county of Clare; its ancient proprietors were the O'Connors and O'Loghlins, of the race of Ir, by Fergus-Roigh, and Maude queen of Connaught.

Desie, or Nan-Desie, now a barony in the county of Waterford, the ancient patrimony of the O'Faolans, otherwise Phelans, of the race of Heremon. Some ancient authors describe this country as being more extensive, and divide it into Desie-Tuasgirt, that is, northern Deaste, including all those plains which extend from the river Suire and Clonmel, by Cashel, towards Thurles, and Desie-Discerat, or Southern-Desie, extending from the river Suir, on the south, as far as the sea, and comprising the entire county of Waterford.

Douhallow, a territory, at present a barony in the county of Cork, the patrimony of the O'Keefs, a branch of the Mac-Cartys.

Dunkeron, now a barony in the county of Kerry, the domain of the O'Sullivan-More of the race of Oilioll-Olum, by his son Eogan-more.§

Hy-Fogarta, a territory, now the barony of Eliogurty, in the county of Tipperary, the patrimony of the O'Fogarty's, or O'Fogartaith, a branch of the tribe of the Eoganachts.||

Hy-Kierin, or Ikerin, a territory, now a barony in the county of Tipperary, bounded on the west by Upper Ormond, on the south by the barony of Eliogurty, and north and east by the King and Queen's county, belonged to the O'Meaghairs, of the race of Heber, by Kiann, son of Oilioll-Olum.

Ivreach, a territory, now a barony in the county of Kerry, the domain of the Mac-Cartys-More, chief of the Eoganachts.

Kierrigia-Luachra, or Ciaruidh, a territory, comprising a great part of the county of Kerry, the patrimony of the O'Connors-Kerry, descended from Ir, by the monarch Rory the Great, and his grandson Feargus Roigh, and Maude, queen of Connaught.

Kinel Meaky, now a barony in the county of Cork, the patrimony of the O'Mahonys, a branch of the Mac-Cartys.

Muscraighe, an extensive territory in the county of Cork, now the baronies of Muskerry, Barrymore, and other dynasties, which belonged for more than two thousand years to different families of the Mac-Cartys,* the descendants of Oilioll-Olum, by his son Eogan, this territory comprised several smaller ones, as Muscraighe-Breoguin, Muscraighe-Mitine, &c.

Muscraighe-Thire, a territory in the county of Tipperary, now the baronies of Upper and Lower Ormond, the ancient patrimony of the O'Kennedy's, of the race of Oilioll-Olum, by his son Cormac-Cas.

Oneagh, a territory, now the barony of Owny, in the county of Tipperary, the patrimony of the O'Moel-Ryans, of the race of Cahir-More, by his son Fiacha-Baikeada.

Poble-Hy-Brien, a territory, now a barony in the county of Limerick, belonging to different branches of the O'Briens.

Thuomond, or Towoin-Hy-Brien, which comprised a large portion of the counties of Limerick and Clare, the patrimony of the O'Briens, chiefs of the Dal-Caiss.

☞ Aghadeo, a territory in the county of Kerry, near Lake Lene, the ancient patrimony of the O'Connells.

Balli-Mac-Eligod, and other lands in the barony of Truchanacmy, in the county of Kerry, the patrimony of the ancient family of the Mac-Eligods.

Cloinifernain, a territory of Thuomond, the patrimony of the O'Cuinn's, of the race of the Dal-Caiss.

Corca-Eathrach, a territory in the county of Tipperary, which includes the city of Cashil.

* Ogyg. part 3, c. 51.

† Ogyg. part 3, c. 46.

‡ Grat. Luc. c. 3.

§ Hist. Cath. Hiber. Compend. tome 3, lib. 1, c. 2.

|| Grat. Luc. page 28.

* Ogyg. part 3, p. 68.

† Keat. Geneal. et Ogyg. c. 46.

‡ A. M. 3950. B. C. 50.

Corcaoidchaidh, the patrimony of the O'Scanlans, of the race of the Eoganachts.

Eoganacht, a territory in the county of Tipperary, between Cashil and Thurles. It was so called from Eogan, eldest son of Oilioll-Olum, to whose descendants it belonged. There were six other territories of this name in Ireland, but their situation is unknown.

Fera-Muigh-Fene, a territory in the county of Cork, now the barony of Fermoy.

Glinn, and other territories in the environs of Lake Lene, the ancient patrimony of the O'Donoghoes, of the tribe of Eoganachts.

Hy-Conall-Gaura, also called Fearmore, a territory in the county of Limerick, in the barony of Conniloe.

Hy-Finginte, a territory comprising part of the baronies of Conniloe in the county of Limerick, and Iraghticonnor, and Clan-Morris, in the county of Kerry.

Hy-Liathain, a maritime territory in the southern part of the county of Waterford, in the barony of Desie.

Imocuille, a territory, at present the barony of Imo-Killy, in the county of Cork.

Muighaghair, a territory in Thunmond, the patrimony of the Mac-Con-Maras, or Macnemara, of the race of the Dal-Caiss. Keating calls them the Macnemaras of Ross-Ruadh, and Sioll-Éda.

Muscra-Mithaine, a territory which belonged to the O'Donnogains, the O'Culenains, and the O'Floinnns.

O'Flaithry, the patrimony of the O'Caithails or Cahill.

O'Gearny, the patrimony of the O'Kearnaidhs, otherwise O'Kearny, of the race of Dal-Caiss.

Onachach, or Poble-Hy-Callaghan, in the county of Cork, the patrimony of the O'Keallachains, or Callaghan, a branch of the tribe of the Eoganachts.

Ormond, see Muscraighe-Thire.

Oweney-Hoiffernan, a territory in the county of Limerick, the patrimony of the Hiffernans, of the tribe of the Dal-Caiss.*

IN CONNAUGHT.

Aidhne, a territory in the southern part of the county of Galway, now the barony of Kiltartan, the patrimony of the O'Seagh-nassys, of the race of the Hy-Fiachras, by Dathy, monarch of the island, in the beginning of the fifth century.

Breifne, Brifnia, or western Brenny, at

present the county of Leitrim, was the patrimony of the O'Rourke, a branch of the Hy-Brunes. This territory, like that of the O'Reilly's, is known in ancient histories by the names of Brenny-O'Rourke, and Brenny-O'Reilly; part of Annally, the country of the O'Ferrals, was also called Brenny.

Calruidhe, or Calrigia. There were several districts of this name in Connaught, the precise situation of which is not known, as, Calrigia-Luire, Calrigia-Anchala, Calrigia-Inse-Nisc. There was also Calrigia on the borders of Lough-Gill, forming a part of the barony of Carbury, in the county of Sligo, and Calrigia-Muighe-Murisk, in the barony of Tyrawly, in the county of Mayo.

Clan-Fergail, an ancient territory on the borders of Lough-Corrib, now the barony of Clare, in the county of Galway, in which the town of Galway is situated: this district belonged to the O'Hallorans, a branch of the Hy-Brunes.

Cloin-Moelruan, also called Slive-Hy-Flion, a territory in the barony of Dunemore, in the county of Galway, extending into the county of Roscommon, the patrimony of the O'Flyns, a branch of the tribe of the Hy-Brunes.

Conmacne, otherwise Muintir-Eolas, in the county of Leitrim, a territory belonging to the Magranuills, or Ranalda, who were descendants of Ir, by Feargus-Roigh.* There are many other districts of this name in Connaught, as Conmacne of Kinel-Dubhain, or Conmacne of Dun-Mor, at present the barony of Donamore, in the county of Galway: the principal town is Tuam, which is an archbishopric.

Conmacne-Mhara, in the county of Galway, now the barony of Ballinahinch: and Conmacne-Cuiltola, the barony of Kilmain, in the county of Mayo.

Coolavin, at present a barony in the county of Sligo, forming part of ancient Coranne, which has been since the fourth century, the patrimony of the O'Garas, of the race of Heber, by Kian, son of Oilioll-Olum, king of Munster.†

Coranne, a territory, now a barony in the county of Sligo, the patrimony of the Mac-Donoghs, of the race of the Hy-Brunes.‡

Corcachlann, a territory in the northern part of the county of Roscommon, and

* Ogyg. part 3. cap. 43.

† Ib. cap. 95.

‡ Keat. Geneal. of O'Connor Roe. Ogyg. part 3, cap. 69.

ancient patrimony of the O'Hanly's and O'Broenans, a branch of the Hy-Brunes.*

Dartry, or Dartrigia, a territory in the barony of Carbury, near Lough-Gill in the county of Sligo, formerly the patrimony of the Maglanchys, of the race of Ith.†

Deabna-Feadha, now the barony of Moycullin, in the country called Tir-Da-Loch, from its being situated between two lakes, namely, Lough-Corrib on the north, and Lough-Lurghan, or the bay of Galway, on the south. This territory belonged anciently to the posterity of Gnomer and Gnobeg, of the tribe of Dal-Caiss, from whom are descended the Mac-Conrys; and since the ninth century to the O'Flaherty's, a branch of the Hy-Brunes.

Hy-Maine,‡ or Mainech, a territory in the county of Galway, and patrimony of the O'Kellys, otherwise O'Ceallaighs, of the race of Heremon, by Colla-De-Crioch. This territory was so called after Maine-More, from whom the O'Kellys are descended, and who was the first of that tribe who settled there towards the end of the fifth century; his descendants extended their conquests beyond the river Suck, in the county of Roscommon, and were divided into several branches, the chief of which was O'Kelly of Aughtim, who lost his possessions.

Hy-Malia, Umalie,§ a territory south-east of the county of Mayo; it included the barony of Morisk and part of Carragh, the patrimony of the O'Maileys, a branch of the tribe of the Hy-Brunes.

Hy-Onach, a district in the county of Roscommon, comprising Elphin; it anciently belonged to the eldest branch of the Hy-Brunes.

Luigne, a district in the county of Sligo, at present the barony of Leny, forming part of ancient Coranne, and patrimony of the O'Haras, of the race of Oilíoll-Olum, by his son Kiann.||

Moy-Lurg, a territory in the county of Roscommon, on the right bank of the river Shannon, at present the barony of Boyle, and patrimony of the Mac-Diarmuids or Macdermots, a branch of the Hy-Brunes, who were subdivided into several branches.

Moy-Noy, or Maghery-Connoght, called, "Planities Connachtiae," by O'Sullivan,¶ an

extensive territory including the baronies of Roscommon and Ballintobber, under the dominion of the O'Connors-Don, chiefs of the Hy-Brunes and Clan-Murrays, of the race of Heremon, by Eocha-Moy-Veagon, and his son Brian.

O'Fiochrache, a territory in western Breifny, the patrimony of the O'Dubhas, otherwise O'Dowd, of the race of Hy-Fiachras.*

Partry-Kiara, or Partry-on-Loch, sometimes called Couilleagh, a territory in the county of Galway, at present the barony of Kilmaln, the patrimony of the Mac-Allins, by corruption Mac-Nally, of the race of Ith, by Lughha-Mac-Conn, monarch of Ireland in the third century, and his son Faha-Canan, chief of the Mac-Allins and Mac-Cambels of Argyle in Scotland, of whom they are a branch.

Siolanamchad or Silanchie, a territory in the county of Galway, at present the barony of Longford, on the banks of the Shannon, and patrimony of the O'Madagains or Mad-dins, of the race of Heremon by Colla-da-Crioch.

Siol-Murray, a territory in the environs of Sligo; it includes a considerable part of the barony of Carbury, formerly called Crioch-Carbury, the patrimony of O'Connor-Sligoe, a younger branch of the O'Connors-Don, divided in the person of Brien-Laighneach, son of Tourlough-More, and brother of Cahal-Crob-Dearg.

Tir-Amalgaid, an ancient territory now the barony of Tirawly, in the county of Mayo, and patrimony of the O'Haras, of the race of Oilíoll-Olum, by his son Kiann.

Claincathail,† a territory on the frontiers of Roscommon and Sligo, near Elphin, and patrimony of the O'Flanaghans, a branch of the Hy-Brunes.

Clainfearumogh, a territory in western Breifny, the patrimony of the Maccagadons, or Mac-Eogans, of the race of Colla-da-Chrioch; another branch of his name had possessions in northern Clan-Diarmada.

Clainmbrassail, a territory, and patrimony of the O'Donnelans, a branch of the Hy-Brunes.

Clainuadach, a territory and patrimony of the O'Fallumhains. or O'Fallons, of the race of the Hy-Brunes.

Coranne, an extensive territory in the county of Mayo, including Galang, at present the barony of Galang in the same

* Ogyg. part 3. cap. 79.

† Ibid. cap. 76.

‡ Ibid. cap. 76.

§ Ibid. 79.

|| Idem, cap. 69.

¶ Hist. Hibern. Compend. tom. 3. lib. 1. c. 1.

* Grat. Luc. c. 3.

† Ibidem.

county, with the baronies of Lugne, Leny and Coranne, in the county of Sligo.

Deabhna-Nuadhat, a territory in the county of Roscommon, between the rivers Shannon and Suck, forming the baronies of Athlone and Moycarmoe.

Dunamon, a territory in the barony of Ballymoe, in the county of Galway, extending towards Glinsk, the patrimony of the O'Finaghty's of the race of the Hy-Brunes.

Gregagie, a territory in the county of Sligo, on the border of lake Techet, otherwise Lough-Gara, comprising the barony of Coolavin.

Hybh-Sen or Hy-Orbsen, a territory in the county of Galway, on the borders of Lough-Corrib, or Lough-Orbsen, extending into the baronies of Moy-Cullen and Clare.

Hy-Bruin-Ratha, a territory in the county of Galway, in the barony of Athenry.

Hy-Bruin-Sinna, a territory in the county of Roscommon, formerly called Tirmbruin.

Hy-Fiachria-Aidhne, a territory in the county of Mayo, on the river Moy, near Killala, now the barony of Erris, belonged formerly to a tribe of the Firbolgs, and since divided into dynasties, which were in the possession of other families.

Irrsodmhnón, a territory in the county of Mayo.

Ivediarmada, the patrimony of the O'Conchannains, of the race of the Hy-Brunes.

Kierriegie-Ai, a territory in the county of Roscommon, afterwards called Clan-Ketheren.

Kierriegie of Lough-Nairn, a territory in the county of Mayo, now the barony of Costello, the country of the Mac-Costelos; this territory is sometimes called the barony of Belahaunes.

Kinel-Cairbre, a territory in the county of Sligo, now the barony of Carbury, extending towards Lough-Gill.

Moenmoye, an ancient and extensive territory in the county of Galway, since called Clanricard, including the six baronies of Clare, Dunkellin, Loughrea, Killartan, Athenry and Leitrim.

Muintir-Eolas, see Conmacne.

Partry, a territory in the county of Mayo, now the barony of Carra, belonged to the Shoyaghs, (Joice,) and other families.

Teallachindumhe, a territory in western Brefsny, and patrimony of the Mac tieghernains, or Mac-Kiernans, of the race of the Hy-Brunes.

Tir-da-Loch, a territory situated between two lakes in the county of Galway, now

the barony of Moy-Cullin. See Dealbna-Feadha.

Tirm-Bruin, see Hy-Bruin-Sinna.

IN MEATH.

Clan-Colman, a principality in Meath, on the left bank of the river Boyne,* extending as far as Taylton; it belonged to the O'Moelsachluins, or O'Maoleachluins, of the race of Conal-Creamthine, son of Niall the Great. The eldest sons of this illustrious tribe were styled kings of Meath, and frequently succeeded to the monarchy.

Crioch-Leogaire or Hy-Leogar,† an extensive territory on the banks of the river Boyne, which extended from Belatruim (Trim) to Tara, and belonged to the descendants of Laogare, monarch of Ireland in the time of St. Patrick, the chiefs of whom were the O'Caoindealvains, or Kindedallans.

Cuirne,‡ or Machair-Cuirckny, a territory in Westmeath, now the barony of Kilkenny-West, and patrimony of the O'Tolargs.

Dealbna, or Delvin,§ (so called from Dealbhaoth, of the race of Heber, and tribe of the Dalcaiss, whose posterity inhabited these parts of the country) a territory, now a barony in Westmeath, the ancient patrimony of the O'Finellans, who were dispossessed under Henry II, in the twelfth century.

Dealbna-Eathra, an extensive territory, now in the King's County, extending from Banagher as far as the frontiers of Westmeath, the patrimony of the Mac-Coghlan's, of the tribe of the Dalcaiss, who were subdivided into several branches.

Fearcall, a territory, formerly in Meath, at present in the King's County, including the baronies of Bally-Cowan and Bally-boy, and belonged since the fifteenth century to the O'Molloys, of the race of Heremon, by Nioll-Noygiallach, and his son Fiacha, who were subdivided into many other branches.

Fertullagh, a territory, now a barony in Westmeath, the ancient patrimony of the O'Dubhlaidhs, or O'Dowlys, of the race of Heremon.||

Hy-Machvais, Hy-Macvais, a territory on the river Inny, in Westmeath, now the barony of Moy-Goish, the ancient patrimony

* Keat. Geneal. Grat. Luc. c. 3.

† Ogyg. part. 3. cap. 85.

‡ Idem. cap. 81.

§ Idem. cap. 81.

|| Grat. Luc. page 25.

of the Mac-Vais, or Mac-voys, of the race of Collavais.*

Kinel-Enda, or Kineal-Aodha, a territory in Westmeath, in the barony of Rathcourath, at the foot of the hill of Usneach or Usny, and patrimony of the O'Broenans, of the race of Enna, son of Niall-Noygi-allach.†

Kinel-Fiacha, by corruption Kinalyagagh, signifying the children or race of Fiacha, an extensive territory in Westmeath,‡ which includes, besides the barony of Moycashel, part of those of Raconrath, Mulingar, and Fertullach. This territory was divided into several fiefs, and belonged since the fifth century, to the different branches of the Mac-Eochagains, or Ma-Geogheogans, of the race of Fiacha, son of the monarch Niall-Noygi-allach. The chief of this tribe is Ma-Geogheogan of Moycashel. The fiefs belonging to the different branches, are Donore, Castletown, Sionan, Newtown, Drommore, Lochanleona, Larrah, Louhertan, Ballycommine, Couletoir, &c.

Teffia, or Teamhfna,§ an extensive territory, including with half of Westmeath, nearly the whole county of Longford; it contains several small territories, namely, Caleroy and Muinter-Hagan, now the barony of Kilcoursey, the country of the O'Sionachs, otherwise Fox, Mac-Hagains, Magawlys, &c. Bregmuin and Cuircne, now the baronies of Brawney and Kilkenny-West. Those territories belonged to the descendants of Maine, one of the sons of Niall the Great. Teamhfna, in the county of Longford, was divided into northern and southern; northern Teamhfna, also called Carbre-Gaura, included the environs of Granard: southern Teamhfna, was near Ardagh, an episcopal see.

¶ Bregia or Breagh and Bregmagia, two territories in Meath, the former near Tara, the latter in the environs of Athruim.

Broghe, the patrimony of the O'Mulledys. Corcaduin, the patrimony of the O'Dalys, in Irish, Sioll-Ndala.¶

Dealbna-Teamoy, a territory in Meath. Deaes, now the barony of Deece.

Fearbile, a territory, now a barony in Westmeath, the patrimony of the O'Hanbitha.

Finfochla, the patrimony of the O'Ruadhrys.

Kiennachta-Bregh, or Kiennachta-Ard,¶

a large territory, extending from Duleek, to the river Liffey: it was also called, on account of its situation and beauty, Moy-Breagh, which signifies 'beautiful field.' This territory belonged to the Keniads, descendants of Kiann, son of Oilioll-Olum, king of Munster.

Luighnie, the patrimony of the O'Bruins.

Moynalta, the patrimony of the Biataghs, believed to be a noble and ancient family of Danish extraction.

Those principalities and dynasties, which are now changed into counties and baronies, still retain some vestiges of their ancient names; they belonged to the same families from the first ages of christianity. Their possession was first interrupted about the end of the twelfth century by a colony of English, who usurped the properties of several of the ancient proprietors, particularly in the provinces of Lienster, Munster and Meath. Many others were dispossessed in the different provinces, in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I.; but under the tyranny of Cromwell and the Prince of Orange, the plunder was almost universal. However, notwithstanding these several revolutions, notwithstanding the repeated snares that have been so artfully laid to force them to rebel, and thereby furnish a pretext for confiscating their properties, there are still many ancient proprietors, who enjoy the inheritance of their ancestors, by an uninterrupted possession of ten, twelve, fifteen and eighteen centuries; a possession which, for duration, has few examples in the other nations of Europe.

The nobility of the Irish cannot appear doubtful to those who take the trouble of comparing this length of possession, with what is said in the critical essay on their antiquity and traditions. Genealogists divide nobility into three classes; the first is that of knighthood, the origin of which cannot be ascertained; the second, though ancient, may still be traced to its commencement; and the third a new nobility, which has not yet numbered three generations. Nobility is one of those things not easily defined; however it manifests itself by the prerogatives which it confers; it is looked upon by some as a mere chimera, and by others in an opposite light. Juvenal, a pagan writer, says it consists in virtue alone: "Nobilitas sola est atque unica virtus." Whatever be the origin and nature of nobility, it tends to establish subordination in the state, and distinction of rank in society, by selecting from the crowd, a certain number of men, who are raised

* Ogyg. part 3. cap. 76.

† Idem. cap. 85.

‡ Keat. Geneal. Ogyg. part 3. cap. 85.

§ Idem.

¶ Ogyg. part 9. c. 85.

¶ Ibid. cap. 68.

above others, and invested with prerogatives. Nobility was not, in ancient times, as it now is, founded on letters patent: according to the general opinion of men, a long possession of lands and lordships constituted nobility, as they thereby required certain subjects whom they called vassals. A family which has for several centuries kept possession of the same lands, and maintained itself in a certain degree of rank, without contracting any degrading alliance, and of whose ancestors are recorded a long succession of those virtuous actions, which attract the attention of mankind, such a family, I say, deserves to be placed in the first class of nobility, and should be considered as such, in every nation in the world.

The constitution and first establishment of the Irish nation, were of a nature to give rise to nobles of the above description. We have already seen in the preceding part of this history, and in the beginning of this chapter, that the children of Milesius had formed tribes, of which they were the chiefs, by the division they made of the island between them. According as the population increased, the tribes were multiplied, and in time divided into many branches. The last, and most permanent division of those tribes into dynasties, which has lasted to the present time, took place in the third, fourth, and fifth centuries. The names of the dynasties, and those to whom they belonged in the fifth century, are mentioned by the historians of the country, and the different authors of the life of St. Patrick, when speaking of his apostleship in Ireland.

Each of those tribes or dynasties had its chief, who was either the eldest of the tribe, or the most capable of governing it; and the collateral branches who possessed lands and fiefs, acknowledged his authority. Though divided into different bodies, like the Israelites, they never forgot their common origin: they were all more or less nearly allied in affinity, and by intermarrying, they all enjoyed a mutual inheritance: so that unless the whole tribe were extinct, there was always a legitimate heir to the dynasty; on which account those great families were never confounded one with the other. Though several of those ancient proprietors were deprived of their possessions in the last century, on account of their religious zeal, and their fidelity to their legitimate princes, and consequently have fallen from that ancient splendour, which can only be supported by riches, they are still looked upon in the country, in the same light as

their ancestors; and provided they can prove the purity of their blood, and regular descent from the chiefs of their houses, I see no reason why they should be excluded from the privileges of nobility, no more than others of the same blood, more favoured by fortune, and who have preserved their properties. In the latter part of this history I shall enlarge upon this subject, when there will be an occasion to speak of many illustrious families, originally from England, and who are well deserving the title of ancient nobility.

CHRISTIAN IRELAND.

PART II.

CHAPTER IX.

THE throne of Ireland being vacated by the death of Dathy, the last pagan monarch of this island, as we have observed in the sixth chapter of the first part of this history, the sceptre returned to the family of Niall, surnamed Noygiallach, in the person of his son Laogare, who began his reign in 428, and continued in it, except in one instance, from that period until the eleventh century.

Though we have seen in the first part, that there were Christians in Ireland in the first century, and long before the mission of St. Patrick; that, independent of Cormac-Ulfada, monarch of this island in the third century, whose piety and religion had rendered him odious to the Pagans, several had left their native country on hearing of the Christian name, and that having become perfect in the knowledge of the evangelical doctrine, and the discipline of the Church, some had preached the gospel in the different Pagan countries in Europe; others, filled with zeal for the salvation of their fellow-citizens, had successfully expounded to them the word of God; still the nation was not yet considered as converted; this grace was reserved for the reign of Laogare, and the pontificate of St. Celestine I. This great pope, seeing the pious inclination of those people,* and the success of private Missionaries amongst them, thought of sending them an apostle invested with full au-

* Usser. Primord. Eccles. Brit. cap. 16. page 797. et seq.

thority to complete a work so happily begun.*

The first whom he sent to Ireland, with all power requisite for his mission, was Palladius, an archdeacon of the Roman Church, who having been ordained bishop, or rather archbishop of all Ireland, set out, accompanied by twelve missionaries, all equally inspired with the apostolical spirit, and provided with several volumes of the Old and New Testament, and some relics of the apostles St. Peter and Paul, and of some other martyrs. On landing in the province of Leinster, he began his mission by preaching the faith of Jesus Christ; but he was badly received by the Pagans. Jocelin quotes a proverb, common in the country, signifying, that "God did not reserve for Palladius, but for Patrick, the conversion of Ireland." However, he baptised a few persons, and founded three churches, the first of which was called "Kill-Fine," the second, "Teach-na-Romanach," or "House of the Romans, and the third, "Domnach-Arte." After a short mission of a few months, he was expelled from Ireland by Nathi, son of Garchon, a prince of this country. This holy missionary withdrew into Britain, and died sometime after at Fourdoun, in the country of the Picts: others assert that he suffered martyrdom in Ireland.

The origin and country of St. Palladius have been the subject of much disputation. John Sichard asserts that he was a native of Ireland; Anthony Possevin, in his *Sacred Compendium*, calls him a Briton: Trithe- mins, in his *Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers*, and others, copying after him, affirm that he was by birth a Greek, confounding him, probably, with Palladius, bishop of Helenopolis, in Bythinia, who died before the year 431, the time of the mission of St. Palladius amongst the Scots. However this be, there is another question more interesting, as being more closely connected with the object of this history, namely, to know who were those Scots for whom St. Palladius had received his mission. The Scotch authors, namely, John Major, Boëtius, Lealy, and Dempster, on the double acceptation of the name "Scot," assert that he had been sent to the Scots of Britain; in which account they are followed by Polydore Virgil, the author of the *English Martyrology*, and by Baronius in his *Annals* on the year 429; but the latter, after a more minute investigation, corrected

himself on the year 431, by saying that St. Palladius had been sent to Ireland.

We need only read the sixth and seventh chapters of the first part of this history, to discover the error of those authors, in which it has been proved that the Scots had no fixed dwelling, or any monarchy founded in Britain before the beginning of the sixth century, and that the terms Scots and Irish were synonymous till the eleventh.

We may, however, mention here the authority of St. Prosper, whom I have already quoted, as he expressly speaks of the mission of St. Palladius. This father, when praising the zeal of pope St. Celestine for the conversion of the British Isles, says, that when he was endeavouring to preserve the purity of the faith in the Roman Isle, he ordained a bishop for the Scots, and converted to Christianity that island which had been barbarous.* St. Prosper here mentions Palladius, as he says in his *Chronicle*, that pope Celestine had ordained him bishop of the Scots who believed in Christ: "Ad Scotos in Christum credentes ordinatur à Papâ Cœlestino Palladius." He also distinguishes the island of Scots, which he calls barbarous (a name given by the Romans to all those who were not under their dominion) from Britain, which he designates by the name of the Roman Isle. The island of Scots, as mentioned by Prosper, can only refer, says Usher, to Scotia Major, that is, Ireland, and by no means to Albania, which was not at that time called Scotia, and is not an island, as it forms part of that of Great Britain.†

Lastly, we may add, that as St. Patrick succeeded St. Palladius in the same mission, they both preached the gospel to the same people, namely, the Scots of Ireland.‡

St. Prosper places the mission of St. Palladius in Ireland under the consulship of Bassus and Antiochus; which corresponds

* "With equal care he rescued from the same distemper the British Isles, when those who were enemies to grace, and occupying the soil of their birth, were shut out by that secluded part of the ocean: a bishop being ordained for the Scots, while he is eager to preserve the Roman isle Catholic, he rendered that which was Christian, barbarous."

† "And Prosper distinguishing eloquently this island of the Scots from the Britains, must be necessarily understood to mean Scotia Major to be Ireland, and not the Minor Scotia, which is Albania, (which was not Scotland at that period, neither is it an island but forms a part of Great Britain.)"—*Usher's Church Hist.* c. 16. p. 798.

‡ "It is plain, that Palladius had been appointed for the same Scots to whom Patrick had been afterwards sent."—*Usher.*

* Trias. Thaum. vit. S. Patr.

with the year 431 of the Christian era. The venerable Bede fixes it in the eighth year of the empire of Theodosius the younger.* Baronius says the date of the latter should be corrected by that of St. Prosper; he does not however observe, that Bede and Prosper are in perfect accordance, as they count the years of the reign of Theodosius, from the death of Honorius, which happened in 423, as well as the elevation of pope Celestine to the pontificate; whilst that celebrated annalist (Baronius,) dates from the time that those two emperors began their reign together.

Bollandus and le Nain de Tillemont seem to doubt that there were Christians in Ireland before St. Palladius.† "The Irish," says Tillemont, "give the histories of several saints of their country, many of whom were bishops, and assert that they had preached the gospel in their country, and converted many persons long before St. Patrick, even in the fourth century. Usher quotes, continues he, many fragments of the lives of those saints, in which can be easily discovered several very improbable things. We might judge far better of those lives, if we had them complete; however it suffices that Bollandus, who it appears has seen them, affirms, that none were composed before the twelfth century, and that most of them are by very fabulous authors."

The above is a severe, as well as an ill-founded censure. Bollandus, on account of a few hyperbolical phrases used in the lives of those saints, or some improbable facts, (the common result of the enthusiasm of ancient writers,) without distinguishing truth from falsehood, saps the foundation of their history, which he treats of as fabulous. However, without injuring the reputation which Bollandus has so deservedly acquired among the learned, Usher, who quotes those fragments as respectable monuments of antiquity, was as judicious a critic, and a much more competent judge in this matter, though he was of English extraction, and of a different religion from the saints whose lives he quotes, (two things which should remove all suspicion of prejudice on his part:) having been born and educated in Ireland, he had it better in his power to see and judge, than Bollandus, a stranger,

who embraced too many objects to succeed in all. It is besides, an incontestible fact, that in those ages, which immediately succeeded the preaching of St. Patrick in Ireland, that country was celebrated for its knowledge in the sciences and literature. Therefore it is not probable they would have been so long without writing the annals and lives of the saints of that people. The remark of Bollandus, that there were no lives of the saints of Ireland written before the twelfth century, is therefore highly incorrect. This learned author seems to confound some copies taken from the original lives, in the twelfth century, in order to preserve them to posterity, as well as the original ones; as if we were to say, that the life of St. Patrick had not been written till the twelfth century, because Jocelin, an English monk, had taken extracts from every ancient life of that saint, written many ages before.

Usher, continues Tillemont, desirous of supporting the historians of his country,* among whom we discover many bishops sent to Ireland before St. Palladius, adduces in opposition to himself St. Prosper, who says, that St. Palladius was the first sent there in 431: he thinks to destroy, says he, this undeniable authority, by remarking that the word "primus," is not in the Duchesne edition. The above criticism is unjust; Tillemont suppresses the other explanations which Usher gives of the word "primus," which, according to him, signifies the first of the two, namely Palladius and Patrick, whom pope Celestine sent to Ireland, with full apostolic power, as archbishop or primate of the whole island.† Besides these words: "Ad Scotos in Christum credentes ordinatus à Papà Celestino Palladius Episcopus mittitur," used by St. Prosper in his chronicle on the year 431, and by Bede in the thirteenth chapter of the first book of his Ecclesiastical history, evidently indicate that there were Christians in Ireland, and consequently pastors, before the mission of St. Palladius. Bollandus himself acknowledges it, as he says, that St. Palladius had found in Ireland more Christians than

* Notes sur S. Patrice.

† "But although four former bishops be mentioned to have been ordained before the pontificate of Celestine, for the mission, it might appear that pope Celestine appointed Palladius first bishop, and that Patrick had been sent the second, or primate to the Episcopal seat. So that, although our island had other bishops, still Palladius was the first archbishop, and Patrick the second."—*Usher's Church Hist.* c. 16. p. 800.

* "In the year 423 of our redemption, Theodosius the younger reigned for 27 years, in the eighth year of whose reign, Palladius was sent by pope Celestine, as first bishop to preach to the Scots who believed in Christ."—*Bede*, b. 1. *Church Hist.* a. 13.

† *Memoires*, tom. 16. vie de S. Patrice.

he made.* There never was an instance says Colgan,† of the Roman Church specially ordaining a bishop for any nation, or sending a solemn mission to a country in which the Christian religion was totally unknown.

Lastly, it was not affirmed by Usher, nor any other historian of the country, that Ireland was converted before the time of St. Patrick. A kingdom is not considered to be converted till the king and princes, and most of the people, have received baptism; which did not take place in Ireland till the time of this apostle. This did not prevent some to have been converted in different parts of the island, by the private missionaries, mentioned by Usher.

As soon as the death of St. Palladius was known at Rome, pope St. Celestine thought of providing a successor to him. The lot fell to Patrick, who being at that time at Rome, was ordained bishop of Ireland by the pope, and was sent to this island invested with apostolic authority, and loaded with the benedictions of the holy father. This pope died a short time afterwards, and his successors, St. Sixtus III., confirmed the mission of St. Patrick, and associated with him other evangelical missionaries, to assist him.

Before we enter into a detail of the life and mission of St. Patrick, we should here examine the several histories written on this subject.

The number of histories which have been composed on the life of St. Patrick, has, in a great measure, tended to darken the knowledge we should have of the truth of what concerns him. According to Usher, and ancient monuments in the libraries of Oxford and Cambridge, there were sixty-three, or sixty-six.‡ However, we must confine ourselves to the most genuine, and those which appear the most authentic, and least liable to contradiction; which are, the Confession of Saint Patrick, his letter to Corotic, and his life, written by some of his disciples.

The Confession of St. Patrick was written

* Palladius thought it sufficient to have two of his brethren, Sylvester and Solonius, to assist the few Christians whom he had found, and it is probable, that he found more than he had made, on account of the short time he remained. After consecrating three oratories for their use, he set sail with his companions, and being driven by a storm (perhaps by the divine will) around North Britain, he landed in the eastern part of the country of the Picts, which he held, and died in it."—*Bollandus in his life of St. Patrick*, p. 581.

† Triad. Thaum. append. 5. cap. 15. pag. 250.

‡ "All the books which have been written on the life of St. Patrick are 66 or 63."—*Usher. C. Hist. c. 17*, p. 816.

by himself, in which he gives an account of his life and conversation, principally during his youth, and commenced with these words; "Ego Patricius peccator." Very few miracles are recorded in it; several visions are mentioned by the saint himself, and he says that God frequently imparted to him, in a very extraordinary manner, what he was to do.* We may also add, that in those visions which St. Patrick mentions having seen, there was nothing that was not grave, holy, and worthy of God. This volume, says Colgan, is to be found in the library of the monastery of Saint Vast, in Artois,† and also according to Ware, in the library of Saram, or Salisbury, in England,‡ if it is the same, (which is most probable) that Colgan quotes under the title of "Patricius de vita et conversatione sua;" the beginning, "Ego Patricius peccator," &c. &c. is the same in both copies.

The subject of St. Patrick's letter to Corotic,§ was a cruel and barbarous action committed by this tyrant, who reigned over some canton in Wales.

This petty prince, having made a descent upon Ireland during the festival of Easter, ravaged the canton where the saint then was, and where he had just administered the holy chrism to a great number of converts, that were still clothed in the white robes of their baptism. Corotic, though a Christian, without the slightest regard for the sanctity of the sacrament, massacred a great number, and carried off others, whom he sold to the Picts. The atrocity of this action roused the zeal of the saint to such a degree, that, on the day after the massacre of those innocent people, he sent a letter to Corotic, by a holy priest, whom he had brought up from his infancy, and by some other ecclesiastics, to request of him to restore the Christians, whom he had carried into captivity, and a part, at least, of the booty. However, the saint's letter not producing the desired effect on the mind of Corotic, and his answer proving unsatisfactory, he resolved to write a second, in form of a circular, which he published, instead of addressing it to Corotic, and it is that which has been preserved until our time. In this letter he complains loudly of the action of Corotic, and particularly of his having sold the Christians to infidels. He declared to the church, that this tyrant and the other fratricides who had been accomplices in his crime, should be separated

* Tillemont, Vie de Saint Patrice, art. 2.

† Append. 4. part 3, de Script. Act. S. Patr.

‡ De Script. Hib. lib. 2, cap. 2.

§ Tillemont, Vie de saint Patrice.

from him and from Jesus Christ, whose representative he was; that none should eat with them, nor receive their alms, until they would have satisfied God by the tears of true repentance, and restored to liberty the faithful servants of Jesus Christ. He declared that whosoever should hold converse or communication with them, and flatter them in their sins, would be judged and condemned by God. The above is the excommunication pronounced by St. Patrick against Corotic and those who were accomplices in his crime.

The Confession of St. Patrick, and his letter to Corotic, are quoted with praise by Usher, Bollandus, Ware, Colgan, and others.* Those two productions bear the name of the saint, who frequently speaks in them of himself, and appear truly worthy of him. They are both in the same style and character.

The Confession is quoted by all the ancient authors of his life, which proves, at least, that it is more ancient than they are; and there seems to exist, throughout, a character of truth, which supports it, even were it not quoted by any author. Cave himself admits, that this confession, and the letter to Corotic are ancient writings.†

The principal authors of the life of St. Patrick‡ are, Saint Secundinus, or Seaghlín, bishop of Domnach-Sechnaild, now Don-seachlín, in Meath; he was a disciple of the saint, and his nephew by his sister Darerca;§ and composed a hymn in honour of his master, which may be seen in Colgan.||

St. Loman, his disciple, and nephew by his sister Tigrid, bishop of Athrum,¶ now Trim, in Meath; St. Mel, bishop of Ardach, his disciple and nephew also, brother of St. Secundinus; and a second St. Patrick,** to whom the Saint gave his own name while holding him over the baptismal font; all three wrote the acts of his life. The last, after the death of his uncle, retired to the abbey of Glastonbury or Glaston, in Somersetshire in England, where he ended his days.

Saint Benignus, (in the Irish language Binen, signifying gentle,)+† who succeeded St. Patrick in the see of Ardmach, is reckoned among the authors of his life. Those four lives, says Jocelin, were written, partly

in Irish, and partly in Latin, by his four disciples, St. Benignus, his successor, St. Mel, and St. Luman, bishops, and St. Patrick, his godson.*

St. Fiech, of the race of the monarch Cahire-More, by Diare, surnamed Barrach, was a disciple of St. Patrick, and bishop of Sletty, formerly Slebte, in the barony of Sliev-Margie, territory of Leis, now the Queen's County; he has left a hymn written in thirty-four stanzas, in the Irish language, containing the most remarkable events of that apostle's life. This hymn, and the Latin translation are in Colgan, among the lives of St. Patrick, and should be rather considered a panegyric, than a life of this saint.†

St. Kienan, of a noble family in Connaught,‡ or rather, (says Colgan,) of the race of the Keniads, descendants of Oilioll-Olum, by his son Kiann, and lords of a territory in Meath, called Kiennachta,§ having taken orders in the monastery of St. Martin, at Tours,|| returned to Ireland, and was nominated by Saint Patrick, bishop of Damhliah, now Duleek, in the territory of Bregb, in Meath. According to the calendar of Cashil, he wrote the life of St. Patrick, whose disciple he was.

St. Evin, or Emmin,¶ abbot of Ross, otherwise Ross-Mac-Treoin, adjoining the river Barrow, is thought to be the author of the life of St. Patrick, written in Irish and Latin, divided into three parts, and called by Colgan,** "*Vita Tripartita Sancti Patricii*."††

Saint Ultan, bishop of Ard-Breacain, in Meath, and St. Tirechan, his successor in

* "The greatest number of the books or tracts (which were 65) treating of the miracles which he wrought, were consumed by fire in the reign of Gurmondus and Turgesium. Four books, however which treat of his virtues and miracles, written partly in Irish and partly in Latin, by St. Benignus his successor, St. Mel, bishop, St. Lomanus, archbishop, and St. Patrick, his godson, who returned after the death of his uncle to Britain, where he died and was buried in the church of Glasconensis, with honour."—*Jocelin, in his life of St. Patrick*.

† Colg. Triad. prima Vita. page 4.

‡ Usser. Primord. page 1070.

§ Idem. Ind. Chron. page 1108.

|| Colg. Triad. Thaum. Append. 4, part 3, de Scrip. Act. S. Patr.

¶ Usser. Primord, cap. 17, et War. de Script. Hib. lib. 1, cap. 3.

** Colg. Triad. Thaum. append. 4. part 3.

†† St. Elvinus, influenced like St. Patrick, compiled in one book, written partly in Irish and partly in Latin, his history, any portion of which that I deemed worthy of posterity, I have carefully selected and introduced into this work. *Jocelin, c. 186*.

* Tillemon. not. sur S. Patrice. † Page 336.

† Usser. Primord, Eocles. Brit. cap. 17, page 825 et 826.

§ War. de Script. Hib. || Triad Thaum. app. 3.

¶ Usser. Primord, c. 17, p. 816, Seq.

** Usser. Ind. Chron. p. 1121.

†† Colg. Triad. Thaum. app. 4, p. 3, de Script. Act. S. Patrie.

that see,* wrote on the same subject in the seventh century; the latter left two books, which were in the possession of Usher, and which he quotes in pages 829, 835, 848, 853, 887, and 889.

Usher, Ware, and others, make mention of St. Aileran, surnamed the Wise, St. Adamnam, abbot of Hy, St. Muccuthen, St. Colman, St. Kieran, surnamed the Pious, abbot of Belach-Duin, St. Ermead, bishop of Clogher, and St. Collait, a priest of Druim-Beilgeach, all of whom had written on the virtues and miracles of St. Patrick.

Nennius published in the ninth century a history of Great Britain, wherein he quotes several facts alluding to the apostle of Ireland.†

Probus, an Irishman, wrote in the same century two books on the life of St. Patrick, dedicated to Paulinus. Those books are to be met with in the third volume of the works of Bede, without the name of the author: we discover his name, however, in the epilogue of the second book, by the following words: "Ecce habes, frater Pauline, a me humili Probo, postulatam nostræ fraternitatis indicium." Usher, after Gabriel Pennotus,‡ and Stanihurst,§ says, that the works of those two authors, namely Nennius and Probus, are filled with absurd accounts, and with things that are obviously untrue, whether they emanated from themselves, or have been added to their works by others.

The life of St. Patrick, written in Latin in the twelfth century, by Jocelin, a Cambro-Britain, and monk of Furnes, is, according to Usher, the most ample and correct that has been published.|| This author had followed the other lives of St. Patrick, which had been written before his time; he had at least seen some of them, as he quotes the four books of the four disciples of that saint, namely, of St. Benignus, St. Mel, St. Luman, and St. Patrick, with that of St. Evin. He composed his history, as he himself asserts, at the solicitation of Thomas or Tomultach O'Connor, archbishop of Ardmach, Malachi, bishop of Down, and John Courcy prince of Ulidia, after those original lives, from which he extracted every thing that was worthy of being related. Alfrod complains,¶ says Tillemont, that scarcely any-

thing has been written on St. Patrick except his miracles, the most of which are highly improbable, as well as many of those ascribed to the other saints of Ireland. Indeed the history of his life written by Jocelin, contains several, some of which have little appearance of truth; it was the taste of the writers of those ancient times, and we should not on that account reject the groundwork of his history.

However, we ought not to doubt of his having performed many miracles that are true. God had necessarily given him that power, to convert an idolatrous nation. The difference between the twelfth and present centuries is, that in the former and preceding ones, people were too credulous, and in the latter have become quite the contrary; both extremes are equally dangerous, and equally to be dreaded, one being the result of ignorance, the other of incredulity.

The succeeding ages produced panegyrists on the virtues of that apostle.* In the thirteenth century, Vincent de Beauvais, in his Historical Memoir, notices in a summary manner, and in few words, the actions of Saint Patrick.†

In the fourteenth century, James de Voragine, bishop of Genoa, in his Golden Legend, and John of Tinemuth, an Englishman and Benedictine monk, in his book on the deeds of the saints of Great Britain and Ireland, the manuscript of which is preserved in the college of the Benedictines at Cambridge, speak of the memorable actions of that saint, as Stanihurst, and William Tirrey, bishop of Cork, have done in the last centuries.

Various opinions are entertained concerning the country which gave birth to St. Patrick.‡ Matthew of Westminster, known by the name of Florilegus, and Baronius, say he is a native of Ireland, "natione Hibernensis:" Sigebert de Gemblours, the martyrologies of Bede, Usuard, Rhabanus, Ado, and the Scotch writers, call him a Scot, "xvi. Kal. April, in Scotiâ natale S. Patricii." But it is known that in the style of martyrologists, the day of a saint's death is considered to be that of his birth, and that Ireland alone was known by the name of Scotia in the time of St. Patrick. Lastly, others assert, that he is of a different origin. However, according to the most general, and, at the same time, most probable opinion, he was a native of Great Britain. He was born in a village which he himself calls, in his Confession,

* War. de Script. Hib. lib. 1, cap. 3, et Colgan, Triad. Thaum. Append. 4, part 3.

† Usser. Prim. cap. 17, page 819.

‡ Pennot. in Clericorum Canonico. hist. lib. 2, c. 35, sect. 4.

§ In Præfat. ad Vit. S. Patr.

|| Primord. cap. 57, page 816.

¶ Alf. 430. sect. 2.

* Colg. Triad. Thaum. Append. 4.

† Lib. 20, cap. 23, et seq.

‡ Usser. Prim. cap. 17, p. 820.

Banaven,* in the territory of Tabernia, "in vico Banaven Tabernie," in the northern extremity of Britain,† and, according to Probus not far from the western sea "De vico Bannavæ, Tiberniæ regionis, haud procul à mare occidentali."‡ Jocelin interprets the name of Tabernia, by "Tabernaclorum campus,"§ the field of the tabernacles or tents, the Roman armies having been, according to him, encamped there. He also adds, that the dwelling place of Patrick's father was Emphor, on the coast of the Irish sea. Those topographical descriptions have made Usher fix the birth-place of St. Patrick at Kirk-Patrick, or Kil-Patrick, so called from his name, between Alcuidd, now Dumbriton, and Glasgow. This district was also called at that time Valentia, by Count Theodosius, who had re-taken it from the enemies of the Romans.||

The error of those who say that St. Patrick was born in Scotland, arises from their not sufficiently discerning the periods of the different changes of the frontiers of Britain and Scotland, nor observing that this territory, which, in the time of St. Patrick, formed part of the Roman province, was long after annexed to Scotland.¶

The time of the birth and death of this saint, and the number of years he lived, are not less a subject of dispute than the country which gave him birth. William of Malmesbury, Stanihurst, and others, after Probus, fix his birth in the year 361; Probus says that he lived 132 years, and died in 493; Malmesbury fixes his death in 472, in the 111th year of his age: Henry of Marleburg says, he was born in 376, Jocelin in 370, and Florence of Worcester in 372. The calculation of the latter is followed by Usher, who says, he sees no reason to differ from it: "A quibus quare alii discesserint, justam adhuc causam non videmus."*** Lastly, the most general opinion, which is in accordance with Usher,†† is, that St. Patrick lived 120

years, and that his death happened in 493:* if we deduct 120 years, there remain 373, which is accounted the year of the birth of that saint. St. Patrick was of a respectable family, as he himself observes in his epistle to Corotic, "ingenuus fui secundum carnem;"† his father was Calphurnius, a deacon, son of Potit, a priest, who had taken orders after the death of their wives:‡ Conchessa, his mother, was sister or rather niece of Saint Martin of Tours.§ As Saint Martin was a native of Sabaria in Pannonia, it is probable, says Usher, that his sister was from the same country, and had followed him into Gaul, where she married Ochmuia, by whom she had, amongst other children, Conchessa; that the latter having been brought a captive into Britain, married Calphurnius, and became mother of our saint,|| Sanannus, the deacon, and five daughters, namely, Lupita, Tigris, Liemania, Darerca, and Cinnenum.¶

The apostle of Ireland was called at his baptism, Succath, signifying warlike, "fortis in bello;"** it was Pope Celestine that gave him the name of Patricius.†† Patrician was a title of honour amongst the ancient Romans, and a dignity to which high privileges were annexed, according to Dionysius of Halicarnassus:‡‡ some of the kings of France have not disdained to bear the title of Roman Patrician.§§

The authors of the life of this saint, say, that he performed some miracles in his youth. Fiech, his contemporary, makes no mention of them; he himself, in his confession, attributes his captivity to his ignorance of the true God, and disobedience to his laws. He was, however, carefully brought up by his parents; the mildness of his disposition and purity of his morals, rendered him the admiration of all who knew him.

Patrick was in his sixteenth year|| when brought a captive into Ireland and sold like a second Joseph.¶¶ The authors of his life

* Page 1.

† War. de Præsul. Hib. Vit. S. Patr.

‡ Prob. Vit. Patr. lib. I, c. 1.

§ Vit. S. Patr. cap. 1.

|| "Whereas the native spot of St. Patrick, was that part situate between the camp called Dun-Britannicum and the city of Glasuensis called from his name Kirkpatrick, or as at present, Kilpatrick. This remote part belonging to the Romans in the province of Britain, was called, 4 years before Patrick was born and recovered from the enemy, Valentia by Theodosius."—Usher's Church Hist. c. 17, p. 819.

¶ Usher. Primord. cap. 17, p. 20.

** Usher. Primord. page 823.

†† Usher. Ibid. p. 879, ad. 887.

* Colg. App. 5, ad vit. S. Patr. c. 67.

† Confess. page 1.

‡ Usher. primord. cap. 17, page 822.

§ Jocelin, Vit. S. Patr. cap. 1.

|| Usher. Primord. cap. 17, p. 824.

¶ Scholia in primam Vit. S. Patr. apud Colgan note 5.

** Usher. primord. c. 17, p. 821.

†† Ibid. page 841.

‡‡ Antiq. Rom. lib. 2, cap. 2.

§§ War de Præsul. Hib. Vit. S. Patr.

|| Confess. page 1.

¶¶ "This illustrious youth was in his 16th year, when taken with several of his countrymen, by pirates, and was carried a prisoner into Ireland. He, was there sold as a slave to one Milchon, who ruled

are not in accordance concerning his captivity; some say, that St. Patrick having gone to Armoric Gaul, since called Lower Brittany, with his father, mother, brother, and five sisters, to visit the parents of his mother Conchessa, was taken,* with his two sisters, Lupita and Tigrida, by some British pirates, who brought them prisoners into Ireland;† others, with more appearance of truth, say, that the Romans having abandoned Britain, it became the prey of the Scots, and that Patrick was carried a captive to Ireland by robbers from that country.‡ We are induced by all those circumstances to fix the captivity of this saint in the reign of Niall the Great, surnamed Noygiollach. This monarch, as we have observed in the first part of this history, having crossed the sea with his army to quell some disturbances which had arisen in Albania, between the Scots and Picts, and after laying Britain waste in 388, embarked with his forces for Armoric Gaul, from whence he brought considerable booty, and some prisoners. As Patrick was, at the time of his captivity, entering upon his sixteenth year, which corresponds with the year 389, having been born in 373, this period is in perfect unison with the time of the expedition of Niall. I do not pretend to decide whether he was taken in Britain or in Armoric Gaul; but it is a certain fact that he was carried to Ireland, and sold to Milcho-Mac-Huanan, a petty prince of Dalaradie in Ulster, who gave him the care of his flocks, in a valley at the foot of a mountain, called in the language of the country, Sliev-Mis; his two sisters were sold at the same time, in the country then called Conaill-Muirthemne, at present the county of Louth. Our saint, who was destined by Divine Providence to convey the light of the gospel into Ireland, which was also called Scotia, was early qualified for the fatigues of the apostleship, by the hardships of captivity; and allowed by God to be a slave in a country which was one day to be delivered, through his ministry, from the bondage of Satan, by affording him an opportunity of learning the language, and becoming habituated to the customs of that country. In his Confession he gives an account of the use he made of his time, during his captivity.§ “I was always care-

ful,” he says, “to lead my flocks to pasture, and prayed frequently during the day: I always became strengthened in the belief, love, and fear of God, and prayed at least a hundred times a day, and as often during the night. When I inhabited the forests and mountains, I performed my prayers before daylight, and never experienced, either in frost, snow, or rain, that negligence which I now feel, as I was then fired with the spirit of God.”* In the beginning of the seventh year of his slavery, he was warned in a dream to prepare for his return; he accordingly made his escape from the house of his master, to whom he had been sold, and reached the sea shore, where there was a vessel ready to sail. The captain at first refused to take him on board, but, on consideration, he admitted him, and after a dangerous voyage of three days they landed in Albania, now called Scotland. However, his fatigues were not yet at an end; he had to perform a journey of twenty-eight days through deserts and impassible roads, where he suffered severely by fatigue, hunger, and thirst, before he arrived in the territory of Tabernia, his native country. A.D. 396. The authors of his life mention his having fasted during twenty days, and his having performed several miracles to procure subsistence for his fellow-travellers.† It is also said, that he underwent a second captivity, which lasted but for two months.‡

After undergoing many dangers both by sea and land, Patrick arrived in his native country where he was tenderly received by his parents. Having remained some time with them, a man from Ireland appeared to him in a dream, carrying a bundle of letters, one of which he gave him to read, beginning with those words: “Vox Hibernionacum,” the voice of the Irish. Whilst reading the letter, he thought he heard the cries of the inhabitants of the neighbourhood of Foclut forest, in the territory of Tiramalgaid, now the barony of Tirawly, in the county of Mayo, entreating him with one voice to go to them; by which he was so much affected,

* Every day I fed the flocks, and prayed frequently during the day; my love of God increased more and more, and my fear and faith in him were augmented, so that in one day I prayed almost a hundred times, and as often in the night: whilst I tarried on the mountain and in the woods, I was roused to pray both in the snow, frost, and rain; neither did I feel any pain from it nor lassitude, as I think, because my soul was then ardent.”—*Usher*, c. 17, p. 830.

† Vit. Tripart. S. Patr. apud Colgan.

‡ Jocelin, Vit. S. Patr. cap. 18, et Usser. Primord. cap. 17, p. 832.

in that district, the northern part of the island, in the same manner as Joseph had been sold into Egypt.”—*Jocelin*, c. 13.

* Vit. Tripart. S. Patr. 1, 1, c. 16.

† Usser. Primord. c. 17, page 827, et seq.

‡ Baillet, Vie de St. Patrice, au 17 Mars.

§ Vit. Tripart. S. Patr. apud Colgan.

that he was unable to continue reading the letter, whereupon he awoke.*

Struck with this vision, which brought back to his remembrance his sojourn in Ireland, Patrick secretly formed the design of returning thither, to labour for the conversion of those islanders. To prepare himself to discharge so holy an undertaking, he resolved to leave his country, and seek in foreign countries the light and knowledge required for that apostleship, without being influenced by the repeated solicitations which his parents used to keep him at home.

At that time he was about twenty-three years of age, A.D. 396. He went first to the monastery of Marmoutiers, which was built near Tours, by St. Martin, bishop of that city, and uncle to his mother Conchessa; he received from him the clerical tonsure and monastic habit; we should not dwell on Baillet's calculation, which advances, that that prelate died a year before the arrival of Patrick.†

Patrick spent some time at Tours, in the practice of piety and monastic discipline, and St. Martin having died in 397,‡ or, according to Severus Sulpicius, in 402, he set out for Rome, where he was admitted among the students or regular prebendaries of St. John of Lateran, A.D. 403. He was then thirty years of age. He applied himself to study, and made a considerable progress in the knowledge of sacred literature and ecclesiastical discipline.§ He afterwards visited the holy places and servants of God, the monasteries and hermitages of the islands in the Mediterranean; and attached himself particularly to the barefooted hermits of the order of St. Augustin. The high character of St. Germain, who was nominated bishop of Auxerre in 418, induced him to go to that prelate. It appears that this was his first visit, although some among the authors of his life affirm, that he spent four years with

St. Germain, before he went to Tours: we should either suppose that he had been under the discipline of St. Germain before he was made bishop, which is improbable, or that he had not seen St. Martin, who died at least sixteen years before the episcopacy of St. Germain.

He lived at Auxerre for many years, under the discipline of that illustrious bishop, and prepared himself, after the example of such a master, for the ministry of the church, and the attainment of every virtue of a true pastor. A.D. 421.

The love of perfecting himself in the calling of a religious life which he had embraced, influenced him to retire into the monastery of the isle of Lerins: he continued in it for nine years, both under the instruction of St. Honoratus, who was the founder of it, and the abbot St. Maximus, his successor, still adhering to the counsels of his dear master, St. Germain, to whom he imparted all his intentions and desires. A.D. 430.

After his leaving Lerins, he returned to Auxerre, and was then thirty-eight years old. When the news of St. Palladius' death had reached them, St. Germain sent him to Rome, with instructions upon the mission to Ireland, and gave him letters of introduction to Pope St. Celestine, who received him with every mark of kindness and respect. Celestine himself then consecrated and appointed him archbishop of Ireland, and sent him, invested with all apostolical authority, to preach the gospel to the inhabitants of that island. Twenty priests and deacons were likewise ordained, who were to accompany St. Patrick in his mission, and officiate under his directions, "ut sub ipso Domino ministrarent." Among the number, there were some prebendaries of St. John of Lateran, who were eminent for their piety. The new apostle of Ireland returned to Auxerre to take leave of St. Germain, who gave him many salutary admonitions to render the success of so great an undertaking possible and easy: he also made him presents of chalices, ornaments for the priesthood, books, and every thing necessary for the ecclesiastical worship and ministry.* All things being prepared for his voyage, he set out for Ireland at the end of

* "And there I saw in a vision during the night, a man coming from the west; his name was Victoricius, and had with him many letters; he gave me one to read, and in the beginning of it was a voice from Ireland, I then thought it to be the voice of those who inhabited near a wood called Foclut, adjoining the western sea: they appeared to cry out in one voice, saying, come to us O holy youth, and walk amongst us. With this I was feelingly touched, and could read no longer: I then awoke."—*Confession of St. Patrick in Usher*, p. 9, c. 17, p. 832.

† Vit. de S. Patr. au 17. Mars.

‡ Usher. Primord. c. 17. p. 844.

§ "In this place he signifies, that he was skilled in sacred learning, and endowed with the knowledge of ecclesiastical rules and discipline."—*Usher*, c. 17. p. 835.

* "He hastened now towards Ireland, together with twenty men eminent for their wisdom and sanctity, appointed by the Pontiff himself to assist him in the mission. He turned however to St. Germanus, his guardian and instructor: from him he received chalices and sacerdotal vestments, a quantity of books, and every other thing requisite for the ministry of the church."—*Jocelin's life of St. Patrick*, c. 26.

the year 432, after making some converts in the counties of Cambridge and Cornwall, western provinces of Great Britain.*

Before we enter into the particulars of the apostleship of St. Patrick, we should observe the state of the island at that time. The fundamental laws which had been enacted many centuries before by wise legislators, were enforced under a monarchical government. Laogare, son of Niall, surnamed Noygiallach, had been monarch of the whole island since the death of Dathy in 428. The four provinces had also each their respective kings.

Baillet formed wrong ideas of the history of this nation, from the slight knowledge he had of it, when he emphatically observes that St. Palladius had found all Ireland in a state of disturbance,† caused by the emigrations from the country, of those people, who were then called Scotch or Scots, and had gone at that time to the north of Britain. This passage in Baillet would seem to imply, that the whole nation of the Scoto-Milesians had left the fertile and rich lands of Ireland, to go and settle in the barren mountains of Albania. All those emigrations were confined to the demi-tribe of the Dalriads, who inhabited the small territory of Route, in the north of Ulster, and who, always forming one body with those of the same tribe already settled in Albania, and considering themselves as the same family, frequently crossed over, accompanied by volunteers from the other provinces, as they had probably done this year, to join the Picts in their incursions into Britain. This was the third devastation committed by the Scots and Picts in Britain, and which Usher, after Gildas and Bede, fixes in the eighth year of the reign of Theodosius the younger, counting from the death of Honorius, in 431, the year of the apostleship of St. Palladius in Ireland.‡

"That saint," adds our author, "was soon obliged to leave Ireland, and follow those colonies to New Scotland, where he hoped to be more successful." However, those people, who were solely intent upon pillage and devastation, were but little disposed to listen to this evangelical preacher: besides, New Scotland lasted but for a short time; the Britons seeing themselves abandoned by the Romans, made an effort, and forced those Robbers to return to Ireland, their country, as the venerable Bede, after Gildas, mentions on this occasion, "Revertuntur impudentes grassatores Hiberni domum." The

little success which the preaching of St. Palladius produced in Ireland, should be attributed to the persecution raised against him, by a prince of Leinster, which ended in the banishment of the saint, and to the want of a perfect knowledge of the language and manners of the country; the intercourse of the Dalriads of Ulster, who formed but an inconsiderable body of people, with those of Albania, and the different emigrations of the former into the latter country, could not derange the system of a nation where peace prevailed, and where the monarch was in perfect harmony with the provincial kings, as the latter were with each other. Such was the state of Ireland, when St. Patrick landed on the eastern coast of Leinster, in a canton called "Crioich-Cuallan," and which Probus calls, "Regio Evolenorum;" Jocelin and others, "Inbher-Dæ, that is the port of the river Dæ, which falls into the sea, and is now called Kilmantan by the Irish, and Wicklow by the English. It was in 432, and the fourth year of the reign of Laogare, monarch of the island, that this apostle began his evangelical functions in the same province that St. Palladius had failed in the preceding year. He soon had the consolation of reaping the fruits of that ardent zeal with which he was inspired for the conversion and salvation of those islanders, since the time of his captivity; and the joy of seeing, that God, supporting his ardour and conducting his steps, co-operated in his labours by imparting his grace, and confirmed his doctrine by the signs and miracles which followed his discourses. The first he baptized was Sinell, grandson of Finchad, of the royal race of the kings of Leinster,* descended in the eight degree from Cormac-Cucorb, king of that province.† This new convert advanced so much in sanctity, that he was afterwards placed in the catalogue of Irish saints.

Saint Patrick was vainly opposed by Nathi, son of Garchon, a prince of this country, who had expelled St. Palladius, the preceding year. The apostle having advanced towards a castle called Raith-Inbheir, which Usher thinks was the same as Old-Court, on the sea shore, near the mouth of the river Bray, was attacked by the pagans of that district, and obliged to return to sea. He set sail, after leaving some of those preachers who accompanied him, to comfort and strengthen the new Christians, and reached an island on the coast of the territory of Dublin, towards the north, called, after him,

* Usser Primord. Eccles. Brit. p. 840, et seq.

† Vie de St. Patr. au 17 Mars.

‡ Primord. Eccles. Brit. c. 15, p. 606.

* Usser. Primord. c. 17. p. 846.

† Trias Thum. secund Vit. not. 35.

Inis-Phadruig, or the island of Patrick, where he and his crew rested from their fatigues. He left Inis-Phadruig, to repair to a district in the north of Ireland, called Ullagh, or Ulidia, and after a few days arrived in the bay of Ibher-Slaing, at present the bay of Dundrum, in the county of Down. Dichu, son of Trichem, of the noble tribe of the Dalfiatachs, lord of the territory of Decale, now a barony, having been informed that pirates had entered his territory, issued forth with his armed vassals, to drive them back; but being struck with respect, on meeting St. Patrick, who announced to him the word of God, he believed, and was baptized, with all his family: this was the first conversion, under God, that was made in Ulster, through the preaching of this apostle. In gratitude for so great a benefit, the new convert consecrated to God the spot on which he had been converted: a church was built on it, two miles from the city of Down,* which was called Sigibol, or Sabhall-Phadruig, signifying, the granary of Patrick, having been built on the same place that the lord of the district had a granary to preserve his corn. This church, built at the solicitation of Dichu, from north to south, according to the plan of the granary, was afterwards changed into a monastery of regular canons.

Our saint, by particular feelings of gratitude and compassion, added to his charity towards all men in general, undertook, amongst other conversions, that of his old master, Milcho, to whom he had been sold, and who had kept him, as his slave, in care of his flocks during the six years he had belonged to him.† With this intention he left Sabhall in the beginning of the year 433, and proceeded to Clanebois, in the territory of Dalaradie, where Milcho lived.‡ However, in this instance it pleased God to check the course of that grace which accompanied his words, and leave that man in his obduracy,§ who, ashamed of allowing himself to be persuaded in his old age to abandon the religion of his ancestors, by a man who had been his slave, threw himself into a fire, which had by some unknown accident broken out in his castle, and was unfortunately burned to death, with his whole family, except Guasact, his son, and his two daughters, both called Emeria,|| whom God, in his mercy, had chosen and reserved for baptism,

which they afterwards received. Guasact became afterwards bishop of Granard, in the territory of Teafna, now the county of Longford;* and his two sisters took the veil in a monastery which St. Patrick had founded at Cluain-Broin, a few miles from that city.† St. Patrick was so much afflicted by this act of Milcho, that he remained several hours without speaking, and shed a flood of tears; he afterwards returned to Dichu, in the territory of Lecale, anciently called Magh-Inis, where he preached, and converted almost all the inhabitants of that district to the faith of Jesus Christ. We may infer from those facts, what a progress the divine word made in this country through his ministry. The harvest increasing every day, he was obliged to multiply his labourers; and in many places, ordained both bishops and priests.

After providing for the necessities of that portion of the rising church, Patrick took his leave of Dichu, and embarked on board his vessel, to return to Meath.‡ He landed in Colbdi, below Drogheda, where the Boyne falls into the sea, and left his little ship in care of Luman, his nephew, and a few sailors,§ with orders to wait for him, for forty days, during which he would preach the gospel in the interior of the country.|| His intention was to go and celebrate the festival of Easter in the plains of Magh-Breagh, where the city of Tara, the usual residence of the kings, was situated. He wished to be within reach of the court, at the time of the assembly, which was to be held, that year, by the monarch, composed of the princes, druids, and pagan priests; well knowing, that whatever impression he might produce at court, would necessarily influence the provinces: with this view he armed himself with zeal, to take advantage of so favourable an opportunity.

Our saint having met on his way with Seagnen, the lord of a territory in Meath, who invited him to partake of his hospitality, he entered his house announcing the word of God, and baptized him with all his family. This lord had a son, to whom the holy bishop gave the name of Binen, or Benignus, at his baptism. This young convert became attached to the saint, accompanied him everywhere, and made so great a progress in piety and virtue, that he considered him worthy of being appointed to the see of Ardmach, which he surrendered to him.

* Usser. Primord. c. 17, p. 846.

† Idem, page 847.

‡ Jocelin. Vit. S. Patr. c. 14. 36,

§ Trias Thaum. 2. Vit. S. Patr. p. 14. 23.

|| Vit. tripart. S. Patr. lib. 1. c. 20. et lib. 2. c. 20.

* Ibid. lib. 2. cap. 137.

† Trias Thaum. 2. Tit. lib. 1. c. 29.

‡ Usser. Prim. cap. 17. p. 847. et seq.

§ Vit. Tripart. lib. 2. c. 1. et seq.

|| Jocelin. Vit. S. Patr. cap. 39. et seq.

After leaving the house of Seaguen, the apostle proceeded towards Tara, and arrived the day before Easter, at a place called Firta-Fir-Feic, now Slaine, on the left bank of the river Boyne, where he had a tent erected, to prepare for the ceremonies of the following day.

When the monarch convened an assembly or held any festival at Tara, it was customary to make a bonfire on the preceding day; it was prohibited to have one, in any other place, at the same time, in the territory of Breagh. Patrick, who was perhaps ignorant of, or despised so superstitious a practice, caused a large fire to be lighted before his tent, which was easily seen from Tara. The druids, alarmed at this attempt, carried their complaints before the monarch, and said to him, that, if he had not that fire immediately extinguished, he, who had kindled it, and his successors, would hold the sovereignty of Ireland for ever; which prophecy has been fulfilled in a spiritual light.

The monarch sent an order to the stranger to appear before the assembly, the day following,* in order to account for his conduct, and he forbid that any should rise through respect for him. Erc, son of Dego, was the first who disobeyed the orders of the monarch;† at the approach of the saint, that lord rose up, offered him his place, and having listened attentively to the word of God, embraced Christianity, and was afterwards nominated bishop of Slaine, by that apostle. Patrick, always eager to do every thing that could tend to the salvation of mankind, presented himself the day following with two of his disciples before the assembly, where he preached the faith of Jesus Christ, in presence of the monarch and all his nobles, with a freedom which was truly apostolical. Dubtach, archpoet of Laogare, submitted to his preaching, and the talents which he had employed before his conversion, in celebrating the praises of the false gods, were afterwards turned to glorify God and his saints.‡ Fiech, his disciple, followed his example, and afterwards became bishop of Sletty.

We may here mention the conversion of Fingar, son of Clito,§ whose life, written by St. Anslem, archbishop of Canterbury, was preserved through the care of John Pi-

card,* a regular canon of Saint Victor's in Paris, and published in that city in 1624, by Thomas Messingham.† Lastly, the queen and several nobles of that assembly embraced the doctrine of Jesus Christ, and though the monarch opposed it for some time he received baptism in the end.‡

The preaching of this apostle was here supported by many miracles, mentioned by the authors of his life.§ There never was, in reality, a circumstance in which signs were more necessary, than in an assembly composed of the chiefs and learned men of the whole nation.

St. Patrick having completed his mission at the court of Tara, repaired to Tailton, where the military games mentioned in the first chapter of the first part of this history, were celebrated every year. He did not keep the talent which his master entrusted him with unemployed: he always sought large assemblies, in order to turn it to advantage.

The season of those military exercises, which was the fifteen last days of July, and the first fifteen days of August, being near, he repaired to Tailton,|| where he preached the doctrine of Jesus Christ to Cairbre and Conall, brothers of Laogare, the monarch, with different success; the former continued obdurate and unchanged; the latter having attended to his instructions, was baptized, and in gratitude he conferred land on the saint, upon which he built a church. He spent the rest of that year in the territories of Meath and Leinster, where a great number were converted, amongst others the two princesses Ethne and Fedeline, daughters of Laogare, with the druids Mael and Cap-

* Florileg. in Pass. S. Guigneri, page 208.

† This young prince having been disinherited and banished by his father, through his hatred for the Christian religion, which he had received from St. Patrick, and obliged to leave his native country, united himself with several young men of rank, who went for his sake into voluntary exile; having set sail, they landed after some time in Brittany, where they remained till the death of Clito. Having no longer any thing to fear, this prince returned to Ireland, where he beheld with joy, that Christianity was established everywhere. The desire of becoming perfect having induced him to renounce his claims, he left his country, accompanied by Piala, his sister, and seven hundred men, seven of whom were bishops, all converted by St. Patrick. However, after landing in Hull, in Cornwall, they were massacred by order of Theodoric, king of that country, for fear they should preach the gospel to his subjects."—*Usser. Primord.* c. 17, page 851, 869.

‡ 2 Vit. S. Patr. ultimo.

§ Trias. Thaum. Passim.

|| *Usser. Primord.* cap. 17, page 852 et seq.

* *Usser. primord.* c. 17, page 849 et seq.

† *Jocelin.* Vit. S. Patr. c. 41.

‡ "The hymns which he composed while young, in praise of his false gods, he now changed to a better purpose, viz., to the praises of God and his saints."—*Jocelin.*

§ *Usser. Prim.* c. 17, page 861, 869.

laid, to whom their education had been entrusted.*

St. Luman, whom St. Patrick had left at Colbdi, weary of his master's absence, proceeded up the river Boyne as far as Ath-Truim, which signifies the ford of Trim, where Feidhlim, son of the monarch Laogare, had a castle.† This prince sent for him, and asked why he came into that district: the saint answered, that he had come with Patrick to convert the Irish; then availing himself of this opportunity, he announced to him the faith of Jesus Christ, and baptized him, with the princess, his wife, daughter of a British king, Fortchern, his son, and all his family. This pious prince, in gratitude for so important a benefit, dedicated to the church all the lands he possessed on that side of the river, together with his son Fortchern, and passed with his household to the opposite side, where he fixed his residence. In concert with St. Patrick, the saint had a church built there, of which he was the first bishop, and was succeeded by Fortchern.

St. Patrick, calling to mind the vision he had in Britain, on his return from his captivity in Ireland,‡ considered himself more particularly called upon to convert the inhabitants of Tir-Amalgaid; moved by this impulse, he proceeded to Connaught in the beginning of the year 434. On his way from Tara, he visited the southern Hy-Nialls, that is, the principalities belonging to the four princes, children of the monarch Niall, surnamed Noygiallach, brothers of Laogare, who was at that time monarch, and their descendants; they were called southern Hy-Nialls, from their settlement in the south of Meath, as the other brothers were called the northern Hy-Nialls, whereas they inhabited the north of Meath, with the principalities of Tyrone, Tirconnel, and other territories in Ulster.

The princes of the southern Hy-Nialls were, Laogare, Conall-Crimthine, Fiacha and Maine.§ The holy apostle first addressed himself to Fiacha, prince of a part of Westmeath, near Mount Usnach, called after him Kinel-Fiacha,¶ signifying the race of Fiacha.** But

the prejudice of education, and the attachment of this prince to the superstition of his ancestors, made him deaf to the word of God.*

Saint Patrick was more successful with Eana: this prince who was in possession of so extensive a territory, called after him Kinel-Eana, or Kinel-Enda, extending from Kinallach to the river Shannon, was more docile than his brother. After witnessing some miracles which the saint performed in his presence, he listened to the word of God, and received baptism with his whole family; and in acknowledgment for so great a favour, he presented to God and to the church, a ninth of his property, together with his son Cormac, who was yet a child; and who became bishop of Athruim, and afterwards archbishop of Ardmach.

Our saint went from thence to the country of Teafana, called by the Latin authors Teffia; this territory comprised part of Westmeath, and extended into Anah, now the county of Longford; and was divided into northern and southern Teafna. Southern Teafna belonged to Maine; this prince was converted by the preaching of St. Patrick, who founded in his district the episcopal see of Ardagh, which still exists, and the first bishop of it was St. Mel, the disciple and nephew of that apostle, by his sister Darerca.† He afterwards proceeded to northern Teafna, sometimes called Cairbre-Guara, belonging to the children of Carbre, one of the four brothers of the northern Hy-Nialls, who had been always opposed to the gospel. But those young princes, more fortunate than their father, received the saint with respect, and granted him the territory of Granard, where he built a church, the care of which he confided to Guasact, son of Milcho, his old master, and consecrated him bishop for that purpose. He then visited western Brefny, at present the county of Leitrim, where, after destroying the impious worship of the idol Crom-Cruach, in the plain of Moy-Slecht, he founded a church, called in the language of the country Domnach-Mor, to which he appointed St. Mauran, his kinsman, pastor.

called Usneace; there were two brothers called Fiachus and Enda, who ruled in that place, from the former the neighbouring mountain was called Kinel-Fiacha, to this day the posterity of Fiachus retain the nobility of their family but not the power. The descendants of this Fiacha, are the ancient tribes of MacGeoghegans of Kinallach, and the O'Molloys of Fearcall."

* Vit. 4, Sanctæ Brig. note 1, in lib. 2, page 564.

† War. de Præsul Hib.

* Vit. 4, patr. apud Colgan, cap. 55.

† Colg. Act. Sant. Hib. 17, Feb.

‡ Usser. Ind. Chron. ad an. 434.

§ Act. Sanct. Hib. ad. 17, Feb. p. 358.

¶ Jocelin, Vit. S. Patr. cap. 100, note 113, 114, 115.

¶ Vit. Tripart. lib. 2, c. 17, et seq. notes 50, 51, 52.

** "With the intention of building a church, the servant of Christ turns to a very celebrated place

After leaving Brefny, St. Patrick crossed the Shannon to enter Connaught.*

He first applied to Ono, a prince of the race of the Hy-Brunes, by Earca-Dearg, son of Brien, and lord of a considerable territory in Magherye-Connaught, called Hy-Onach. This prince, struck with the sanctity and miracles of Patrick, generously gave him the land of Imleach, since called Oilfinn, or Elphin, where he founded an episcopal see, which is still in being, and nominated Asicus, his disciple, first bishop of it. He afterwards visited Hua-Nolella, otherwise Tir-Oilill, in the county of Sligo, belonging to the descendants of Oilill, whose great-grandson, called Maine, he baptized, and afterwards nominated him bishop. He founded two churches there; the first was Sencheall Dumhaighe, where he left several of his disciples; the second, Tamnache, of which he made Carell, of the race of the kings of Ullagh, bishop. Having completed his mission in those districts, the holy apostle turned his thoughts towards the Hy-Brunes. On arriving in the territory of Moy-Seola, now the barony of Clare, in the county of Galway, he met with some of the sons of Brien, who were all opposed to him except Duach, the youngest, from whom are descended the O'Connors, who was baptized. The saint foretold this prince, that he and his descendants should possess the crown of the province, which was afterwards verified. The saint then founded the church of Domnach-Mor, or Domnach-Phadruig, on the border of lake Sealgo, now Lough Hacket. He continued his route through Partrie and Umaille, in the western part of the province, which belonged to Conall-Oirioson, from whom the noble family of the O'Mailles, or O'Malys, derive their origin, where he founded the church of Achad-Fobhuir, the first bishop of which was St. Senach.

At the approach of Lent, St. Patrick withdrew to a high mountain, near the western coast of that province, formerly called Cruachan-Aichle or Aichuill, now Creagh-Phadruig, in the barony of Morisk, in the county of Mayo, and there spent the Lent in contemplation and prayer.

The authors of his life say, he spent the forty days without taking any food.† Jocelin likewise adds,‡ that he collected all the serpents and venomous reptiles of the country upon this mountain, and cast them into the ocean,§ to which he ascribes the exemp-

tion of this island from all venomous reptiles.* However, Solinus, who had written some centuries before the arrival of St. Patrick in Ireland makes mention of this exemption: and after him Isidore, bishop of Seville, in the seventh century, and Bede, in the eighth, speak of it without assigning any cause. It appears that Jocelin is the first who gave this account; thus, it is probable, that it proceeds from the climate or the nature of the soil, rather than from any supernatural cause.

Our saint having ended his retreat upon the mountain, came down to the plain, towards the end of Lent, where, after preaching and converting a considerable number of people, he celebrated the Easter in the church of Achad-Febhuir, which he had founded before Lent in the territory of Umaille; he afterwards visited the country, as far as Tir-Amalgaid, where he met with the seven sons, or according to others, the twelve sons of Amalgaid, assembled in council with the nobles of the province about the succession to their father's crown.

To Amalgaid, son of Fiachra, belonged the territory called after him Tir-Amalgaid, that is, the country of Amalgaid; the sceptre was at that time held by the tribe of the Hy-Fiachras. His brother Dathy, king of Connaught, having succeeded to the monarchy of the whole island, on the death of Niall the Great, left him the crown of that province. The right of succeeding to the crown after his death was the object of this assembly, where St. Patrick preached the gospel, and converted many. This account is variously related:† some authors say, that the brothers finding it impossible to agree about the succession, had chosen Laogare the monarch, and Eogan his brother, as arbitrators of their dispute; that Enda-Crom, the eldest of the brothers, being unable to accompany them to Tara, had entrusted this commission to his son Conall, a young man of great talent, but being opposed by the intrigues of his uncles, had recourse to the influence of St. Patrick, who was then at Tara, to gain admittance for him to plead the cause of his father. They add, that this prince, being indebted to the apostle for his successes at the court of Tara, induced him to go with him to Connaught, and preach the gospel to the inhabitants of this district. The saint accepted this proposal the more willingly, as he was thereby enabled to execute the design he had formed of visiting that people.

* Vit. Tripart. lib. 2, cap. 35, et seq. A.D. 434.

† Vit. 4, c. 59.

‡ Jocelin, cap. 171.

§ Vit. 5, lib. 2, c. 19, 20.

* Vit. Tripart. lib. 2, c. 63.

† Vit. Trip. cap. 77.

However, this be, the authors of this saint's life affirm, that in one day,* he converted and baptized the seven princes, sons of Amalgaid, besides twelve thousand persons,† and that those conversions had been supported by many miracles, which God wrought in favour of that apostle, to confound the druids and pagan priests, who were opposed to his doctrine. He founded a church for the new Christians, of which he nominated Mancenus bishop, a very pious man, and well versed in the holy scriptures.‡

On leaving Tir-Amalgaid, he proceeded towards the north, along the river Moy, making converts every where as he passed. On the left bank of this river, where it discharges itself into the sea, he built a church called Kil-Aladh, at present Killala, an episcopal see, the first bishop of which was St. Muredach, the disciple of that apostle.§ It is said, there were forty-seven churches in that province founded by him, amongst which was Cassioll-Irra, in the county of Sligo, the first bishop of which was St. Bron.||

This apostolical man, after spending seven years in visiting the several parts of Connaught, and establishing the Christian religion in the most inaccessible places of the province, at length quitted it in 441, to visit Ulster, of which he had yet seen but a very small portion.

On leaving Connaught, St. Patrick proceeded on his way to Sligeach,¶ through Drumeliabh and Rosslogher, as far as Magh-Ean, a large plain, situated in the southern part of Tirconnel, between the bay of Donnagall, and the rivers Earn and Drabhhois, the latter of which has its source in lake Melve, and discharges itself into the bay of Donnagall, near Bundroose: he preached the gospel there for some time, and founded the church called Disert-Phadruig.

Having crossed the river Earne, between Eas-Ruad and the ocean, his preaching was every where attended with success. The country of Tirconnel belonged to Conal-Gulban, son of Niall the Great, brother to Laogare, the monarch who was then reigning, and chief of the illustrious tribe of the O'Donnells. His brother Carbre was lord of a district on the banks of the river Earne. The former had already received baptism

from the hands of St. Patrick, but the latter had persisted in his obduracy; so that the saint in his passage through their country, had met with a very different reception from those two lords. Carbre was strongly opposed to his doctrine; but Conall received him with that respect due to the man who had drawn him from the darkness of idolatry and paganism. During his stay with Conall, he resolved to go to Ailech-Neid, a castle in the peninsula of Inis-Eoguin, or Inis-Owen, and residence of Eoguin, another brother of the monarch, and Conall, chief of the illustrious tribe of the O'Neills. He generally applied to the great, convinced that the people commonly follow the example of the prince: with this intention he proceeded towards Inis-Eoguin, through the extensive plains of Bearn-Mor, Tir-Aodhe, and Magh-Ithe, a small territory on the borders of the river Finn. His time was always well employed; he gave instructions in every place, and at all times, even whilst he was travelling. On his way he founded a church which he called Domnach-Mor, in Magh-Ithe, and then continued his route to Inis-Eoguin.

Prince Eogan being informed of the arrival of the apostle in his territories,* went to meet him, and received him with all possible marks of honor and respect; and having attended with humility to the word of God, was converted, with all his household and vassals; the saint left Inis-Owen, and crossing the river Febhail or Fewal, at present Foyle, between the lake of that name, and the city of Daire-Calgach, now Derry; he preached the gospel in the neighbourhood of the river Fochmuine, at present Faughan, in the territory of Oireachty-Cahan, for nearly two months, and founded some churches there. He again returned to the peninsula of Inis-Owen, to complete a mission so happily begun: he remained in this place for the space of forty days, and founded two churches. The first at the request of Aidh, son of Coelbad, and grandson of prince Eogan, who made him a present of land for that purpose; this church, the first bishop of which was Mac-Carthan, the disciple of St. Patrick, was called Domnach-Mor-Muige-Tochuir. The second, which he called Domnach-Bile, was situated near the river Bredach. He afterwards crossed the strait through which lake Foyle discharges itself into the ocean, and coasted along this lake, through the territories of Dagard, Mag-Dola, and Duncruthen, as far

* Jocelin, Vit. Patr. c. 59.

† Usser. primord. Eccl. Brit. cap. 17, page 854.

‡ Conf. Pat. page 19.

§ War. de Præsul. Hib.

|| Trias. Thaum, pag. 270 et seq.

¶ Vit. Trip. lib. 2. c. 108. et not. in Vit. Tripart. 154.

* Vit. Trip. lib. 2, cap. 118, et seq.

as the small river now called Roewater. Several churches were established in this district, among others, Dun Srutehn, the care of which was confided to St. Beoadh or Beatus, who was the first bishop of it. The apostle passed through the territory of Kien-nacte, where he made several converts, and built many churches. Sedna, one of the lords of that country, having presented himself before him, received baptism, with his wife, his children, and his vassals.* Sedna was son of Trena, and grandson of Tigernach, of the race of Kiann, son of Oilíoll-Olum, king of Munster. He had a son, called Kienan, whom he placed under the discipline of our saint, and was afterwards bishop of Damliag, now Duleek in Meath.

St. Patrick having completed his mission in the districts bordering upon lake Foyle, crossed the river Bann to Cuilrathen, at present Coleraine. He preached the gospel for some time, in the territory of Lea, on the right bank of the river Bann: he then proceeded through the country of Dalrieda, now Route, in the county of Antrim, to the castle of Dun-Sobhairche, in the northern part of that country, and on his way founded several churches and religious houses, to which he appointed bishops and priests; from thence he went to Dalaradie, an extensive territory, comprising the whole county of Down, and the southern part of the county Antrim. This country was, at that time, divided into twelve parts for the twelve sons of Caolbhach, the last monarch of Ireland, of the race of the Clanna-Rorys. Caolbhach was son of Croin-Badhraoi, and grandson of Eachach,† from whom this country, which recently belonged to the Magennisies, descendants of that prince, afterwards took the name of Iobh-Eachach, by corruption, Iveach. The chief of those brothers was Saran, from whom the Mac-Cartains are descended; but this unhappy prince brought on himself the malediction of St. Patrick, by his opposition to the gospel.‡ Conla, being more docile than his brother Saran, presented himself respectfully before the saint, and conferred on him a handsome tract of land, where he built the monastery of Mag-Commuir, in the diocese of Connor, for regular canons. He also founded several other churches in that country: amongst others those of Domnach-Mor, and Rath-Sithe, in the territory of Mag-Damorna, where he settled two of his disciples; those of Tulachen and Gluaire

in the territory of Latharne, where the body of Mac-Lasse is deposited; Gleanne, In-deachta, and Imleach-Cluana, in the territory of Semne, which contains the remains of St. Coeman; and Rath-Easpuic-Innic, in the territory of Hua-Dereachein, barony of Antrim, the first bishop of which was St. Winnoc.

The holy apostle afterwards passed through the country of Hy-Tuirtre, on the borders of Lough Neagh, which was in the possession of two brothers named Carthen: he was repulsed by the elder, but the younger received him with respect, and embraced the Christian religion, with all his people. The saint founded some churches in this territory, where he left a pastor called Connedus, one of his disciples. He next preached in the territories of Hy-fleithe-Tire, and Imchlaire: in the former, which belonged to the descendants of Colla-da-Chrioch, he founded the bishopric of Teag-Talain, which he confided to the care of his disciple, Killen. In the second, situated in Tyrone, he settled the priest St. Columb, as pastor. At some distance from these he founded the episcopal see of Clogher,* of which he himself was first bishop;† he afterwards resigned this church to Mac-Carthen, his disciple, and the companion of his labours.‡

Our saint being intent on founding a metropolitan see, which would be head over the other churches in Ireland, proceeded from Clogher to Druim-Sailech,§ so called from the quantity of willow trees which grew there;|| this place was, and is still called Ardmac, from its elevated situation,¶ or, according to others, from Macha, wife of Nievy,** who was buried there, as mentioned in the third chapter of the first part of this history. Whatever be the derivation of this name,†† Daire, surnamed Dearg, son of Finchad, grandson of Eogain, son of Niellain,‡‡ of the race of Colla-da-Chrioch, lord of this territory, consecrated that spot to God, at the request of St. Patrick,§§ who laid in it the foundation of a city and church in 445. He caused monasteries to be built there, and founded schools, which after-

* Not. 191, in 2 part. Vit. Tripart.

† Not. 206. ad c. 131. 2. part. Vit. Tripart.

‡ Keat. Geneal.

* Jocelin. Vit. S. Patr. cap. 143.

† Usser. Primord. c. 17. p. 856.

‡ Vit. Tripart. lib. 2. cap. 123, not in 2. lib.

§ War. de Præsul. Hib.

|| Jocelin. Vit. S. Patr. c. 165.

¶ Usser. Prim. cap. 17, page 857.

** War. de Præsul. Hib.

†† Vit. Trip. lib. 3, c. 68.

‡‡ Jocelin. Vit. S. Patr. c. 161.

§§ Ogy. part 2. cap. 76.

wards became celebrated.* During this interval, St. Mochte, a Briton by birth, founded a church in the city of Lughu or Ludha, at present Louth, of which he was bishop.

The harvest still continued great, and the labourers had become few, from the great number St. Patrick had placed during fifteen years, in the different churches he had founded in Ulster, Meath, and Connaught. The number of foreign missionaries whom he had brought with him to Ireland, not being sufficient, it was necessary to prepare some among the natives of the country, which was an undertaking difficult to be accomplished. This people had their peculiar language and characters, as has been proved in the second chapter of the first part of this history. Having been always free and independent of the empire of the Romans, they were unacquainted with the Roman language and its characters; there were therefore but two courses to adopt; either to translate the holy books into the language of the country, and celebrate the divine mysteries in it, which would have been contrary to the custom of the church, or to teach the characters of the Roman language to those who were to instruct others; the holy apostle adopted the latter course. We see in his life that he gave the alphabet to those whom he intended for holy orders, which gave rise to the error of Bollandus, who denies that the Irish people had the use of characters before the time of St. Patrick.

To supply the want of ministers to assist him in his mission, our saint, after completing his metropolitan city of Ardmach, went to Great Britain in 447, which he found to be infected with the heresies of the Pelagians, and Arianism. He opposed those errors for some time with success, and brought back a considerable number of his countrymen to the true faith. He met with many learned and pious ecclesiastics in that island, who were desirous of assisting him in his mission to Ireland, thirty of whom he appointed bishops. With this aid he embarked for Ireland; but on his voyage stopped at the Isle of Man, where he preached the gospel, and left Germain, one of his disciples, as bishop.†

The holy apostle returned to Ardmach in the beginning of the year 448, and having visited that church, held a synod with some bishops, amongst whom were Auxil and Isernin,‡ regular canons of St. John of

Lateran, who had accompanied him from Rome.* The charity of Patrick would not allow him to neglect a single province or district in Ireland. He had not yet visited Munster, depending on the zeal of the holy missionaries, Declain, Ailbe, Kieran, and others, who laboured in that vineyard for some years. He had been but in one district, in Leinster, on his arrival in the island, and had made some converts in it; wherefore, having settled the affairs of the church of Ardmach,† he proceeded towards Leinster, through Meath, where he converted the people of Fera-Cuil, and Hisegain, and founded the church of Bile-Tortan, near Ardbrecain,‡ which he confided to the care of Justin, a priest, his disciple, and great grandson of Breasal, lord of the country. Having crossed the river of Finglass, he arrived at Bally-Ath-Cliath, "oppidum super crates,"§ a city so called from the hurdles which were used, either to secure the foundations of the houses, or to strengthen the roads on the marshy banks of the river Liffey, which waters it; this city has been since called Dubh-Lin, at present Dublin, from the black and muddy bottom of that river.

The high reputation of sanctity which St. Patrick had acquired, added to the number of miracles he wrought everywhere, having made him known and respected, even by the pagans, the inhabitants of Dublin went out in crowds to meet him. These appearances were a happy omen of the faith they were about to receive from this saint. He baptized them all, with Alphin, son of Eochaid, who was at that time their king:‖ the ceremony was performed in a fountain near the city, called, since that time, the fountain of St. Patrick, and became an object of devotion to the faithful for many centuries, till it was filled up and enclosed within a private dwelling in the beginning of the seventeenth century. The saint had a church built near this fountain, which afterwards became a cathedral, bearing his name.)

The authors of the life of St. Patrick mention some miracles wrought by God, to confirm his mission, which had hastened the conversion of that city. It was, no doubt, the admiration which those miracles had inspired, that influenced the prince and his people to bind themselves and their heirs, to

* The Canons of this synod are among the works ascribed to St. Patrick, published by Sir James Ware.

† Jocelin. Vit. S. Patr. c. 68. 70, 71.

‡ Not. 23, 24, 25, ad lib. 3. vit. Trip.

§ Camb. Brit. edit. Lond. p. 750.

‖ Usser. Primord. cap. 17. p. 862, 863.

* Usser. Prim. c. 17, p. 854.

† Usser. Primord. Eccles. Brit. cap. 15. page 642, 643.

‡ Usser. Primord. cap. 17, page 841.

pay to that apostle, and his successors for ever, in the see of Ardmach, three ounces of gold yearly.

Our saint spent the whole of that year preaching the faith in Leinster, where he founded a great number of churches.* He began his mission in that province by the conversion of two princes,† sons of Dunlainge, who held the principality of the northern part of the province,‡ on the banks of the river Liffey, the capital of which was Naas. He founded two churches in that part of the country; the first, which he entrusted to the care of the bishop Auxil, was called Kil-Ausaille, in Latin, "Cella Auxilii," by corruption, Kill-Ussi, in the plains of the river Liffey, near Kildare. The second was called Kill-Cuillinn, the first bishop of which was Issernin, and after him, Mactal.

St. Patrick afterwards visited the districts of Leix, Ossory, and Hy-Kinseallagh,§ as far as the southern extremity of the province, working miracles, and making converts every where. Amongst others, he baptized Criomthan, son of Eana-Kinseallagh, of the race of Cahire-More, who was, at that time, king of Leinster. This prince was very pious, and a liberal benefactor to the church. He built seventy churches in Hy-Kinseallagh, and in the eastern part of the province, which he liberally endowed. He granted the tract of land called Slehte, now Sletty, on the banks of the river Barrow, to Fiech, at the request of St. Patrick.|| Fiech had a church built there, of which he was first bishop, with the title of Arch-bishop of Leinster.¶ Criomthan was unfortunately killed by Aongus or Euchodius, brother of St. Fiech, in revenge, for having been banished with his brothers, by the king, from that province.**

Having established Christianity in Leinster on a solid basis,†† St. Patrick proceeded to Munster, where there were already some Christians, and a few churches founded by his precursors. He went directly towards Cashel, in the territory of Eoganach, the place where king Aongus, son of Nadfraoch, at that time resided. This prince being informed of the sanctity and virtues of the holy apostle, came forth to meet him in the plain of Femyn, which is a territory that

surrounds Cashel, since called Gowlin-Vale, from a village of that name on the river Suire, and by corruption Golden-Vale; he received him with every mark of distinction and respect, and brought him to his city of Cashel, where he heard the word of God, and was converted, together with his whole court.*

A singular fact is related of the Christian fortitude and patience of Aongus, during the ceremony of his baptism. The holy bishop having leaned on his pastoral staff,† which was pointed with iron, it pierced the king's foot, who suffered the pain without complaining, till the ceremony was ended.‡ The apostle hearing of the accident, asked him why he had not complained; the king answered respectfully, that he thought it formed part of the ceremony. This prince was pious and firmly attached to the religion he had embraced: out of a great number of children of both sexes, he devoted one half to the service of God, and always supported in his palace two bishops, ten priests, and seventy-two religious persons, who served as his council in religious affairs.

The four precursors of Saint Patrick, namely, Ailbe, Declan, Kieran, and Ibar, having come to Cashel, to see the saint, and to congratulate their king upon his conversion, assisted at the synod, which that apostle had convoked. Some difference arose about the primacy, which those saints, who, like him, had received their mission from the holy see, would not acknowledge in St. Patrick. However their charity stifled every sentiment opposed to the cause of Jesus Christ. Those saints were confirmed, at that synod, in the possession of the churches they had founded; that of Imleach-Jobhuir, otherwise Emly, in Tipperary, founded by St. Ailbe, was made the metropolitan of the whole province: it was united to Cashel in the sixth century.§ That of Ardmore, in the territory of Desie, in the county of Waterford, was adjudged to St. Declan, by whom those people were converted; this church was afterwards annexed to Lismore. St. Kieran was confirmed in the see of Saigre, or Seir-Kieran in the territory of Ely, which see was afterwards transferred to Aghavoe, and from thence to Kilkenny. Lastly, Ibar was appointed bishop of Beg-Erin, that is, Little Ireland, an island on the coast of Wexford.

Having settled with the other bishops the affairs of the church of Cashel, St. Patrick

* Vit. Tripart. lib. 3. c. 18.

† Not. 39, 40, in 2. Vit.

‡ Usser. Prim. cap. 17, p. 826, 827.

§ Vit. Tripart. lib. 3, cap. 19, et seq.

|| Usser. Primord. cap. 17. p. 863, 864.

¶ Vit. Tripart. lib. cap. 24.

** Not. 47, in eundem lib.

†† Usser. Prim. c. 17. p. 863.

* Vit. Tripart. lib. 3. cap. 29.

† Idem. cap. 30.

‡ Usser. Primord. cap. 17, page 863.

§ Ibid, page 866.

took leave of Aongus, and continued his mission through Muscraighe-Breogain, Araclich, and Lumneach, as far as the river Shannon.*

The inhabitants of Thuomond showed as much zeal as those of the other districts, in hearing the word of God. Having learned that the holy apostle was in their neighbourhood, they crossed the river to hear him preach, and were baptized, with Carthan Fionn, son of Bloid, their prince. This apostle continued to preach on the left bank of the river, and visited the country of Ciarruidh-Luachra, now Kerry, and all the southern part of the province; and having drawn many to the faith of Jesus Christ, and founded several churches, where he established pastors, he returned through Desie to Cashel, having spent seven years in the conversion of that province.

The time of our saint's departure from Munster being near, the princes and great men of the province assembled, placed themselves under his protection,† and in gratitude for the services he had rendered the province, they undertook to pay an annual tax to him and his successors in the see of Ard-mach; which tax, called in the Irish language, Cain-Phadruic, was regularly paid for some centuries. The high veneration in which he was held in that province, made them carefully preserve a stone which he had used in celebrating the holy mysteries, or some other religious ceremonies: it was called Leach-Phadruic, and the succeeding kings of Cashel considered it an honour to sit on it during their coronation.‡

In the year 455 St. Patrick left Munster, to return to the north of the island. In passing through Leinster, he preached the gospel in the district of Hy-Failge, which belonged to the descendants of Rossa-Failge, and Daire-Barrach, brothers and sons of the monarch Cahire-More. The former, from whom are descended the O'Connors-Failge, listened to him with respect, and were baptized, but he was repulsed by the latter. He then continued his way towards Ulster, opposing every where the darkness of idolatry with the light of the gospel.

Our saint spent six years in visiting the churches of Ulster, consoling and confirming the new Christians, and converting those who had persevered in idolatry; and the better to watch over the churches in general, he resigned the see of Ard-mach to St. Binen or Benignus, his disciple and successor.

The holy apostle having established the church of Ireland on a solid basis, and having ordained pastors for the several churches, set out for Rome, to give an account of his labours to the holy and learned pope Leo, surnamed the Great, to consult him on various matters, and to prove the doctrine he had taught to his people, by that of the first pastors of the church, in the centre of its unity, where the common oracle of the Christians resided. He obtained this pope's approval for his having made the church of Ard-mach the metropolitan;* which was afterwards supported by the honour of the pallium, and the title of apostolical legate in Ireland, to him and his successors.

We cannot but admire the omnipotence of God, and power of his grace, in the rapid conversion of this idolatrous nation. So sudden a change can only be attributed to him who has the power of softening the most callous hearts; for it can be said with truth, that no other nation in the Christian world received with so much joy the knowledge of the kingdom of God, and the faith in Jesus Christ. Nothing can be found to equal the zeal with which the new converts lent their aid to St. Patrick, in breaking down their idols, demolishing their temples, and building churches. We may likewise add, that no other nation has preserved its faith with more fortitude and courage, during a persecution of two centuries.

CHAPTER X.

WHILST St. Patrick devoted his time and care to establish in Ireland the kingdom of Jesus Christ, peace was preserved in its temporal kingdom under the government of Laogare. Religion and the principles of Christianity, by correcting and softening the ferocious manners of the inhabitants, contributed largely to the happiness of the prince and the people. The subject learned, that as all power emanated from God, his first and most important obligation was, loyalty to his lawful prince; and the prince learned that he ought to govern his people, not as a tyrant, but like a true father. In order to preserve this harmony in the government, the monarch convened a general assembly of the states at Tara,† where Saint Patrick, together with other bishops, took their seats in place of the druids;‡ the customs and

* Vit. Tripart. lib. 3, cap. 43, 44.

† Vit. Tripart. lib. 3, c. 29, et 53.

‡ Vit. Tripart. lib. 3, page 29.

* Jocelin, in Vit. S. Patr. c. 166.

† Keat. on the reign of Laogare.

‡ Walsh, Prospect of Ireland, p. 46.

laws of the country were reformed; every thing bordering on pagan superstition was abolished, or regulated according to the spirit of the gospel. The antiquarians submitted to the inspection of the holy apostle, the register of Tara, and other monuments respecting the history of the nation, and the genealogies of the principal families; which he declined, alleging as a reason, the slight knowledge he had of the antiquities of the nation, and requested them to follow the ancient custom in those kinds of inquiries. Accordingly, a committee of nine persons was appointed, three of whom were kings, three bishops, and three antiquarians. Those three kings were the monarch, and the kings of Ulster and Munster; the bishops were St. Patrick, St. Binen, that apostle's successor in the see of Ardmach, and Cairnach; and the antiquarians were Dubththach, Feargus, and Rosa. Having completed the inquiry, and cleared the monuments of every error, the deputies made their report to the assembly, and the monarch ordered that those monuments which had been till then preserved in the archives of Tara, should be confided to the care of the bishops, who made several copies of them, to be deposited in the different churches in the kingdom, both for the convenience of individuals who might wish to consult them, and prevent the accidents that might occur either by fire or war. In this examination of the manuscripts of the Milesians, the holy apostle caused a great number of volumes to be burned, which treated of the superstitions of the pagan religion, which the Irish had till then professed.

The only war in which Laogare was engaged during his reign, was against the people of Leinster, about the Boroinhe or tribute which Tuathal Teachtmair, one of his predecessors, had imposed on them in the second century. They had often made ineffectual struggles to rid themselves of this burden, which furnished Criomthan, son of Eana-Kinseallagh, who was king of Leinster at that time, with a pretext to declare war against the monarch. Wars were but of short continuance in ancient times; one battle often sufficing to terminate the dispute. Both parties having come to an engagement at Ath-Dara, in the county of Kildare, Criomthan was victorious, and Laogare taken prisoner: he recovered his liberty only on condition of relinquishing his claim on that province, a promise which he afterwards considered as void, having been extorted by violence. He was killed some time afterwards by a thunderbolt at Greal-

lach-Dabhuill, near the Liffey, in the county of Kildare. A. D. 463.*

It is morally impossible to discover the number of episcopal sees, in the church of Ireland before the twelfth century. If the number equalled that of the bishops whom St. Patrick had consecrated, we should reckon 350 according to Jocelin, and according to Nennius 365; but it is very unlikely that the saint had consecrated that number of bishops for so many different sees.† Were it not that several succeeded each other in the same sees, we should admit that almost every village had its bishop. However great we may suppose the number to have been, it was considerably lessened before the twelfth century, several sees having been united together.

We have already seen, in the life of St. Patrick, that besides the churches founded by his four precursors, and erected into bishoprics at the synod of Cashel, the apostle, and after him his disciples, had founded a great number of churches and monasteries.

I here give an account only of the cathedral churches which still exist, though at present belonging to a different religion, and the religious houses suppressed in the latter ages by the supposed reformers; I shall place them under the different reigns, as far as I am acquainted with the time of their foundation.

The cathedral churches founded in the fifth century, that still exist, and the time of the foundation of which corresponds with the reign of Laogare, Oilíoll-Molt, and Lughá VII, are Ardmach, which, though not the most ancient, I mention first on account of its pre-eminence, Ossory, Emly, Ardach, Elphin, Killala, Clogher, Kildare, Down, and Connor.

Ardmach is the head of the churches in Ireland, and is styled the metropolitan.‡ St. Patrick having filled this see for the space of ten years, resigned it to Saint Binen, (Benignus) his disciple, son of Sesgnen, a rich and powerful man in Meath, who was converted with his family, by St. Patrick, whom he hospitably received when this saint was going to the court of Laogare. The latter resigned it in favour of Iarlath, and died three years afterwards at Ardmach. A. D.

* Vit. S. Patr. cap. 185.

† War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 16.

‡ "He built a cathedral church in the same city, that it should be the metropolitan and mistress of all Ireland."—*Jocelin*.

He fortified the metropolitan church of Armagh, for the salvation of souls, and to protect the city and kingdom.

465, or, according to others, at Ferlingmor, in England,* from whence, it is said, his relics were removed in 1091, to the abbey of Glastonbury, in the county of Somerset; but the annals of Innis-Faill fix his death at Rome, in the year 467.

Iarlath or Hierlath, disciple of St. Patrick,† successor to St. Binen, and third bishop of Ardmach, was son of Trena or Trien, prince of Mudhorn, now the barony of Mourne, in the county of Down, of the race of the Dalffatachs.‡ Although Trena lived sufficiently long to have heard the word of God from St. Patrick, still he died an obdurate pagan; his example was not followed by his two sons, Iarlath and Sedna, who conceived a particular regard for the holy apostle, and became zealous imitators of his virtues. Iarlath, although younger than most of the disciples of this apostle, was considered worthy, by his wisdom and piety, to be nominated to the principal see in the island, after Saint Binen. He died after an episcopacy of eighteen years, the eleventh of February, 482, though his decease is fixed a year sooner in the annals of Ulster, that is, in the year 481. "Quies Iarlathi, filii Trenæ, Episcopi Ardmachani:" "The decease of Iarlath, son of Trena, bishop of Ardmach;" and according to another copy: "The decease of Iarlath, son of Trena, third bishop of Ardmach:" Tertia Episcopi Ardmachani."

Iarlath of Ardmach is not the same as Iarlath,§ founder and first bishop of Tuaim-da-Gualand, now Tuam, in Connaught.|| The sees of Dublin and Cashel were not founded till some centuries after, and were made metropolitan churches, with Tuam, in the twelfth century.¶

After the death of Iarlath, of Ardmach, St. Patrick appointed Cormac, bishop of Trim, to succeed him; so that this holy apostle lived to nominate three bishops, one after the other, to the see of Ardmach. Cormac, nephew of Laogare the monarch, by his brother Eana, to whom belonged, in the time of St. Patrick, the territory extending from Kinaliagh in West-Meath, as far as the river Shannon, and who gave his son and the ninth part of his property to the holy apostle, was instructed by St. Patrick and his disciples for some years; and made a considerable progress in virtue, the know-

ledge of the holy Scriptures, and theology. He was appointed by St. Patrick bishop of Athruim, in east Meath, from whence he was removed by the same saint, to the see of Ardmach, vacant by the death of Iarlath. He died the seventeenth of February, having been at the head of that church for fifteen years, and was interred at Trim, where his memory is held in high veneration, as well as at Ardmach. Dubtach or Duach, succeeded Cormac; he is called in the life of St. Tigernach, the venerable Duach, and celebrated archbishop of the see of St. Patrick. He died in 513, after an episcopacy of sixteen years.

Ailild or Ailil, son of Trichen, of the royal race of the Dalffatachs,* princes of Eastern Ulster, was archbishop of Ardmach during thirteen years; he died the 13th of January, 527. He was succeeded by another of the same name and family,† who governed that church till his death, which happened the 1st of July, 536, and was succeeded by Dubtach or Duach the second, of the race of Colla-Huais, who died in 548.

The episcopal see of Ossory, founded in the beginning of the fifth century at Sayghir,‡ in the country of Ely, as has been already mentioned, by St. Kieran,§ one of the four precursors of St. Patrick in the mission of Ireland, is incontestably the most ancient in Ireland. St. Cartach the elder, (so called to distinguish him from Cartach, first bishop of Lismore,) son or grandson of Aongus, king of Munster, who had been converted by St. Patrick, succeeded St. Kieran, in the see of Sayghir, having been his disciple,|| and submitted to a penance of seven years, in a foreign country, which that saint had imposed on him, in expiation of a crime he had committed, by endeavouring to seduce a nun. On his return to his country, he gave such strong proofs of virtue, and the sincerity of his conversion, that he became the well-beloved of his master, St. Kieran, and was considered worthy of succeeding him. He died the 6th of March, in the year 540.

St. Sedna or Sedonius, succeeded St. Cartach. He is expressly called bishop of Sayghir, in his life, mentioned in Colgan, on the 10th of March.¶

Among the number of those prelates are

* War. de Præsul. Armach.

† Ibidem.

‡ Colgan, Act. SS. Hib. ad 11 Febr.

§ Ogyg. part 3, cap. 46.

|| War. de Præsul. Hib.

¶ Colg. Act. SS. Hib. ad 11. Feb.

* Usser. Primord. p. 874.

† Usser. Ind. Chron. ad an. 526.

‡ War. de Præsul. Ossoriens.

§ Act. Sanct. Hib. ad 5 Mart. in vit. Kieran p. 438 et seq.

|| Act. Sanct. Hib. ad 6 Mart. Vit. S. Cartach p. 473 et seq.

¶ Act. Sanct. Hib. de S. Sedna, page 572.

also reckoned St. Killen-Mac-Lubney,* who had assisted at the synod, held in 695, by Flan-Febla, archbishop of Ardmach, the acts of which Colgan mentions to have seen; Cormac I., who died in 867, and Cormac II., in 997.

The bishopric of Emly is one of the most ancient in the kingdom. This see, situated in a delightful and fertile country, was founded by St. Ailbe, one of the four precursors of St. Patrick, mentioned by Usher.† This saint was looked upon as another St. Patrick, and a second patron of Munster.

Various opinions prevail on the time that St. Ailbe had preached the gospel in Ireland. Ware, on the authority of Tirechan, and the author of that saint's life, seems to favour the opinion of those who assert that St. Ailbe came after St. Patrick, or at least had received the order of priesthood from him: but Usher reckons St. Ailbe among the precursors of that apostle. The judicious Harris says, that he does not mean to compare the authority of Tirechan, with a number of ancient writers, who affirm that St. Ailbe had preached the gospel, and made several converts in Ireland, before the arrival of St. Patrick. That great saint died at an advanced age, according to Usher and the annals of Ulster and Innisfail, the 12th September, in the year 527. The successors of St. Ailbe in the bishopric of Emly, and before the time of the English, are mentioned by Ware in the account of the prelates of that see. Emly was finally united to the see of Cashel in the sixteenth century.

The cathedral of Ardagh, in the county of Longford, founded by St. Patrick, is also one of the most ancient churches in the island; the first bishop of which was Saint Mel, a native of Britain, and son of his sister Darerca. Some say that it was St. Mel himself who founded it. However this be, he was both bishop and abbot of that church, it having been customary in this country, in the first ages of Christianity, for the same person to be invested with the dignities of bishop and abbot: as bishop he governed the diocese, ordained priests, placed curates, and exercised his other episcopal functions, and as abbot, was at the head of the monks. St. Mel, says Jocelin, lived by his labour, like St. Paul. He died the 6th of February, 488, five years before his uncle, St. Patrick, and was interred in his church

of Ardagh. It is said that he wrote a book on the virtues and miracles of St. Patrick, who was living at that time.

St. Melucho, brother of St. Mel, succeeded him in the see of Ardagh; the other bishops were but little known before the time of the English.

Elphin or Elfin, formerly called Imleach-Ona,* from Ono, grandson of Erca-Dearg, brother of Duach-Galach, chief of the Hy-Brunes, a fertile territory in Connaught, was given to St. Patrick, by Ono, to whom it belonged.† The saint founded a church there, near a little river formed by two fountains in the neighbourhood, the care of which he confided to Asicus, a man of an austere and penitent life, who was first bishop of it, and who founded a monastery there. Like St. Eloy, he wrought in gold, silver and copper, and ornamented his church with his workmanship. He died at Rathcunge, in the country of Tirconnel, where he was interred. His festival is held the 27th of April, but the year of his death is unknown.

The bishopric of Kill-Aladh, now Killala, on the left bank of the river Moy, where it falls into the sea, was founded by St. Patrick, before the middle of the fifth century. The first bishop of this see was Saint Muredach, son of Eochaid. His festival is celebrated the twelfth of August; the year of his death is unknown. His successors, before the time of the English, are unknown, except Kellack, great grandson of Oilloll-Molt, the monarch, who filled that see in the sixth century, under the reign of Tuathal-Maolgarb. This prelate was assassinated, for which his assassins were afterwards torn asunder by four horses. O'Mælfogamair is also called bishop of Tir-Amalgaid, and O'Fiachra in the twelfth century. The bishopric of Killala is so called by the historians of the country, from the surrounding territories of Tir-Amalgaid or Tyrawly, and O'Fiachra Mui. Lastly, Imar O'Ruadán is called bishop of O'Fiachra, that is Killala, who died in 1177.

The church of Clogher, in Tir-Eogain, was founded by St. Patrick, before that of Ardmach.‡ The first bishop of this church, after St. Patrick, was St. Macarthen.§ This saint was known by three or four different names;|| his first name, which was given him by his parents, was Aeb or Aib;

* Act. Sanct. Hib. ad 5. Mart. app. ad Vit. S. Kiaran, c. 4, p. 475.

† Prim. Eccles. cap. 16, p. 781, et seq. cap. 17. p. 866.

* Vit. Trip. part 2, cap. 37, 38, 39, 40, 41.

† Ogyg. part 3, cap. 79.

‡ Usser. Prim. c. 17. p. 856.

§ War. de Præsul. Hib.

|| Colgan. Act. Sanct. Hib. page 787 et 740.

his second name was Fer-Dachrioch, signifying the man of the two countries, having been successively abbot of Darinis, an island on the coast of Hy-Kinseallagh, near Wexford, and afterwards bishop of Clogher; Jocelyn calls him Kerten, which is only a patronymic name, designating the son by the father; lastly, he was called Macartin, or Macaerthen, signifying the son of Caerthen. This saint belonged to the noble family of the Arads of Dalaradie, and was one of the oldest disciples of St. Patrick, and his companion in his apostolical labours and voyages into foreign countries; for which reason he was called the staff of the old age of that holy apostle. St. Macarthen founded, by order of St. Patrick, a monastery at Clogher, after which he died, the 6th of October, 506, and was interred in the cemetery of his church.

Tigernach or Tierne, called legate of Ireland in the registry of Clogher, succeeded Macarthen; he made the church of Cluan his cathedral, from whence he was called bishop of Cluanois or Clunes. He is perhaps the same as Tigernach of Clonmacnoisk. He founded an abbey at Clunes, in Monaghan, for regular canons, which he dedicated to the apostles St. Peter and Paul. Usher fixes his death on the fifth of April, 550,* others in 549, and the annals of the four masters in 548.†

Oilioll, surnamed Molt, son of Dathy, of the race of the Hy-Fiachras of Connaught, succeeded Laogare, A. D. 463. This monarch being intent on renewing the tributes, which his predecessors had exacted from the people of Leinster, gave them battle at Tuma-Aichair: the action was bloody, but not decisive. The most disastrous war in which he was engaged, was with Lugha, son of Lao-gare; this prince, who looked upon Oilioll as usurper of the supreme government of the island,‡ made an alliance with some other princes of the country, who furnished him with troops to support him in his right to the monarchy. Those princes were Morthough-Mac-Erca, Feargus-Kerbeoil, son of Conall-Crimthine, Fiachra-Lonn, son of Lao-gare, and king of Dalaradie, and Criomthan, son of Eana-Kinsealleagh, king of Leinster. Lugha, at the head of the confederate army, gave battle to the monarch at Ocha,§ in Meath, wherein the latter lost

his life, in consequence of which the crown devolved to his rival, A.D. 483.*

Saint Patrick, whom we had left at Rome, having returned to Ireland, felt himself exhausted, by the labours and fatigues he had undergone for the sake of Jesus Christ.† He had in the whole spent sixty years in his mission, the first thirty of which were occupied in continual labour; he was obliged, however, during the last thirty years, to lead a more tranquil life, which he spent, sometimes at Ardmach, and sometimes in his first monastery of Sabhall, where, not content with assisting his disciples and other ministers with his prayers and advice, he watched over the whole administration with equal vigilance and solicitude; he preached every day, and held his councils each year.

St. Patrick having gone with St. Olcan into the country of Dalriada to visit the new Christians, he met with Feargus, the youngest of the twelve sons of Erc, son of Eocha Munravar, prince of that territory, who complained of the injustice of his brothers, that wished to deprive him of all share in the succession of their father Erc, who had lately died.‡ The holy prelate,§ moved with compassion for the young prince, and knowing the justice of his claims, used his influence for him, with his brothers, and prevailed on them to restore to him his right. Filled with gratitude for so signal a service, Feargus offered him the half of his inheritance, for the use of the church, which offer the saint had too much delicacy to accept; he asked him only to confer some land on his companion Olcan, whereon to build a church: in consequence of this the prince gave him Airthir-Muighe, one of the principal towns in the district, and its dependencies, where St. Olcan or Bolcan built the church of Dercon, of which he was the first bishop. Prince Feargus afterwards became first king of the Albanian Scots, according to the prophecy of Saint Patrick.

Notwithstanding the labours of his apostleship, our saint relaxed in none of the austerities or spiritual exercises which he practised. He always travelled on foot; slept on the bare ground; recited the Psalter, besides a number of hymns and prayers every day; at length, rich in virtue, and happy to witness the prosperous state in which he had placed the kingdom of Jesus Christ in Ireland, he went to receive in

* Primord. cap. 17, p. 856.

† In. Indice chron. p. 1140.

‡ Trias Thaum. Vit. 4. S. Brig. lib. 2. cap. 12. et seq. cum. notis.

§ Trias Thaum. not. 8. in lib. 2. Vit. S. Brigid.

* Usser. Ind. Chron. p. 1118.

† Baillet, Vie des Saints, au 17. Mars.

‡ Colgan. Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Olcan.

§ Vit. Tripart. lib. 2. c. 135.

heaven the reward of his labours, after having, it is said, built three hundred and sixty-five churches, consecrated almost as many bishops, and ordained nearly three thousand priests. The piety of the faithful contributed largely to those holy works, by resigning a tenth part, not only of their lands, fruits, and flocks, in order to found churches and monasteries, but also a portion of their children, both male and female, to make of them monks and nuns.*

The saint died in 493, aged 120 years, in the reign of the monarch Lughu VII., and the pontificate of Saint Gesalius.† He was interred, not in his monastery of Sabhall, where he died, nor in his church of Ardmach, where he wished to die, but in that of the city of Down, in the diocese of which was Sabhal. His body remained in it for a long time, known and honoured by the people on account of the miracles and graces, granted by God through his intercession.

In the time of Lughu VII., son of Lao-gare, who began his reign after the battle of Ocha, A.D. 483, a dreadful war broke out between the different provinces of the kingdom.‡ Aongus, son of Nadfraoch, having reigned thirty-six years in Munster, was killed, with his queen, Eithne-Vathach, daughter of Criomthan, last king of Leinster, and grand-daughter of Eana-Kinseallagh, at the battle of Kill-Osnach, in the plain of Moy-Fea, near Leighlin in the county of Carlow.

Duach-Galach, son of Brien and grand-son of Eocha-Moy-Veagon, king of Con-naught, was killed at the battle of Seaghsa. Fraoch, son of Fionchad, king of Leinster, lost his life at the battle of Graíne.

The principal belligerents, besides the provincial kings, were, Mortough-Mac-Earca, who became monarch after Lughu; Ollioll, son of Dunluin, prince of Leinster; and Cairbre, son of Niall the Great, with his son Eochad. Those wars were followed by an open rupture between the Hy-Nialls and the people of Leinster, which terminated in the battle of Loch-Moighe, in which a great number of lives were lost.

All the ancient monuments of the Milesians mention the last expedition of the Dal-

riads of Ulster to Albania, to have taken place in the time of Lughu VII. They were headed by the six sons of Erc, namely, the two Laornes, the two Aonguses, and the two Feargues.*

Giraldus Cambrensis affirms, that this expedition was commanded by the six sons of Muredus, king of Ulster, under the reign of Niall the Great; however, it is impossible that those princes could have been capable of leading a colony to Albania in the reign of their great-grandfather, their father being son of Eogan, and grandson of that great monarch. This anachronism arises from the inaccuracy of the author, who has confounded both time and persons.

The Scots of Albania, as has been observed in the first part of this history, whose first founder, in the third century, was Cairbre, otherwise Eocha-Riada, whom Bede calls Reude, were obliged to quit their settlements in Cantyre and Argyle, two territories in Albania, called Dalriada, from Reuda, their first chief, and to return to Ireland in the beginning of the reign of Laogare. "Revertuntur impudentes grassatores Hiberni domum,"† says Bede. Their chief, at that time, was Eocha-Munramar, descended in the seventh degree from Cairbre-Riada, and in the third, from Fergus Ulidian, who led part of the tribe that had remained in Munster, to the north of Ireland, where he formed a settlement called Dalriada, which he erected into a kingdom, with the good will of the monarch. Those two people, namely, the Dalriads of Albania and those of Ulster, considered themselves as kinsmen; and though, separated by an arm of the sea, formed but one tribe, commanded by the same chief.

Eocha-Munramar having died in Ulster, left two sons, Erc and Olcu; from the latter were descended the Dalriads, who remained in that province; and the former, being desirous of retrieving the fortunes of those of the tribe who had left Albania under the command of his father Eocha, led them back to their ancient possessions, about the year 439. Marianus Scotus fixes the permanent establishment of the Dalriads in Albania in the year 445; to which the venerable Bede alludes, when he says of them, as well as of the Picts, that they had rested there for the first time: "Tunc primum et deinceps quieverunt."

After this expedition, Erc, whom Usher calls the father of the kings of Scotland,

* "Making monks therefore of all the males, and holy nuns of all the females, he built a number of monasteries, and assigned for their support, a tenth part of his lands and flocks."—*Henricus Antissidorus*, c. 174.

† Usser. Prim. Eccles. Brit. c. 17. p. 860. et seq.

‡ Trias Thaum. Vit. 4. S. Brigid. lib. 2, cap. 12. et seq. cum motis.

* Usser. Primord. p. 1029.

† Usser. Prim. cap. 15. p. 608. et seq.

returned to Ulster, with the title of chief of the Dalriads; this he retained till his death, which happened in 474. About 29 years afterwards, that is, in 503, six of his children, as we have already observed, led, under the reign of Lugh, a new colony to Albania,* where Feargus the youngest was elevated to the dignity of king, and solemnly crowned some time afterwards.†

Although the Christian religion was universally established in Ireland in the time of Saint Patrick, and both the princes and the people worshipped the true God; it appears that the monarch had apostatized, as we are informed in history; that his death was caused by a thunderbolt at Achacharca, in Meath, and his descendants were excluded from the throne, as St. Patrick had foretold; such were the chastisements for his impiety and opposition to the gospel.

The recollection of a miracle which God had wrought through the intercession of St. Patrick to restore this unhappy prince to life, was not capable of changing his heart. St. Patrick and some other bishops, being at dinner with the queen, mother of Lugh, the young prince became so suddenly ill at table that they believed him to be dead: the queen filled with despair on seeing her son in that state, implored the intercession of the holy apostle with God, for his recovery; the saint ordered the body to be carried into an adjoining hall, where he prayed till the child was restored to life. Transported with joy and gratitude, the queen ordered that a part of what was daily served at her table should be given to the poor. As this miracle was wrought on St. Michael's day, it gave rise to a custom, which has since prevailed, and is still practised amongst old Irish families, of killing a sheep on St. Michael's day, the greater part of which is given to the poor. This offering is called in the language of the country, *Cuid-Mihil*, signifying the share of Michael; others call it *Coiro-Mihil*, or Michael's sheep; so true is it that those ancient customs, which, for want of knowing the cause of them, appear extraordinary, and even ridiculous, have been founded on some motive of piety.

In this reign were founded the bishoprics of Kildare, Down, and Connor.

Kildare, one of the most ancient bishoprics in Leinster, derives its name from Kill, signifying cell or church, and Daire, which signifies oak, as the first foundation was laid there by St. Bridget, near a wood of oak.

St. Conloeth, Conlaidh or Conlain, was founder and first bishop of this see.* Cogitosus, in the life of St. Bridget, makes mention of Conlath, whom he calls archbishop and high priest.† He died the third of May, in the year 519, and was interred in his church of Kildare, near the great altar; his relics were enshrined in the year 800, in a shrine of silver gilt, ornamented with precious stones. St. Aed, surnamed Dubh, that is, the Black, is the first bishop of Kildare, after St. Conlath, of whom we have any knowledge.‡ According to Colgan, he took the monastic habit, after having been king of Leinster, and became abbot; he was afterwards made bishop of that see. He is in accordance with the annals of the Four Masters on this subject. Cogitosus, who lived before the year 590, asserts, that the succession had remained uninterrupted till his time.§ Walsh makes mention of Mælcoba, bishop of Kildare, under the year 610;|| probably confounding him with another of the same name who was bishop of Clogher, having, according to Gratianus Lucius, abdicated the throne of Ireland.¶

The bishoprics of Down and Connor were founded towards the end of the fifth century; the former by St. Cailan, and the latter by St. Angus Macnise.

The first bishop of Down, in Latin Dunum, so called from its being situated on a hill, and formerly called Aras-Cealtair, and sometimes Dun-da-Leghla, capital of Dalradia, was Cailan or Coelan, abbot of Nendrum.** Allemand having confounded, in his Monastic History of Ireland,†† this abbey with that of Neddrum, founded in the twelfth century, asserts that Usher errs against chronology, by saying that Cailan first bishop of Down, in the fifth century, was abbot of a monastery, six hundred years before its foundation: however, Allemand forgets that Usher calls the abbey of St. Cailan, sometimes Noendrum, and Nendrum, names very different from Neddrum.‡‡ The mistake is too obvious to be attributed to so great a man.

* War. de Præsul. Hib.

† Note 7 in Prolog. cap. 29, note 14.

‡ Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Aed. ad 4 Jan.

§ "How, without intermission, the archbishop of the Irish bishops, rules over them by perpetual succession and custom."—Colgan's *Life of St. Bridget*, p. 518.

|| Prosp. page 224.

¶ Cambren. Evers. p. 302.

** War. de Episc. Dunens.

†† Page 156.

‡‡ Usser. Prim. page 954, et 1065.

* Usser. Ind. Chron. page 1117.

† Usser. Ind. Chron. page 1122.

St. Feargus succeeded St. Cailan in this see; he was son of Ængus, of royal blood, being descended from Caolvach, last monarch of the island, of the race of Irc. He had been, it is said, abbot and founder of the monastery of Kill-Bian; he died the 30th March, 583.

The succession of prelates of the bishopric of Down, was interrupted till the twelfth century, and the episcopacy of St. Malachi O'Morgair, whose life has been written by St. Bernard.

Ængus Macnise, as we have already observed, was founder and first bishop of Connor, a city in the county of Antrim. His father was called Fobrec, and contrary to general custom he took his surname from his mother, and was simply called St. Macnise. His death is fixed on the 3rd September, 507, or according to others, 514. His successors are but little known till the arrival of the English, or at least till the episcopacy of St. Malachi O'Morgair, who was appointed to this see in 1124, from whence he was removed to Ardmach, which he resigned some time after in favour of Gelasius, to retire to Down. Those churches had each a chapter, consisting of a dean, archdeacon, chorister, treasurer, chancellor, and of some prebendaries. Those sees were re-united in 1442 by pope Eugene IV., at the request of John, then bishop of Connor; in consequence of which, there were letters patent from king Henry VI., in the year 1438, wherein this union was approved of.

Monks were established almost as early as the Christian religion in Ireland. The monastic state, says Camden, although in its beginning, had attained a high degree of perfection in that country. The monks desired to be in reality what they appeared; their piety was neither affected nor disguised; if they erred in any thing it was more through simplicity, than obstinacy or bad intention.*

It is not easy to decide to what order those monks belonged in the first ages of Christianity. That of St. Benedict, and the regular canons of St. Augustin, as they are at present, were not then known; it is therefore probable that the monks in Ireland had made certain regulations for themselves, or that they had brought the rules of St. Anthony, St. Pacomius, or St. Basil, from the Levant; or perhaps those of the celebrated

hermits of Mount-Carmel or Thebais; which is not without some appearance of truth. St. Ailbe, St. Declan, St. Kieran, and others had really travelled in Italy; and St. Patrick himself after being a regular canon of St. John of Lateran, had visited the islands in the Mediterranean, as far as the Archipelago, where several of those regulations were established, not only at that time, but long before. Those regulations were perhaps afterwards blended with those of St. Augustin, and St. Benedict, which had prevailed throughout the west.

In those early ages, thirteen orders, or particular rules, prevailed in Ireland, namely, those of St. Ailbe, St. Declan, St. Patrick, St. Columb, St. Carthach, St. Molua or Ligidus, St. Mootee, St. Finian, St. Columbanus, St. Kieran, St. Brendan, and the order instituted by St. Bridget for females.

All those orders differed not only in their dress, tonsure, food, and retirement, but likewise in those who had been their founders and also the abbey and monasteries, connected with them; and as the union of all those particular orders with those of St. Augustin and St. Benedict, is very ancient, we cannot exactly determine to what rule in particular each convent formerly belonged.

The order of St. Columbanus, was the only one among the thirteen which submitted to that of St. Benedict; the others professed the order of the regular canons of St. Augustin, which has been the most considerable in Ireland, the Benedictines not having appeared till the seventh century.

In the fifth century there were many holy abbots in Ireland, who founded abbeys.* The most eminent were St. Endee, St. Mootee, St. Senan, St. Rioche, St. Canoc, and the great St. Bridget, who was abbess and the foundress of several monasteries.

The sixth century was not less fruitful in saints who founded monasteries, and some of whom introduced particular orders.† The most celebrated were, the great St. Columb, the two St. Finians, the two St. Brendans, the Saints Colman, St. Colmanelle, St. Brogan, St. Coman, St. Congall, St. Edan, or Maidoc, St. Fachnan, St. Carthach, St. Cronan, St. Lasarian, or Molaisse, St. Sinelle, and many others.

We also discover in the seventh century, several abbots, celebrated for the sanctity of their lives, as St. Dubhan, St. Fechin, St. Columbanus, St. Munchin, and St. Rodan.

There were likewise many saints in the

* "The monks although recently established, and their order new, wished to be in accordance with their character. They acted without disguise or pretence. They possessed simplicity, but nothing bordering on obstinacy or malice."—*Camden*, page 730.

* Act. Sanct. Hib. note 7, ad vit. S. Fursei.

† *Usser. Primord. Eccl. Brit. cap. 17, page 909.*

eighth, ninth and tenth centuries, of whom we shall have occasion to speak in the course of this history.

This island was called by way of pre-eminence, from the number of saints it had produced, the island of saints, "*Insula Sanctorum*." The number indeed was so great, that Colgan observed, not without reason, in the preface to his life of the Irish saints, that, what is at present said of them, is scarcely credible.*

Besides, Ireland can, in comparison with the rest of Europe,† boast of having been at that time a seminary of sanctity, whither the Christians of other nations came in crowds, to learn the practice of Christian virtue,‡ and from whence a considerable number of saints went forth daily and dispersed themselves throughout the different parts of Europe,§ where they founded famous abbeys, the glorious monuments of which are still to be seen,|| so that Ireland might be called in that golden age: "*In aureis illis seminatæ Fidei primordiis*," the Thebaid of the west.¶ It even appears, says Allemand, that at that time, it was sufficient to be an Irishman, or to have been in Ireland, to be considered holy, and become the immediate founder of some abbey.** Whilst the rest of Europe was a prey to the most dreadful catastrophes, and astonishing revolutions, Divine Providence bestowed upon this peaceful island, graces and blessings, which strangers went thither to be partakers of.

There were a great number of monasteries founded on the first establishment of

* "The foreign reader will wonder perhaps, (who is not well conversant in our history), that so great a number of saints are represented to go forth from one island, and that so many apostles of nations could go from one nation, who were of the same names and cotemporaries, and frequently from the same convent, and from the same master, and to gain a place among the saints."—*Preface of the acts of Ireland*.

† Bede, *Hist. Eccles. passim*; et *Cambd. Brit.* page 730.

‡ *Usser. Prim. Eccles. cap. 16, 17.*

§ *War. de Præsul. Hib.*

|| Colgan, *Act. Sanct. Hib. et in Triad. Thaum.*

¶ Allemand, *Hist. Monast. d'Irlande*.

** Allemand is mistaken in saying, that the territory of Elia-Carolina was so called from Charles V., husband of Mary, queen of England and Ireland. First, it was not Charles V., but his son Philip, that had been married to Mary. Second, this territory was called in the Scotie language *Ele-Hy-Carrouil*, from the O'Carrolls, to whom it formerly belonged, long before the invasion of the English; and Latin authors have called it *Elia-Carolina*. See Allemand, *Hist. Monast. d'Irlande*, page 24.

Christianity in Ireland, some of which have been mentioned in the life of St. Patrick; several of these monasteries were, at the same time, bishoprics and abbeys, and the dignities of bishop and abbot were frequently united in the same person; which, according to Pere Mabillon, was practised in several cathedrals in Europe, in which there were friars; there was a bishop and abbot at the same time, and sometimes the bishop was abbot. Some of these monasteries were also changed into cathedrals, and others into parish churches.

The first monasteries deserving of our consideration in the fifth century, are those founded by the four precursors of Saint Patrick, namely, the monastery of Saighir-Kieran, in the territory of Ely, founded by St. Kieran; this saint was not only the first of the Irish apostles, but was also called by way of distinction, the first born of the saints of this island: "*Primogenitus sanctorum Hiberniæ*." It is said that this saint established a bishopric there in 402, the see of which was afterwards transferred to Aghavoe, and from thence to Kilkenny. Some authors affirm that St. Kieran had lived three centuries; although Colgan proves the possibility of it, still he does not appear to attach credit to it himself; he says, that this error arises from this saint having been born towards the end of the fourth century, having lived the whole of the fifth, and died in the beginning of the sixth, which has made some authors say, that he lived three hundred years.

The monasteries of Emly, in the county of Tipperary, and Ardmore in the territory of Desie, in the county of Waterford, which were afterwards made bishoprics, were founded by St. Ailbe, and St. Declan.

Beg-Erin, or little Ireland, an island on the coast of Kinseallagh, now Wexford, was celebrated for an abbey which St. Ibar, or Ibhair had founded there, and the schools he had established in it,* where he was abbot and professor of all the sciences;† he was not only a saint, but so learned that some authors call him the doctor of Beg-Erin: "*Doctor Begerensis*;" and his abbey was not less celebrated for the college or university he had established there, which produced so many learned men, than for the great number of saints who had left it.

Sgibol or Sabhall-Phadruig, that is, the granary of Patrick, was a celebrated abbey

* *Usser. Prim. Eccles. Brit. Ind. Chron. ad an. 420, et page 714, 1061, 1063.*

† *Allem. Hist. Monast. d'Irlande, page 16, 54.*

founded by St. Patrick, the apostle of Ireland, towards the middle of the fifth century, in the peninsula of Lecale, in the county of Down. The land was given him by Dichu, lord of that district, whom he had converted some time before. This house was afterwards occupied by regular canons of the order of St. Augustin.

At Trim, in East Meath, there was a monastery and bishopric founded, and dedicated to the blessed Virgin, by St. Loman, in the time of St. Patrick. This monastery was long afterwards converted into an abbey of regular canons of St. Augustin, by the Danes.

At Damliagh, now Duleek, in the same county, there was a house of regular canons of St. Augustin, founded by a bishop of Damliagh, who is thought to be St. Kianan, first bishop of it in the fifth century.

St. Patrick founded also a great number of monasteries in this island, besides those that had the title of bishopric.

The most considerable are, the monastery of Slane in East Meath; the abbey of Druim-Lias, in the territory of Calrigia, county of Sligo; the monastery of Rath-Muighe, in the territory of Dalrieda, county of Antrim; the monastery of Coleraine, in the territory of Arachty-Cahan, county of Derry; the monastery of Druim-Inis Gluin, in the diocese of Ardmach; the abbey of St. Peter and Paul at Ardmach; the monastery of Kil-Auxille or Kil-Ussail, in the plain of Kildare, founded by St. Auxille, and the monastery of Mungarret, in the county of Limerick.*

There were also many other monasteries founded in the same century, by different persons.

The priory of the blessed Virgin at Louth, founded by St. Moctee; the abbey of Nen-drum in Dalaradie, now Down, by St. Cailan; the priory of Lough-Derg or Lough-Gerg in Tirconnel, (where the celebrated purgatory of St. Patrick is situated,) by St. Daboe, or, as some say, by St. Patrick;† the abbey of our Lady, of Clogher, in the territory of Tyrone, by St. Macarthen, bishop of Clogher; the monastery of Cluain-Daimh, in the plain of Kildare, by St. Sinchelle or St. Ailbhe; the monastery of Ahad-Abla, in the territory of Kinseallagh, county of Wexford, founded by St. Finian;‡ the priory of Inis-More, in lake Gauna, in the territory of Conmacne-Analy, at present Long-

ford, by St. Columb; the abbey of Inis-Bo-Fin, in lake Ree, in the same country, by St. Rioche; the abbey of Inis-Cloghran, in the same lake and country, by St. Dermot; the priory of Iniscath, an island in the river Shannon, in the county of Limerick, by St. Senan; the priory of Inis-Lua, an island in the river Shannon, in the territory of Thuumond, by St. Senan;* the monastery of Aran, or Arn-Na-Næmh, signifying the island of saints, was founded in 480 for regular canons, by St. Endee, who was first abbot of it.† This island, which is situated on the confines of the provinces of Munster and Connaught, was given to St. Endee, by Aongus, son of Nadfraoch, king of Munster; the monastery of Cluain-Fois in the county of Galway, founded by St. Iarlath, who founded another at Tuaim-da-Gauland, in the same country, of which he was afterwards bishop; the abbey of Kil-Chonail, in the same country, founded by St. Conal; the priory of Inchmore, in lake Ree, in the county of Roscommon, founded by St. Liborius,‡ the priory of Gallen or Galin, on the banks of the river Brosnagh, in the territory of Dealbhna-Mac-Coghlan, founded in 491, for regular canons, by St. Canoc or Mo-chonoc, son of Bracan, of the royal race of Leinster, and Dina, daughter of a Saxon prince.§

The number of monasteries for females in Ireland is so inferior to that of the convents for men, that it is likely the acts of some of their foundations have been lost, or they have not been transmitted to us, through the inaccuracy of historians; particularly as the devout sex has always discovered as much zeal and fervour for a religious life, as the men.

The first nunnery that we discover in Ireland, in the fifth century, is that of Kill-Liadan, founded by St. Kieran, for his mother Liadan, near his monastery of Saire, in the territory of Ely.

St. Patrick founded some, amongst others, those of Cluain-Bronach and Druimcheo, in the country of Analy (Longford.) At Ardmach he founded the monasteries called Temple-Bride, and Temple-Na-Feara, that is, the Temple of Miracles, of which his sister Lupita was first abbess; he also founded the monastery of Kilaracht, in the territory of Roscommon, for his sister Athracta; and lastly, the monastery of Cluain-Dubhain, in the country of Tyrone.

* Act. Sanct. Vit. St. Auxil. ad 19, Mart.

† Act. Sanct. Hib. not. 22, Vit. S. Canoc. ad 11, Febr.

‡ Act. Sanct. Vit. S. Finian. ad 23, Febr.

* War. Antiq. Hib. cap. 26.

† Allem. Hist. Monast. d'Irlande.

‡ Act. Sanct. Hib. ad 11, Febr.

§ War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 26.

The abbey of Lin, near Carrick-Fergus, in the territory of Dalrieda, (county of Antrim,) was founded by Darerca, sister of St. Patrick, of which she was the first abbess. The monasteries of Ross-Oirthir in the county of Fermanagh, and Ross-Benchuir in Thumond, were founded, the one by St. Fanchea, sister of St. Endee, and the latter by St. Conchea.

Lastly, St. Bridget founded at Kildare, in 480, the celebrated abbey, of which she was abbess. This holy virgin was born in a village called Fochart, in the territory of Conal-Murthumne (now the county of Louth) towards the middle of the fifth century;* her father was Dubthach, a powerful lord in Leinster, of the race of Eocha-Fionn, brother of the monarch Conn-Keadcaha, whose tribe settled in this province.†

Although Bridget was the fruit of a criminal intercourse of Dubthach with Brot-seach, God, who can draw the most heroic virtues from crime itself, compensated for the sinfulness of her birth, by such abundant graces, that she became a vessel of election, and a rare model of perfection.

Having received the veil with several of her companions, from the hands of Machilenus, a bishop and disciple of St. Patrick, St. Bridget retired into a territory in Leinster, where, in a forest of oak, she founded a monastery, which was head of its order, and where she established particular rules. This place has been since called Kil-Dare, "Cella roborum," signifying the church in the oaks. It was there that this holy virgin displayed all those virtues, that she possessed in so eminent a degree, of which the love of God and our neighbour formed the basis of every other. This divine love with which her heart was inflamed, was represented by a natural fire, which she caused to be kept up, for the relief of the poor; it was afterwards called inextinguishable from its having lasted for many ages; and though from its beginning, a large quantity of wood and other combustible materials had been used to feed it, it is extraordinary that the ashes never increased.‡ This miracle is elegantly

expressed by Edme O'Dwyer, bishop of Limerick.* She died, and was interred in her abbey of Kildare, from whence her body was transferred, some time afterwards, to Down, in Ulster, where it was deposited with the bodies of St. Patrick and St. Columb-Kill.†

The eminent charity, and the great number of miracles which God had wrought through her intercession, caused her to be placed, immediately after her death, amongst the most illustrious saints. Parents were emulous to give her name to their female children. The church erected altars, and dedicated temples to her, which honours were surpassed by those which she received from posterity. Ireland considered her as her patroness; and her reputation soon spread itself beyond the narrow limits of that island. All Europe participated in this devotion. Her name is invoked at Seville, Lisbon, Placentia, Tours, Besancon, at Namur; in the abbey of Fulda, in which are some of her relics; at Cologne, where one of the principal churches in the city is dedicated to her;‡ and lastly, in London, where there is still a church that bears her name.

This devotion was strengthened by an office of nine lessons, in honour of this saint, which is to be met with in several Breviaries in Europe; in an ancient Roman one printed at Venice, in 1522, in that of Gien, (in Breviario Giennensi,) in Italy; in that of the regular canons of Lateran; in an ancient Breviary of Quimper in Armorica: in a church bearing her name at Cologne, of which she is patroness; and finally in a chapel dedicated to her in the territory of Fosse, diocese of Maestricht. We find an office to St. Bridget in the Breviaries and Missals of Maestricht, Mayence, Treves, Wirtsburg, Constance, Strasburg, and other towns of Germany.

been increased."—*Giraldus Cambrensis Topog.* c. 24.

* "The hearth burns with Bridget's incessant fire; but the ashes is not increased thereby; what means that burning pile? is it the emblem of an ardent soul? is living love marked by the living flame? if this flame, while Bridget feeds her fires, continue without becoming extinct, it will not die."

† In Burgo Duno, tumulo tumulantur in uno Brigida, Patricius, atque Columba pius.

‡ "In Downa Bridget, Patrick, and St. Columb-Kill, are buried in the one tomb."

"The fifth is the parish Church dedicated to the holy Virgin Bridget. This parish being joined to that of St. Martin the elder, on one side it is joined to Lank-Gasin-street; it was erected in honor of the aforesaid Bridget who was a Scot, and a holy virgin: her festival is on the first of February."—*Erhardus Winheim.*

* Usser. Primord. Eccles. c. 15, p. 627, 705, et 706.

† Trias. Thaum. Vit. S. Brigid. ad 1, Febr.

‡ "Kildare, a city of Leinster; the glorious Bridget hath rendered illustrious, by her many miracles, which are worthy of being recorded, and among the first is Bridget's fire; this they say, was inextinguishable, not, because it could not be extinguished, but the nuns and holy women anxiously supplied the material for the fire, so that during so many years, the fire continued without becoming extinct; and notwithstanding the heaps of wood consumed for so long a period, the ashes had never

Mortough, otherwise Murchertach Mac-Earcha, succeeded Lugha VII.* his father was Muiredach, son of Eogan, and grandson of the monarch Niall the Great.† He was called Mac-Earca,‡ that is, son of Earca, from the name of his mother, who was daughter of Loarne, the eldest of the six brothers who had led the colony to Albania.§ In the reign of this monarch, Oilioll, son of Mortough, reigned in Leinster, and Cormac, descended in the eighth degree from Oilioll-Olum, by Eogan-More, in Munster.

This prince was not less remarkable for his Christian piety, than for his valour as a warrior.‖ He afforded particular protection to religion, as well as his wife Sabina, who died with a high reputation for sanctity.

In the beginning of Christianity there were several bishoprics in Meath, namely, those of Cluan-Airaid, or Clonard, Damliag or Duleek, Ceannanus, now Kells, Trim, Ardbreccan, Donseaghlin, Slane, Foure, and others. All those sees, except Duleek and Kells, were united towards the beginning of the twelfth century, to form the see of Clonard: Duleek and Kells afterwards shared the same fate.

St. Finian or Finan, sometimes also called Finbar,¶ son of Fintan, a subtle philosopher, and profound theologian, was first bishop of Clonard; he was of the noble race of the Clanna-Rorys, and his piety added new lustre to his birth. Having been baptized by St. Abhan, he was placed under the guidance of St. Fortkern, bishop of Trim, where he remained till the age of thirty years, continually profiting by the instructions of this holy bishop. He afterwards went into Britain, and became attached to St. David, bishop of Menevia, in Wales, by whom he was particularly beloved for his piety and learning; ** he remained thirty years in Britain, where he founded three churches.††

Having returned to his own country, and being consecrated bishop in 520, he esta-

blished his see at Clonard, on the river Boyne in Meath, where he founded a school or university, celebrated for the great concourse of students, amounting sometimes to three thousand, amongst whom were a great number of subjects, celebrated for their sanctity and learning. Of this number the two St. Kierans, the two Brendans, the two Columbs, namely, Columb-Kill, and Columb, son of Crimthan, Laserian, son of Nathfrach, Cainec, Moveus, and Ruadan; and as this school was called "a wonderful sanctuary of wisdom," by the author of his life, "totius sapientiæ admirabile sacrarium," so this saint was called Finian the Wise.

It appears from the registry of the church of Meath, quoted by Usher, that the territory of Clonard was given to St. Finian, and his successors, by St. Kieran the younger, to whom it belonged.*

Usher discovers some difficulty respecting St. Kieran-Saighir, who is said to have assisted at the school of St. Finian; according to his calculation he was born in 352.† We should then suppose that he lived to the age of 168 years: this would not have been impossible, as many instances of the same occurred in after ages. Whatever might have been the time of his birth, Ware fixes his death in 549, and Usher himself in 552.‡ Besides, according to the author of St. Kieran's life, he was humble, and fond of hearing the holy Scriptures expounded; so that neither his old age, nor his great learning, not even the episcopal dignity, made him ashamed of being called a pupil of St. Finian.§

According to some, St. Finian died the 12th of December, 552, and according to others, in 563, and was interred in his church of Clonard. The annals of the four masters fix his death in 548. Usher, who calls him the first of the saints of the second order in

* "St. Kieran gave to his teacher, St. Finian, and to his successors, the lordship of Clonard, and small farms annexed to it."—*Usher C. Hist.* c. 17, p. 909.

† Primord. Eccles. cap. 16, page 788.

‡ De Episc. Ossor. et Ind. Chron. page 1140. ad ann. 552.

§ "St. Kieranus was very humble in all things; he loved to hear and learn the divine Scripture, till he became enfeebled by old age. It is said of him, that he went, with other saints of his time, to the holy and wise Finianus, abbot of the monastery of Clonard, and in his old age read the divine writings in his holy school. After this, the holy Kieranus is called, as well as other saints in Ireland, the disciple of Saint Finianus. Though he himself was old, wise, and a learned bishop, still he took pleasure to learn at the feet of another, for the sake of humility, and his love of wisdom."—*Usher C. Hist.* c. 17, p. 909.

* Keat. History of Ireland.

† Ogyg. part 3, cap. 93.

‡ War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 4, et Usser. passim; et Bruodin, Propug. lib. 5, cap. 13.

§ Colg. Vit. S. Brigid. Præf. ad lectorem.

‖ "A man renowned in war, he routed the enemy in 17 battles, notwithstanding which, he practised piety, and adorned by holy works the Christian faith which he had received"—*Grat. Luc.* c. 9.

¶ Colg. Act. Sanct. Hib. ad 23, Febr.

** Usser. Primord. cap. 17, page 912.

†† "Finianus having left Ireland, his country, went to Britain to David, with whom, the writer of his life says, that he had found two other holy men, Gildas and Cathmalus, that he spent 30 years in it, and had founded three churches."—*Usher. C. Hist.* ad. ann. 491.

Ireland, says that he died in 552; but he apparently forgets what he says in another place, of the penance which St. Finian had imposed on St. Columb-Kill, for having been accessory to the battle of Cuilreimne, which took place between Dermot the monarch, and the tribes of the Conalls, on the confines of Ulster and Connaught, in 561.*

The church of Duleek was founded, in the time of St. Patrick, by St. Kenan, or Cianan, who was first bishop of it.† He was of the royal race of the kings of Munster, having been descended in the sixth degree from Kiann, son of Oilioll-Olum. He was baptized by St. Patrick, who had adopted him for his son, and having instructed him in divine literature, and in virtue, he became a man of rare sanctity. The author of this saint's life, quoted by Usher, gives a different account of him;‡ he says he was a pupil of the monk Nathan, and adds, that in his youth, he had been one of the five hostages the princes of the country had sent to the monarch Laogare: and that having been delivered from tyranny, through the intercession of St. Kieran, he went to France, where he remained for some time in the abbey of St. Martin of Tours, and had himself instructed in the monastic discipline. On his return to his country, he converted several to the Christian religion in Connaught and Leinster, and founded a church in the latter province, in a place called after him Coll-Cianan, which signifies the wood of Kenan. He afterwards visited the country of Tyrone, which belonged to Eogan, uncle of his mother Ethne; in this territory he broke an idol, and in the place where the altar stood, which was dedicated to it, he founded a church, to which he appointed his well beloved disciple, Congall. It is mentioned in a manuscript in the library of Cambridge, which contains the office of this saint, that he had built a stone church at Damleagh, which signifies, in the Scotie language, a house of stone. Our saint died the 24th of November, 488 or 489, the day on which his festival is celebrated at Duleek.

It is not exactly known at what time Ceannanus or Kells, was made a bishopric, nor who was first bishop of it; it was probably after the building of a celebrated abbey, which St. Columb-Kill had

founded in 550, on the ground which Dermot, son of Kerveoil, and monarch of the island, had given him for that purpose. The city of Kells was formerly considered one of the first in the kingdom,* and celebrated both for the abbey of Saint Columb-Kill, and for having been the birth place of St. Cuthbert, bishop of Landisfarne, in England, as appears by his life, which is preserved in the Cottonian library at Oxford.† The abbey of Foure, founded by St. Fechin in the seventh century, was afterwards made a cathedral church.‡ The first bishop was St. Suarlech, who died the 24th of March, 745. We discover but one successor to this prelate, who was Aidgene, who died the first of May, 766. It is likely that this church remained without a bishop, with the title of abbey as before.

The churches of Trim and Donseaghlin, were founded by the nephews of St. Patrick; the former by St. Luman, the latter by St. Secundin or Sechnall; those of Slane and Ardracran, by St. Erc and St. Ultan, the former of whom died in 513, and the latter in 657. As these saints had founded those churches, they were also their first bishops. All those sees were afterwards united, and have formed for a long time but one bishopric, which is that of Meath, first suffragan of Ardmach.

Ross, formerly Ross-Ailithsi, on the sea-shore,§ in the territory of Carbury, in the county of Cork, was celebrated in the sixth century for the monastery which St. Fachnan,|| a wise and moral man, "Vir sapiens et probus," had founded there, and the famous school he established.¶ In the Scotie language, Ross signifies a verdant plain, and Ailithri a pilgrimage; from whence is derived the name of this place, which was formerly much frequented by pilgrims. There is some doubt respecting the time of the foundation of the cathedral of

* Usher. Primord. Eccles. cap. 17, page 945.

† War. de Script. Hib. c. 3, Act. SS. Hib. Vit. S. Cuthbert, ad 20, Mar.

‡ Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Fech. ad 20, Jan.

§ War. de Episc. Rossens.

|| Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Mochoem, ad 13, Mar. et note 7, et 8.

¶ "There was another excellent establishment for literature at Ross, in Carbury, which was anciently called Ross-Ailithri, and was founded in the 6th century by Saint Frachnanus, of whom the biographer of Saint Moccoemogus thus speaks: 'Saint Fachnanus lived in the southern part of Ireland, near the sea, in his own monastery, which had been founded by him; a city sprung up there, in which scholastic studies flourished—it was called Ross-Ailithri.'—Warr's Antiquities, c. 15.

* Usher. Primord. Eccles. c. 15, page 694, et cap. 17, page 902—904, 1035, 1026.

† Trias Thaum. Vit. Tripart. S. Patr. page 146, cap. 126, note 191.

‡ Primord. Eccles. p. 1070, Idem Ind. Chron. ad ann. 450.

this bishopric, and the name of the first bishop; it is, however, likely that it was founded by St. Fachnan, as he is called bishop in an ancient martyrology on the 14th of August, the day on which his memory is honoured at Ross-Ailithri, and at Dar-Inis, where he had been abbot; but the year of his death is not known.

The episcopal see of Ardfert is situated in the county of Kerry: formerly called Ciaruid:* this was the native country of St. Brendan, abbot of Clonfert, to whom the church of Ardfert is dedicated. St. Brendan made his first studies in his own country under the bishop Ert; he afterwards went with the consent of his parents and master to Connaught, where he applied himself closely to the study of theology, under St. Jarleth, bishop of Tuam.

It is not sufficiently ascertained that Ert was bishop of that see; still, his sojourn in the country is a strong ground for supposing it, particularly as no opinion is opposed to it. According to the historians and public registries of the country, the bishops of that see were sometimes called bishops of Kerry, and sometimes of Iarmuin, which signifies western Munster. Ardfert means a marvelous elevation, or the height of miracles. That place is at present called Ardart.

The bishopric of Tuam, anciently called Tuam-Da-Gualand, in Connaught, had for its founder and first bishop, in the beginning of the sixth century, St. Jarlath, son of Loga, a descendant of Conmacne, son of Feargus-Roigh, of the race of the Clannarorys, and of Maude, queen of Connaught, some time before the Christian era.† He was a native of the territory anciently called Conmacne of Kinel Dubhain, and afterwards Conmacne of Dunmor, where Tuam is situated, in the county of Galway, the country of his ancestors.‡ He was disciple of St. Binen, who succeeded St. Patrick in the see of Ardmach, from whom he received holy orders about the end of the fifth century. Jarlath was a man of such profound learning, and his piety at the same time so great, that it is difficult to determine in which of them he excelled.

Having left his master St. Binen, he withdrew to Cluanfois, near Tuam, in the territory of Conmacne of Kinel Dubhain, his native country, where he founded a monastery and established a school, which became ce-

lebrated for the great number who received their education in it; amongst others, St. Brendan, founder and first abbot of the abbey of Clonfert, and St. Colman, founder and first bishop of Cloyne. He also founded the cathedral of Tuam, which was afterwards dedicated to his memory, and called in the language of the country, Tempull-Jarlath, which signifies the temple of Jarlath. After governing the church of Tuam for a long time, this saint ended his days, at an advanced age, the 26th of December, or, as some assert, the 11th of February; the year of his death is not so well known; according to Colgan, it took place about the year 540. His relics were enshrined long after his death, in a silver shrine, and deposited in a church in Tuam. The sees of Mayo, or Magio, and Enaghduane, were united to Tuam in the latter ages.

The bishopric of Achonry, otherwise Achad or Achad-Conair,* in the territory of Luigny, now the barony of Leny, in the county Sligo in Connaught, was founded about the year 530, by St. Finian, bishop of Clonard.† The lord of the district, one of the ancestors of the noble family of the O'Haras, having granted him a suitable portion of land, he built a cathedral church upon it, which he soon afterwards resigned to his disciple Nathy, a man commendable for his sanctity.‡ St. Nathy was also called Comragh or Cruimthir. The author of the life of St. Finian gives him only the title of priest; but he who wrote the life of St. Fechin, calls him prelate of Achad-Conair.§ His festival is celebrated the 9th of August, and the cathedral church acknowledges him as its patron.

St. Moinenn or Moenenn is looked upon as the founder and first bishop of Clonfert, situated in Connaught, at some distance from the river Shannon.|| According to Colgan, St. Brendan was the founder of this bishopric, which he afterwards resigned to St. Moinenn, who was bishop after him.¶

However this be, it is always admitted that Brendan, son of Finloga, who was pupil, in his youth, of bishop Ert, in the county of Kerry, of which he was a native, and contemporary and fellow student of St.

* War. de Episc. Ardfertens.

† War. de Præsul. Tuamens. Usser. Prim. Eccl. c. 16, p. 914, Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Jarlath, ad 11 Feb.

‡ Ogyg. part. 3, cap. 46.

* War. de Præsul. Achadens.

† Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Fechin. ed. 20, Jan. not. 7.

‡ Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Finian. ad 23, Feb. c. 26, not 29.

§ Act. Sanct. Hib. 2, Vit. S. Fechin. ad 20, Jan. cap. 7.

|| War. de Præsul. Clonfertens.

¶ Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Moen. ad 1, Mart.

Brendan of Birr, was founder of an abbey at Clonfert, near the river Shannon, in 558, of which he was abbot. It is also well known that he died the 16th of May, 577, at Enaghduane, aged 93 years, and that his body was removed from thence and interred in his abbey of Clonfert.* His life, which was written in verse, is preserved in the Cottonian library at Westminster.

The annals of the country make mention of St. Moenenn, bishop of Cluain-Ferta, and fix his death on the 1st of March, 570, during the lifetime of St. Brendan, who died, according to the same annals, in 576 or 577.† The real name of our saint was Nennius or Nennio, but he was commonly called Mo-Nenn. The monosyllable *Mo*, signifies *My*; and it was often added by the ancient Irish, from regard or respect, "*observantiae causa*," to the names of the saints whom they held in greatest veneration.

The following monasteries were founded during the reign of Mortough Mac-Earca.

The abbey of Lismore or Kilmore, county of Ardmach, was founded by St. Moctec. It is said that he established a particular order in it.‡

The abbey of Kilcomain in the territory of Hy-Failge, in the county of Kildare, which is now but a parish called Gesille, was founded by St. Colman, son of Breacan, a prince of the royal race of Ireland, and of Dina, daughter of a Saxon prince. Colgan observes that there were two churches of this name which were not convents; one in the islands of Arran, diocese of Tuam, and the other in ancient Dalriada in Ulster.§

The monastery of Eadardruim, in the territory of Tuath-Ainlighe, in the diocese of Elphin, county of Roscommon, was founded by St. Diradius, son of Bracan, brother of St. Coeman, and of several other saints of both sexes, one of whom was mother of St. David, bishop of Menevia in Wales.||

The abbey of Clune, otherwise Cluan-Eois, or Clonish, in the territory of Monaghan, was founded and dedicated to the apostles, St. Peter and Paul, by St. Tigernac, a bishop.¶

The priory of Ross-Ailithri, or Ross-Cairbre, situated in a territory of that name,

in the county of Cork, was founded for regular canons by St. Fachnan, who was first abbot of it.* That place was celebrated for learning, as we have already observed: "*Magno florebat honore, ob antiquam ibi Musarum sedem.*"

The abbey of Inis-Muighe-Samh, in an island in lake Erne, in the county of Fermanagh, was founded by St. Nennidius.†

The abbeys of Ross-Tuirek, and Cluain-Imurchir, in the territory of Ossory, were founded by St. Breacan or Brocan.‡

St. Abban, son of Cormac, king of Leinster, founded during this reign, the abbeys of Drum-Chaoin, Camross, Maghere-Muidhe, Fion-Magh, Disert-Cheanan, &c., in the county of Wexford; the abbey of Kil-Abbain, in Meath; Kil-Abbain, in Clenmalire; the abbeys of Cluain-Ard, Cluain-Find-Glaise, and Killachuid-Conch, in the territory of Cork.

The monastery of Kil-Na-Marbhan, which signifies the church of the Dead, in the territory of Nandesi, and county of Waterford;§ the monastery of Cluain-Combruin, in the territory of Mac-Femhin, county of Tipperary.

Lastly, this saint founded two monasteries for females; namely, that of Kil-Aillbe, in Meath, and Burneach, in the territory of Muscraige or Muskeri-Mitine, in the diocese of Cork, of which St. Gobnata was first abbess.||

The abbey of Cluain-Eraraid, now Clonard, on the left bank of the river Boyne, in Meath, was founded by St. Finian. This abbey was rich, and celebrated for the school or university which this saint, who is called the master of most of the Irish saints, (the most considerable of whom have been his disciples,) had established there.

The monasteries of Kilboedan, afterwards Kiloscoba, was founded by St. Boedan, son of Eugene, and descended in the fifth degree from Oilioll-Flan-Beg, great-grand son of Oilioll-Olum, king of Munster:¶ he was sixth son of Eugene; he and his five brothers, namely, Becan, Culan, Emin or Evin, Dermot, Corbmac, and Boedan, were all remarkable for their contempt of worldly greatness, and the number of monasteries they had founded in the different provinces of Ireland.

* Usser. Prim. Eccles. Brit. cap. 17, p. 955, et Idem, Ind. Chron. ad an. 577.

† Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Moienenn. ad Mart. not. 1.

‡ Act. Sanct. Vit. S. Moct. ad 24, Mart.

§ Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Canoc. ad 11, Feb.

|| Ibidem, et Allemand. Hist. Monast. d'Irlande.

¶ Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Moienenn. ad 1, Mart. et Usser. Prim. cap. 17, p. 856.

* War. de Antiq. cap. 26.

† Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Nennid. ad 18, Jan.

‡ Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Abban. ad 16, Mart. not. 40.

§ Allemand. Hist. Monast. p. 56.

|| Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Gobn. ad 11, Feb.

¶ Act. Sanct. Vit. Boedan. ad 23, Mart.

Tuathal II., surnamed Maolgarbh, great-grandson of Niall the Great, by Cairbre, succeeded Mortough, A.D. 533.

Although the greater part of this monarch's reign was peaceful, the people of Leinster made war against prince Earca, son of Oilíoll-Molt, and chief of the tribe of the Firearcas, who lost his life at the famous battle of Tortan.* The battle of Sligo was fought, some time afterwards, between the two princes, Feargus and Domhnall, sons of Mortough Mac-Earca, and Eogan Beal, king of Connaught, who was unhappily slain in it.

After a reign of eleven years Tuathal was killed by Maolmor, foster-brother of Dermot, for whom this regicide wished to open the way to the throne; he did not, however, triumph in his crime, having been pierced by the blows of the king's attendants.†

The founding of the following abbeys can be traced to the reign of Tuathal II.

The abbey of All Saints, in an island in lake Ree, territory of Longford, founded by St. Kieran the Younger.‡ Colgan observes that this abbey was called "Monasterium Inisense, or Insulense;" and that there was a regular canon of this house, called Augustin Magraidin, who was a celebrated writer of the lives of the Irish saints, and that he had composed a chronicle of Ireland, down to 1405, when he died.

The abbey of Angine, which is another island in the same lake, called holy or sacred from the great number of monks who inhabited those islands, was founded by the same St. Kieran.

Allemand here reproaches Usher with an anachronism, who says that this abbey was founded by St. Kieran in the middle of the sixth century, that is in 554, and agrees in another place that St. Kieran was born in the island of Clare, at the entrance of the bay of Baltimore, in 352; therefore, continues he, if St. Kieran had built an abbey, it would follow that this saint lived nearly two centuries, &c.

However, this pretended anachronism is founded only on an error of fact on the part of this critic, who makes no distinction, as Usher does, between St. Kieran, surnamed Saighir, born towards the end of the fourth century, and St. Kieran the Younger, surnamed Itheir, who was born in the beginning of the sixth, and who was founder of the above-mentioned abbey.

* Usser. Passim.

† Triad. Thaum. lib. 2, et Vit. S. Patr. c. 27, 28, et Grat. Luc. c. 9.

‡ War. Antiq. Hib. cap. 26, and Allemand. Hist. Monast. d'Irlande. p. 48.

The abbey of Cluain-Inis, in lake Erne, in the county of Fermanagh, was founded by St. Sinelle, who flourished in 540.*

The abbey of Ireland's Eye, an island north of the bay of Dublin, was founded about this time by St. Nesson, who spent his life there in fasting and prayer.†

CHAPTER XI.

DERMOD succeeded to the monarchy after the death of Tuathal, A.D. 544: Totius Scotiæ regnator Deo autore ordinatus est.‡ This prince was descended from Niall the Great, by Conall Crimthine and Feargus Kerveoil. He began his reign by pious donations; he founded the church of Cluan-Mac-Noisk, gave St. Kieran the younger some land near Mount-Usnach in West Meath, and to St. Columb, the territory of Keannanus, in East Meath. He frequently assembled the states at Tara, where he made very useful laws for the state, which he caused to be executed with great rigour, as he condemned his own son Breasal to death, for having violated them.

In the reign of this monarch, Oilíoll, son of Mortough, reigned in Leinster, and Cormac descended in the eighth degree from Oilíoll-Olum, by Eogan More, in Munster.§

The quarrel between the two princes Feargus and Domhnall, children of Mortough Mac-Earca, and the princes of Connaught, still continued, and was not ended till after a second action, called the battle of Cuill-Connaire, in which Oilíoll was killed, with his brother Aodh-Fortamhail.

A love of justice engaged this monarch in a war with Guaire, king of the Hy-Fiachras of Connaught, about some act of injustice, of which that prince had been guilty towards him. The monarch having marched with his army towards the river Shannon, Guaire assembled his troops, with some allies of the province of Munster, to meet them. The two armies having encamped on both banks of the river, disputed its passage; the monarch's army however being superior in numbers and strength, put the provincial troops to flight, and made a dreadful slaughter of them. After this defeat Guaire having made submission to the monarch, was restored to favour, and thus the war ended.

* Allem. Hist. Monast. d'Irlande. p. 106.

† Idem, page 8.

‡ Cambr. Evers. cap. 9.

§ Colgan, Vit. S. Brigid. Præfat. ad lect.

Dermod was not so fortunate in the other wars in which he was engaged;* the battle of Cuildreimne, which he fought with the two princes Feargus and Domhnall, was fatal to him: he lost the flower of his army, and was obliged to save his life by flight.† The cause of this battle was the death of a nobleman who had been killed at Tara, during the assembly, by Conman-Mac-Hugue: the murderer dreading the indignation of Dermod, sought safety with the princes Feargus and Domhnall, who were at that time powerful in Ulster, and received him under their protection; he found the same protection from Columb-Kill, who was then celebrated for his sanctity and illustrious birth. The monarch always active in the distribution of justice, caused the culprit to be arrested and condemned him to death, which gave rise to the war between him and those princes.‡ After this war, the monarch perished unfortunately at Rathbeg, in a house which had taken fire; it is asserted by some that he was killed by Hugue Dubh, son of Suibhne, prince of Dalaradie. It is affirmed by Gratianus Lucius, after O'Duвеgan, that he was the greatest, handsomest, most powerful, and skilful legislator of all the Christian kings of Ireland.§

St. Kieran, or Cieran, the pupil of St. Finian in the schools of Clonard, and surnamed the Younger, to distinguish him from St. Kieran Saighir, who was called the ancient, with respect to time, and the length of his life, founded the abbey of Cluan-Mac-Noisk in 548, in a territory on the banks of the river Shannon, formerly called Tipraic or Druim-Tipraid, which Dermod the monarch had granted him for that purpose. He was of the race of the Arads, and son of Boenand, who was called the Carpenter,|| having exercised that trade, rather through taste, than to earn a livelihood: he was known by the name of Kieran-Mac-Itheir, signifying son of the artisan. This saint died in the flower of his age in the reputation of sanctity, having governed his abbey for one year, and lived thirty-three.

The church of this abbey was afterwards made a cathedral, but the exact time is unknown. If it be true, as some believe, that St. Kieran was a bishop, there is no doubt respecting the origin of this see. Besides

the cathedral, the kings and princes caused nine other churches to be built afterwards, to serve as sepulchres; O'Meolaghlin, king of Meath, O'Connor Don, king of Connaught, O'Kelly, Macarty-More, Mac-Dermot and others, had each their churches in it. All those, together with the cathedral, covered a space only of about seven acres.

This cathedral was formerly very rich, and was celebrated likewise for its burial place; also for the tombs of the nobility and bishops, and a number of monuments and inscriptions on marble, in the Scotie and Hebrew languages.

In the Synod held by cardinal Paparo, legate in 1152, this see was placed among the number of the suffragans of Tuam; but after many disputations between the archbishops of Armagh and Tuam, about this see, the court of Rome adjudged it to the province of Ardmach: it was at length united to the see of Meath, in the sixth century.

The number of churches founded during this reign, denotes both the piety of the faithful and the liberality of the prince.

St. Columb, surnamed Kill, signifying Church, founded more than a hundred churches and religious houses.* This saint was of the royal race, having been descended in the fourth degree from the monarch Niall the Great, by his son Conall Gulban, prince of Tirconnel, and chief of the noble tribe of the O'Donnells.† The noble birth of this saint received additional lustre from the austerity of his life, his humility, and the great number of temples which his piety induced him to raise in honour of God;‡ but that which heightened his glory, was the title of apostle of the Picts, which the conversion of that barbarous nation had gained him.§ Having been obliged to leave his country, to perform the penance which Saint Finian of Clonard, his old superior, and St. Molaisse, prior of Dam-Inis,|| had imposed on him, for having been accessory to the battle of Cuildreimne,¶ in which many lives were lost, he went with twelve disciples to Britain, where he preached the gospel with great success to the northern Picts,** who were separated

* Keating on the reign of this monarch.

† Grat. Luc. c. 9, and Walsh, prosp. d'Irl. sect. 3.

‡ Caput 9.

§ War. de Præsul. Clonmacnois, and Usser Prim. cap. 17, p. 909, 956.

|| Idem, Ind. Chron. pages 1126, 1140.

* Trias Thaum. Vit. S. Columb.

† Usser. Primord. Eccl. Brit. cap. 15, page 639.

‡ Usser. Ind. Chron. ad an. 563.

§ Usser. Prim. Eccles. Brit. cap. 15, page 687, et seq.

|| Act. Sanct. page 406.

¶ Usser. Prim. c. 17, p. 903, 904.

** Trias Thaum. Vit. 5, S. Columb, lib. 2, c. 5.

from those of the south, by steep and frightful mountains.*

This people filled with gratitude for the graces which God had bestowed upon them, through the ministry of St. Columb, gave him the island of Hy, to build a monastery for himself and his fellow-labourers in that mission.† This island which is one of the Hebrides, situated on the western coast of Scotland, is known to geographers under the name of Hy, Iona, and Y Columb-Kill.

This saint founded a celebrated abbey in Hy, governed by a rector or abbot, who should be a priest, having jurisdiction over the whole province, and, by an unusual order, says Bede, over the bishops themselves. He was succeeded in it by men who were remarkable for their chastity, divine love, and the regularity of their conduct.‡

Before St. Columb left Ireland, he founded several monasteries, the principal of which was the monastery of the Blessed Virgin, at Durrrough or Dearthagh, in Latin, "campus roboris," in Clenmalire. Ware affirms that they preserved in this monastery, a version of the four gospels, by St. Jerome, the cover of which was ornamented with large silver plates, and that the Latin inscription was written by St. Columb himself; but Usher maintains that this version was by St. Columb, and that it was preserved in the abbey which this saint had founded at Keannanus, now Kells, in Meath, to which the priory of Drumlahan, in the county of Cavan, belonged.

St. Columb also founded a celebrated abbey at Daire Calgac, at present Derry, in the county of that name.§ This place was sometimes called Daire-Maig, from the word Daire, which, in the Scotie language, signifies oak, of which there was a considerable quantity in that district. Bede calls it the noble monastery. The monasteries of Dear-

mach and Hy, he adds, were nurseries from whence a great number of monasteries, founded by his disciples, both in Britain and Ireland, were peopled; but the monastery of Hy, in which his remains are deposited, holds the first rank.*

St. Columb also founded the priory of Inchmacnerin, formerly called Easmac-Neire, in an island in lake Alyne, through which the Shannon passes near its source, some miles from the abbey of Boyle.† Ware says, that this monastery was situated in an island called Loughke, in the county of Sligo, and that Alyne is in the territory of Leitrim. Lastly, he founded the abbey of Swords, four miles from Dublin, called "Monasterium Surdense," over which he appointed St. Finian, surnamed Sobhar, or the Leprous, to preside. This saint worn out with the fatigues of the apostleship, and a life of mortification, ended his days in his abbey of Hy, in 597, aged 77 years.

The celebrated abbey of St. Peter and Paul was founded in a valley called Glenda-Loch, in the territory of Kilmentain, now the county of Wicklow, by St. Keivin, or Coemgene.‡

The abbey of Cluain-Damh, which signifies a meadow for oxen, on the banks of the river Liffey, in the plain of Kildare, was founded by St. Senchella or Sinell.§ There are several abbeys in Ireland called Cluain, which signifies valley or retired place; as those situated in the woods were called Doire, that is, oak. The priory of Holy Cross of Killeighe, in the King's county, was founded for regular canons by the same saint.||

The priory of Dam-Inis, or Devenish, which signifies the island of the ox, in lake Erne, in the county of Fermanagh, was founded by St. Laserian, or Moelasse, who was not the same as St. Laserian of Laghlin.¶ It is said that he established a particular order: but his successors followed that of the regular canons of St. Augustin.**

* "In the year of our Lord 565, a presbyter and abbot remarkable for his life and habit as a monk, whose name was Columbanus, came from Ireland to preach the word of God to the northern provinces of the Picts who are separated from the southern by mountains, the tops of which are lofty and terrific."—Bede, b. 3, c. 4.

† "From whom he received the aforesaid island, for the purpose of raising a monastery in it. It is not large, and according to the English, but 5 miles in extent."—Bede.

‡ "The island was always accustomed to be under the guidance of an abbot, and an elder, to whose rule the entire province and the bishops, a thing so unusual, should be subject. This we have as certain, concerning him, that he left his successors remarkable for their chastity, divine love, and the regularity of their institutions."—Bede.

§ War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 26, and Allem. Hist. d'Irlande, p. 95.

* "But before he would come to Britain, he made a noble monastery in Ireland, it was called from the quantity of oak contained in it, Dearthagh, which in the Irish language, signifies the field of oaks. From this, several monasteries were founded by his disciples both in Ireland and Britain. In all which that insulated monastery in which his body reposes, holds the chief rank."—Bede.

† War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 26, and Allemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irlande, page 86.

‡ Usser. Primord. Eccles. Brit. cap. 17, p. 956.

§ Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Senchel. ad 26 Mart.

|| Allemand. Hist. Monast. d'Irlande, page 29.

¶ Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Aid. ad 28 Feb. cap. 37, and Usser. Primord. Eccles. cap. 17, p. 962.

** War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 26.

The abbey of Druim-Mac-Ubla, on the frontiers of Leinster and Ulster, was founded by St. Sidonius.*

The abbey of Kil-Managh-Drochid, "*Cella Monachorum*," in the county of Kilkenny, was founded by St. Natalis.† There was another of the same name founded by St. Fechin, in the county of Sligo.

The abbey of Movilla, or Maigeville, in the district of the Dalfiatachs county of Down, was founded for canons of the order of St. Augustin, by St. Finian, of the royal race of the Dalfiatachs of Ulster.‡ This saint who was known by the names of Finian, Fridian, Frigian, Frigidion, and Fiudbarry, was head and founder of one of the most ancient congregations of regular canons of St. Augustin, called the congregation of St. Frigidian, whose principal house was St. Frigidian of Lucca, in Italy, of which place this saint was bishop.§ It was he who reformed the congregation of the regular canons of St. John of Lateran, and founded also the abbey of Maghile in Derry, of which we shall have occasion hereafter to speak.

The monastery of Birr, in the territory of Ely, King's county, was founded by St. Brendan the elder, son of Luaigne.||

The abbeys of Dromore and Machavie Lyn, in the territory of Dalaradie, were founded by St. Colman, of the noble family of the Hy-Guala or Gaille-Fine, in Ulster; the former was afterwards made a bishopric and the latter a parish church.

The abbey of Dairmore which signifies a large forest, in the territory of Ferkeal in Westmeath, was founded by St. Colman.¶ This place is probably the same as Land-Elo or Linall mentioned by Usher.

The abbey of Muckmore, in the county of Antrim, was founded and dedicated to the blessed Virgin, by Saint Colman-Elo.**

The abbey of Roscommon was founded by St. Coman, disciple of St. Finian of Clonard.††

The monastery of Ard-Finian, in the county of Tipperary, was founded by St. Finian, surnamed Lobhar, that is, the Lep-

rous, from a disorder to which he was subject.* He was of the noble race of Kiann, son of Oilíoll-Olum, king of Munster, and disciple of St. Columb-Kill, who appointed him to the abbey of Swords, near Dublin.‡

The abbey of Kil-Modain, in the county of Longford, was founded by St. Modan, bishop of Carnfurbhuide in Connaught.†

The abbey of Beanchuir, otherwise Banchor or Bangor,§ formerly called the valley of Angels, situated on the southern shore of Carrick-Feargus bay, in a territory called Ardes, was founded according to Ware in 555, and four years later, according to Usher, for regular canons, by St. Congal, who was first abbot of it, and who lived to see more than four thousand monks of his order.|| This abbey was the principal one of the order, and one of the most celebrated in Ireland, and perhaps of the western church, to which St. Bernard bears a glorious testimony in the life of St. Malachi.¶ "There was, (says he,) under the first St. Congall, a very noble monastery, inhabited by several thousand monks, and head of several other abbeys; a place truly sanctified, and so fruitful in saints, yielding abundantly to God, that St. Luanus, or Evanus, son of that holy congregation, had, himself alone, founded one hundred monasteries."*** In another place, still speaking of this abbey, he adds; "Its disciples not only filled Ireland and Scotia, but swarms of its saints spread themselves through foreign countries, among the number of whom was St. Columbanus, who went to France, where he founded the monastery of Luxeu.††

St. Finian had also founded the priory of Inis-Fallen, or Inis-Fathlen, in an island

* Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Finian, ad 16 Mart.

† Allemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irlande, page 65.

‡ Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Modan, ad 4 Febr.

§ Usher. Prim. cap. 6, p. 132, et c. 13, p. 441, 911, 917, 919, 956, 958, Ind. Chron. ad an. 559.

|| Act. Sanct. Hib. p. 192, 233, 234, 352, 354, 405, 413, 791.

¶ War. Antiq. Hib. cap. 26, and Allem. Hist. Monast. p. 89.

*** "There stood a most noble monastery, under the first father Congellus, inhabited by many thousand monks, and the head of many monasteries. The place was truly sanctified, abounding in saints, abundantly fruitful to God; so that one of the sons of this holy congregation, Luanus or Evanus, was said to be the founder of an hundred monasteries."

†† "Its disciples not only filled Ireland and Scotia, but swarms poured like a torrent into foreign countries, and from among them St. Columbanus hath visited our shores of Gaul, where he founded the monastery of Luxeu."—St. Bernard, in his life of Malachy.

* Allemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irlande, page 8.

† Act. Sanct. Vit. S. Senam, ad 8 Mart. et Vit. S. Natalis, 17 Jan.

‡ Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Brigid. ad 18 Mart. et War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 26.

§ Allemand, Hist. monast. d'Irlande, p. 191, and Trias. Thaum. note in 1, Vit. S. Columbæ.

|| Usher. Prim. Ind. Chron. page 1145.

¶ Usher. Primord. c. 17, p. 960.

** War. de Antiq. Hibern. c. 26.

†† Act. Sanct. Hib. page 405, and War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 26.

in Lake Lene, in the territory of Desmond, for regular canons.*

The abbey of Congbail at Gleann-Suillige in the district of Tirconnel, was founded by St. Fiace, disciple of St. Finian of Clonard.†

Botchonais, an ancient monastery of regular canons, situated in the diocese of Derry, was founded by St. Congal.

The monastery of Clonfert, on the banks of the river Shannon, in the county Galway, called "de portu puro," was founded about the year 558, by St. Brendan, son of Findloge, who was the first abbot of it;‡ he established a particular order, in which there were three thousand monks, both in this house, which was apparently the principal one of the order, and in the others which he had founded. Those monks were a burden to none, as they subsisted themselves by their labour. This same saint likewise founded the monastery of Inis-Mac-Huacuin, in an island in lake Oirbsen.§

The monastery of Inis-Kealtre, an island in lake Derg, in the river Shannon, was founded towards the middle of the sixth century, by St. Camin, of the race of Eana-Kinseallagh, king of Leinster, and brother by his mother, of Guaire king of Connaught.|| Colgan says that St. Camin flourished in 640: he also affirms that he was brother of Guaire; but as the historians of the country, say that Guaire was contemporary of Dermot the monarch, who reigned about the middle of the sixth century, we should, of course, fix the foundation of that monastery in the reign of this monarch.

The abbey of Clonenagh or Cluain-Ednach, in the district of Hy-Regan, founded by St. Fintan, was afterwards made a parish church;¶ this saint also founded in the same country, the abbey of Achad-Ardglais, otherwise called Achad-Finglass.

St. Fola was abbot of the abbey of Ardbrecain; he is probably the same that Colgan calls bishop of Ardbrecain, who, according to him, died in 593. He likewise mentions another St. Fola, who died in 793.

The abbey of Macbile, in the peninsula called Inis-Eoguin or Inis-Owen, was founded by St. Frigidian, who had founded another

of the same name, of which we have already spoken.

The priory of Lurchoe or Lothra, a small town near Lough Derg, in the river Shannon, and county of Tipperary, was founded by St. Ruadan, who was the first abbot of it, and had one hundred and fifty monks under him.* This house was called from his name, Ruadan-Lothra: he died there in 584.†

A monastery for females, called Kill-Chere, Kill-Creidhe or Kilchree, in the territory of Muscraige, and county of Cork, was founded by St. Cera, descended from Conare II., monarch of Ireland in the second century.‡

The monastery of Kill-Rignaigh, in Clenmalire, was founded by St. Regnacia, sister to St. Finian of Clonard.§

Feargus III., and Domhnall I., powerful princes in Ulster, and, as we have observed, descended from Niall the Great, succeeded Dermot,|| A.D. 565. These princes were warlike, as appears by the wars they had to maintain against the princes of Connaught, and the monarch himself, over whom they were always victorious. After their accession to the throne, they were engaged in a war with the people of Leinster, which terminated in the famous battle of Gabhra-Liffe, in the territory of Kilmantain, now Wicklow, in which the provincialists lost a great number of men, and were defeated. Those two princes died a short time afterwards, having reigned about one year.¶

Eocha XIII., son of Domhnall I., succeeded his father and uncle, A.D. 566; he made his uncle Baodan partner in the government. These princes, after a reign together of nearly three years, were killed at the battle of Glingevin, by Cronan, son of Tiger-nach, prince of Kiennachte.

In the time of this monarch, the monastery of Enach-Dune, in the territory of Hua-Bruin, county of Galway, was founded and dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, by St. Brendan of Clonfert, for his sister Brige, who was the first abbess of it.**

Ainmire, descended in the fourth degree from Niall the Great, was chosen monarch, A.D. 568. He was strongly attached to religion, and very strict in causing its rites and

* Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Finan, ad 16 Mart. and War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 26.

† Allem. Hist. Monast. d'Irlande, page 58, and Act. Sanct. page 406.

‡ War. de Antiq. Hib. c. 26, and Allem. Hist. Monast. d'Irlande, p. 69.

§ Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Moen, ad 26 Feb.

|| Ibid. Vit. S. Camin, ad 24, Mart.

¶ Act. Sanct. Vit. S. Fintan, Abbat. ad 17, Feb.

* Act. SS. Vit. S. Finian. ad 23, Feb. c. 24, et War. de Antiq. Hib. c. 26.

† Allem. Monast. Hist. d'Irlande, p. 68.

‡ Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Cera. ad 5, Jac.

§ Ibid. Vit. S. Finian. ad 23, Feb.

|| Keat. History of Ireland, lib. 1.

¶ Grat. Luc. cap. 9.

** Usser. Primord. p. 955.

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p. 251-160

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discipline to be observed. After a reign of three years, he was killed by Feargus-Mac-Neill, at Corrig-Leime-an-Eich; his death was revenged the year following by his son Aodh.

In this reign the abbey of Seamboth, in Hy-Kinseallagh, was founded by St. Colman O'Fiachra.

St. Comgan of the noble race of the Dalcaiss, was abbot of Glean-Ussen; it is not certain that he was founder of this abbey.* Allemand says that Dermitus was abbot of it, and afterwards St. Comgan.

The priory of the Blessed Virgin, at Drumlahan, in Brefsny, at present the county of Cavan, was founded for regular canons of St. Augustin, by St. Edan, or Maidoc, who was afterwards archbishop of Ferns.†

The abbey of Roscrea, in the territory of Ele, county of Tipperary, was founded by St. Cronan.‡

The monastery of Cluain-Credhail, near mount Luachra, in Meath, was founded for females by St. Ita, of the race of Fiacha-Suidhe, brother of Con, surnamed Keadcaha, whose tribe had settled in the territory of Deasie.§

Baodan, son of Nineadha, and cousin-german to the last of that name, succeeded to the throne A.D. 571; his reign was short, having died after one year, of a violent death.

Hugue II., otherwise Aodh, son of Airmire, succeeded Baodan, A.D. 572. This prince was a liberal benefactor to the church; he granted to Columb-Kill the territory of Doire, now Derry, to build a monastery, which he generously endowed, for the support of the monks.

The reiterated complaints which were urged against the poets or fileas, the great number of whom had become a burden to the people, obliged this monarch to convene a general assembly of the states at Dromkeat, in the territory of Doire, A.D. 516, to endeavour to remedy an evil which affected the state in general and every individual in particular. In this there were no allusions made to those bards or fileas, who were employed by the state to preserve its annals, to whom great privileges were granted, and whose writings were submitted to investigation: it was intended only to suppress a number of idle men, who, strolling through the country, and exacting contributions from

all who had the weakness to dread their satirical attacks, assumed to themselves the title of bards. Another object of the assembly was, to consider the measures necessary to be adopted, in order to make the Dalraids of Albania pay that homage and tribute, called Eiric, which were due to the crown of Ireland; it was intended also that they would propose that Scanlan-More, son of Kean-Faoladh, prince of Ossory, should be deposed for having failed in payment of the tribute due by his principality to the monarch, and to place his son Jollan in his stead. The assembly was grand and numerously attended; amongst the princes present were Criomthan-Cear, king of Leinster, and Finghin or Florence, son of Hugue Dubh, and grandson of Criomthan, king of Munster, besides many other princes from the different provinces. Columb-Kill, abbot of Hy, attended by several bishops, and other ecclesiastics, repaired thither, with Aidan, who was at that time king of the Dalraids of Albania.* The first subject of deliberation was, the necessity of banishing the bards, the number of whom had become burdensome to the state; but St. Columb and St. Colman, who took an active part in the deliberations of the assembly, proposed that it would be more prudent to reduce them to a limited number, than to deprive the state of so many subjects, some of whom might become useful; which wise counsel was adopted by the assembly; and regulations were made to confine them to the exercise of their profession.

The claims of Aidan upon the Dalraids of Ulster, formed the subject of another matter of debate. It has been already observed, that the Dalraids of Albania and those of Ulster having been descended from Cairbre-Rieda, considered themselves as one family and one tribe, governed by the same chief, at the pleasure of the monarch of Ireland. An intercourse of friendship subsisted between them, that was founded on the ties of consanguinity, which in appearance ceased when Albania was made a kingdom. It was with the view of renewing this right over the Dalraids of Ulster, that Aidan, as chief of both people, presented himself before the assembly of Dromkeath, as well as to dispel a storm which threatened him, on the part of the monarch, who intended sending troops to Albania, to oblige him to pay the contributions which he required. After much debate, it was determined, that the Dalraids of Ulster, being subjects of the

* Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Itæ. ad 15, Jan. not. 12, p. 418, et Ibid. Vit. S. Comgan. ad 27, Feb.

† War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 26, et Allemand. Hist. Morast. d'Irl. p. 109.

‡ Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Cron.

§ Ibid. Vit. Itæ. ad 15, Jan.

* Trias. Thaum. Vit. 5, S. Columb. lib. 3.

monarch, should pay to him, and to no other, the taxes and imposts due by subjects to their natural prince; but as those two people (namely, those of Albania and Ulster) were connected by blood, they should also contribute to the penalties which were imposed for murder; which, according to the laws established amongst them, condemned the family of the person who would kill or mutilate any person, except in self-defence, "*cum moderamine inculpatæ tutelæ*," to pay to the injured party a sum of money, proportionate to the offence.

With respect to the monarch's claim on Albania, St. Columb influenced him to abandon it, and the two princes separated in peace; he was, however, inexorable about Scanlan-More, whom he detained in a dungeon, notwithstanding the solicitations of the saint, who left him with displeasure, and obtained by prayer the liberty of that prince in a miraculous manner. Thus ended this celebrated assembly of Dromkeat, after having lasted for fourteen months.

In the time of Brandubh, king of Leinster, of the race of Cahire-More, by Feidhlim, son of Eada-Kinseallagh, from whom the noble tribes of the O'Murphys and the O'Dowlings are descended, the monarch endeavoured to exact the *boirive* or tribute, which had been imposed upon that province. He marched with his army towards Wexford, and coming up with the provincialists at Beallachduin or Duinbolg, he gave them battle, in which he lost his life, the ninth of January, A.D. 599, aged sixty-six years, having reigned twenty-seven. He was succeeded by Hugue III., surnamed Slaine.

Many abbeys were founded during this reign. That of Teagh-Mun, in the territory of Loughgarra, at present Wexford, was founded by St. Munnu.*

The monastery of Leighlin was founded by St. Gobban, although some authors say that St. Lasrean was its founder; he was indeed the first bishop of it; and his life even proves that St. Gobban was abbot of it, before he settled there.† It is true, that in the time of St. Lasrean, this monastery acquired so great celebrity, that he was said to have founded it: the celebrated assembly of the clergy which was held there in 620, concerning the observance of the Easter, contributed largely to the renown of that monastery.

The abbey of Cluainferta-Molua was

* Act. Sanct. page 272, cap. 32.

† Ibid. Vit. S. Gobban, ad 62, Mart. and Allemand, Monast. Hist. d'Irl. p. 20.

founded by St. Lugidus or St. Molua, who is said, by St. Bernard, in the life of St. Malachi, to have been founder of a hundred abbeys, as well as St. Columb-Kill.* There was another abbey of this name founded by St. Brendan, in the same city; the latter was on the right bank of the river Shannon, in Connaught, and the former on the left bank, in Leinster.

The abbey of Liath, or Liath-More, or Liathen-Ele, and the monastery of Inis-Lannaught, in the county of Tipperary, were founded by St. Pulcherius, or Mocho-mocus.†

The abbey of Annatrim or Enachtruim, at the foot of the mountain, called in the Scotie language, Slieve-Bladhma, in the district of Hy-Regan, was founded by St. Coeman, and afterwards converted into a parish church.‡

The monastery of Achad-Ur, in the territory of Ossory, was founded by St. Lactin.§

The monastery of Rath-Aodha or Rath-Edha, now the parish of Rahugh, in the territory of Kinel-Fiacha, in West Meath, was founded by St. Aodh or Aidus, of the race of Fiacha, son of the monarch Niall the Great, on a piece of ground, which with a castle, was given him by the lord of the place,|| of the same race of Fiacha, and one of the ancestors of the tribe of the Moelmoyes and the Mac-Eochagains.¶

The abbey of Rathene,** in the territory of Fearcal, which belonged to the tribe of the O'Molloys, of the race of Fiacha, son of Niall the Great, was founded by St. Carthagh, descended, by his father Findall, from Kiar, son of Feargus, from whom the noble tribe of the O'Connors Kerry, derive their origin. His mother, whose name was Meadh, was descended from the lords of Corcoduibhne, in the county of Kerry. This abbey, situated in the neighbourhood of the monastery of Land-Elo, founded by St. Colman, and eight miles from the abbey of Dearmach, founded by St. Columb-Kill, was

* Usser. Prim. Eccles. Brit. Ind. Chron. page 1155, Allem. Hist. Monast. d'Irlande, page 30.

† Act. Sanct. Hib. ad 12 Mart. page 855.

‡ Ibid. Vit. S. Gild. Badon, ad 29 Jan. note 13, page 192.

§ Ibid. Vit. S. Lactin, ad 19, et Mart. Vit. Mochoem. ad 13 Mart. note 13.

|| Vit. S. Aid. ad 28 Feb. cap 39, note 3, et seq. and Allem. Hist. Mon. page 39.

¶ "From this Fiachus, son of Neill, that part of Meath which is called Kinel-Fiacha, received its name; from his seed, two noble families, called O'Molloys and M'Geoghegans, were descended."—Usher, C. Hist. c. 17, p. 910.

** Allem. Hist. Monast. p. 43.

celebrated for its sanctity, and the number of its monks, amounting sometimes to nine hundred. But as virtue frequently becomes the object of envy, our saint was forced to leave Rathene, where he had lived for forty years, and retire to Lismore, where he founded a cathedral, of which he was the first bishop. Colgan says, that he took with him more than eight hundred monks, who lived similarly to those of La Trappe, living upon herbs and vegetables, which they cultivated with their own hands. After the death of their holy founder, most of them dispersed throughout Ireland, England and Scotland, where they founded several religious houses under the order of St. Carthach, which afterwards submitted to that of the regular canons of St. Augustin.

Cambos, a monastery founded on the left bank of the river Bann, at its outlet from Lough Neagh, by St. Congal, was afterwards converted into a parish church.*

The abbey of Cluain-Fiachal, five miles from Ardmach, was founded by St. Lugadius, of the race of Niall the Great.†

The monastery of Rathmat, near lake Orbsen in the county of Galway, founded by St. Furse of Peronne, of the race of Lughla-Laige, brother of Oiliol-Olum, king of Munster, was changed into a parish church under the name of Kilfursa.‡

The monastery of Kill-Cuanna, in the district of Tir-Bruin, in the diocese of Tuam, was founded by St. Cuanna, brother by his mother of St. Carthach of Rathene, and son of Midarn, of the royal race of Niall the Great, by his son Eana.§

The monastery of Rachlin, an island on the northern side of Dalriada, in the county of Antrim, was founded by Lugaid-Laithir, a disciple of St. Columb-Kill.||

The abbey of Cnodain, near Eas-Ruaidh, on the banks of the river Erne, in the territory of Tirconnel, was founded by St. Conan, who was afterwards bishop.¶

The abbey of Disert-Nairbre, in the territory of Desie, and district of Portlargo, at present Waterford, was founded by St. Maidoc of Ferns.**

The abbey of Dar-Inis in the same coun-

try, was founded in an island of that name, by St. Molanfide.*

The abbey of Cluain-Choirphte, county of Roscommon, was founded by St. Berach, disciple of St. Coemgene of Glen-Daloch.†

The monastery of Cluain-Claidheach, in the territory of Hua-Conaill, county of Lomneach, (Limerick,) was founded by St. Maidoc, archbishop of Ferns.‡

The abbey of Druim-Thuoma, now the parish of Drumhone, in the territory of Tirconnel, diocese of Raphoe, was founded by St. Erman, of the race of Niall the Great, by his son, Conall-Gulban.§

The abbey of Rosglas, formerly Ross-Mic-Treoin, near the river Barrow, in Hy-Kinseallagh, was founded by St. Evin, one of the six sons of Eugene, of the race of Oiliol-Olum, king of Munster.||

The abbey of Inbher-Dagan, on the coast of Wexford, was founded by St. Dagan.¶

The abbey of Fedh-Duin, in the county of Tipperary, was founded, according to Colgan, by St. Maidoc or Momoedoc of the royal race of Leinster, and son of the queen, St. Radagunda.**

The abbey of Teagh-Moiling, otherwise St. Mullens, territory of Carlow, was founded by St. Moling, who was abbot of it.

The abbey of Disert-Moholmoc in East Meath, was founded by St. Colman.

The monastery of Morthil, county of Waterford, was founded by St. Brogan who was first abbot of it; he was succeeded by St. Coan or Coanus.††

The monastery of Enach-Midhbreiu, county of Tipperary, was founded by Mac-Briccius.

The bishopric of Dromore in Dalaradie, at present the county of Down, was founded by St. Colman, of the race of the Arads, first abbot of Muckmore, in the county of Antrim, and afterwards first bishop of Dromore.‡‡ He is called Colmanel by Jocelin in the life of St. Patrick, in which he mentions a prophecy of that apostle respecting him.§§ He is also called Mocholmoe, by the

* War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 26, and Allemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irlande, p. 83.

† Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. Berach. ad 15, Feb.

‡ Ibid. Vit. Sanct. Maid. ad 31, Jan.

§ Ibid. Vit. S. Ernan. ad 1, Jan.

|| Act. Sanct. Hib. p. 215, not 1, and Allemand, page 15.

¶ Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Dagan. ad 12, Mart. not 14.

** Allemand, Histoire Monast. d'Irlande, p. 19.

†† War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 26.

‡‡ War. de Episc. Dromor. and Usser. Primord. p. 1065.

§§ Caput 96.

* Ibid. p. 93.

† Act. Sanct. Hib. p. 193, 606, et id. in Vit. S. Lugad. ad 2. Mart.

‡ Ibid. Vit. S. Fuersi. ad 16, Jan. et 26, Mart. page 749.

§ Ibid. Vit. S. Cuan. ad 4, Feb.

|| Usser. Prim. p. 958, et Act. Sanct. Hib. p. 193.

¶ Act. Sanct. Vit. S. Conan. ad 8, Mart.

** Ibid. Vit. S. Maidoc. ad 31, Jan. c. 22, not 23.

scholiast of the *Ængusian martyrology*.* Colman lived in the sixth century; he died the sixth of June, but the year is not known: some say it was in 610, others in 600.† The successors of St. Colman before the arrival of the English, are not known, except Malbridgid Mac-Cathasaige, who died in 972, and Rigan, who is said to have died in 1101.‡ It is probable that this see remained without a bishop for some centuries, and that, during that time, it was governed by the metropolitan.§

Saint Colman, son of Lenin, disciple of St. Finbarr, bishop of Cork, a learned and pious man, was founder and first bishop of the church of Cloyne, towards the end of the sixth century or in the beginning of the seventh; he died the fourth of November, 604. Cloyne, situated in the county of Cork, was formerly called Cluain-Vanian, or Cluain-Vama, which signifies a cell or place of retreat.

The church of Ferns acknowledges St. Edan, otherwise called Moedoc, as its patron and first founder;|| he was son of Sedna, descended in the eighth degree from Colla-Huais, monarch of the island about the beginning of the fourth century.¶ His mother Ethne was descended from Amalgaid, king of Connaught, in the time of St. Patrick. He was born at Inis-Breagmuin, in Brefsny, now the county of Cavan; in his youth he formed a strict friendship with St. Lasarian, abbot of Daminis, or Devenish, in lake Erne. According to some authors, he was, before his voyage to Britain, one of the hostages whom the princes of Brefsny had given to Ainmire, monarch of Ireland, which is at variance with chronology; St. David, with whom our saint had spent some time,** died in 544, and the monarch Ainmire began only to reign, according to Colgan, in 566, or according to others in 568; so that we should refer the captivity of this saint to the reign of Tuathal II., surnamed Maolbarg, who was cotemporary of Saint David, and died the same year as he. However this be, it is admitted by all, that Saint Edan went to Britain, where he spent some time to perfect himself with St. David; after which he returned to his own country, and was kindly received by Brandubh, king of Leinster, who

gave him the city of Ferns, to found a bishopric in it.

After the foundation of the church of Ferns, Brandubh, king of the province, convened a synod, at which it was decreed that the metropolitan dignity of Leinster should be always continued to the see of St. Moedoc, in consequence of which that saint, was declared archbishop of Leinster.*

In the early ages of Christianity, the title of archbishop in Ireland, except that of Ardmach, was not attached to any particular see, this title belonged sometimes to one city, sometimes to another, according to the merit of the bishop, and his reputation for sanctity; it was thus that St. Fiech, bishop of Sletty, was called archbishop of Leinster by St. Patrick; which dignity was successively conferred on Kildare and Ferns. In like manner, Saint Ailbe, bishop of Emly, was called archbishop of Munster; and the bishops of Tuam were called, in the annals of the country, archbishops of Connaught, long before the distribution of the palliums by cardinal Paparo.

The see of Ferns was filled for fifty years by St. Edan, or Maidoc, who, having founded several other churches, and wrought many miracles, was transferred to a happier life, the 31st of January, 632, the day on which his festival is celebrated, and was buried in his church of Ferns.

The bishopric of Kil-Mac-Duach, in Connaught,† was founded by St. Colman, son of Duach, of the noble race of the Hy-Fiachras, who was descended, in the eighth degree, from the monarch Eocha-Móy-Veagon, by his son Fiachra.‡ The surname of Mac-Duach was given him, as a distinction from several of his cotemporaries, who, like him, bore the name of Colman. As he was attached to a pious and secluded life, he spent seven years with one companion alone, in solitude, from whence he was taken and invested with the episcopal dignity. He then chose a suitable place to build a cathedral church upon it, which was called after him, Kil-Mac-Duach, that is, the church of the son of Duach. Being nearly related to Guaire, who was at that time, king of Connaught, his church was considerably enriched by the bounty of that prince. Our saint lived towards the end of the sixth century, or the beginning of the seventh; we can therefore nearly determine the time of the foundation of his church. The year of his

* Not. 106.

† Usser. Primord. Eccles. p. 1126.

‡ War. de Script. Hib. et Annal. 4, Magistr. de an. 972.

§ Colg. Act. Sanct. Hib. p. 387.

|| War de Episc. Fernens.

¶ Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Maid. ad 31, Jan.

** Colgan. not. 7, in Vit. S. Edan. p. 216.

* Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Maidoc. ad 31, Jan. p. 211, not. 29.

† War. de Præsul Duacens.

‡ Act. Sanct. Vit. S. Cblm. ad 3, Feb.

death is not known; but his festival is held the third of February. His successors for many ages are unknown. We discover in the beginning of the ninth century St. Indrect, bishop of Kil-Mac-Duach, and Rugnad O'Ruadan, who died in 1178.*

The bishopric of Fenabore, in the language of the country, Kil-Fenoragh,† situated in the territory of Corcumroe, in Thuomond, now the county of Clare, was the smallest and poorest of the Irish bishoprics; it contained but thirteen parishes; neither the time of its foundation, nor the name of its first founder are known, unless we ascribe it to St. Fachnan patron of that cathedral. In the distribution of bishoprics, by cardinal Paparo, this see was placed among the number of the suffragans of Cashil; but since Charles II., it has been annexed to the archbishopric of Tuam.

Hugue Slaine, son of Dermot the monarch, made his kinsman, Colman Rimidh, son of Baodan, and grandson of Murtough-Mac-Earca, partner in the government, A.D. 599. Those princes having governed the island in peace during six years, were killed at a battle near Lochseimidighe.

The abbey of Fathen, situated near the borders of Inis-Owen, in that part of the diocese of Derry, which extends into the territory of Donnegall, was founded, during the above reign, by St. Murus or Muranus, in the Scotie language Mura, of the race of Niall the Great, and particular patron of the tribe of the O'Neills.‡

This monastery was held in high veneration, not only on account of the memory of St. Muran its patron, but also for the valuable monuments of antiquity which were preserved in it for many centuries: amongst others, there was a small volume written in Scotie verse by St. Mura, and a large book of chronology, filled with many historical passages, concerning the nation in general; this work was much esteemed, and is frequently quoted by the antiquarians of the country; there still remain some fragments of it, says Colgan, which have escaped the fury of the reformers of latter ages.

The monastery of Cluain-Dachrann, in the territory of Fearkeal, was founded by St. Cronan or Mochua, son of Mellan, and disciple of St. Cartagh of Rathene.§

The monastery of Cluan-Fode in the ter-

ritory of Fertullach in Meath, was founded by St. Libren, son of Aidius, prince of Orgiell, of the race of Colla-da-Crioch.*

Hugue IV., surnamed Variodnach, son of Domhnall, and grandson of Murtough-Mac-Earca, succeeded Hugue Slaine, A.D. 605. This prince was renowned for his justice, and deemed very brave, notwithstanding his delicate state of health. His reign was disturbed by the war in which he was engaged against prince Aongus, son of Colman, who was totally defeated with his army, at the battle of Odbha, in which Connall Laogbreag, son of Hugue Slaine, lost his life. This monarch died at Tara, after a reign of seven years.

Limerick, called Lumneach, in the Scotie language, acknowledges as its first bishop, St. Munchin, son of Sedna, who founded a church there, to which he gave his own name, it was formerly a cathedral, but afterwards made a parish church.† The time that this saint lived has been made the subject of much disputation amongst authors, some say that he lived in the time of St. Patrick, and was the same as Mancenus, whom that apostle placed in the district of Tirawly; others assert that he was the same as Mancenus, who died in 651; that bishopric, however, was restored by the Danes, and the cathedral rebuilt in the twelfth century, by Donald O'Brien, king of Limerick.

The priory of Moethel, now Mohill, in the district of Conmacne of Muinter-Eolaa, the ancient patrimony of the Mac-Granvilla, was founded in this reign by St. Manchene.‡ This saint also founded the abbey of Menedrochaid, in the territory of Loise, at present the Queen's county.§

Maolchaba, son of Hugue II., and grandson of Ainmire the monarch, ascended the throne A.D. 612; he reigned but three years, having been killed by his successor, at the battle of Cath-Taod.

It is affirmed by some writers, that this monarch having abdicated the throne, became a monk, and died bishop of Clogher.||

St. Laserian (not St. Laserian, abbot of Daminis in lake Erne) was first bishop of Leighlin, commonly called Old Laughlin, a town situated in the territory of Carlow, at a short distance from the river Barrow.

Saint Laserian was sometimes called Molaisre:¶ he was son of Cairel and Blitha,

* Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Indrect. ad 5, Febr. not. 3.

† War. de Episc. Fenabor.

‡ Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Muri, ad 12, Mart. Allemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irlande, page 97.

§ Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Cron. ad. 11 Febr.

* Ibid. Vit. S. Libran. ad 11, Mart.

† War. de Episc. Limmericens.

‡ Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Manch. ad 14, Feb. Usser. Primord. cap. 17, page 969.

§ War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 26.

|| Grat. Luc. c. 9.

¶ War. de Episc. Leighlin.

and brought up in his youth by the abbot St. Murin, to whom his mother, Blitha, daughter of a king of the Picts, had entrusted him. He went to Rome, where he remained fourteen years, during which time he attended particularly to the expounding of the holy Scriptures, by St. Gregory, Pope, from whom he received the order of priesthood, and returned to his own country. He visited Gobban abbot of Leighlin, some time afterwards, who voluntarily resigned to him his monastery, and sought an establishment in another place, for himself and his monks.

The monastery of Leighlin became celebrated under St. Laserian; there were monks in it to the number of 1500.* The celebration of Easter, was, at that time, the subject of frequent debates; a synod was convened on the banks of the Barrow, between Laughlin and Sliev-Margey, to take it into consideration. This matter was debated between St. Laserian and Munnu, abbot of an abbey called Teach-Munnu, which he had founded in the territory of Kinseallagh. As each was inflexible in his own opinion, the synod terminated without deciding upon anything; wherefore St. Laserian returned to Rome, where he was honourably received by pope Honorious I., who consecrated him bishop, and sent him back to Ireland in the capacity of legate, with instructions for the faithful respecting the Easter.† He succeeded so well in this mission, that he brought back the southern Scots to the observance of the true Easter.‡ He died the 18th of April, 638, and was interred in the church of Leighlin, which he had founded.

The bishopric of Cork was founded by St. Barr, or Finbar, called Lochan at his baptism; he was from the province of Connaught.§ This saint founded a cathedral church in the seventh century; and after being bishop of it for seventeen years, according to some but seven, he died at Cloyne, fifteen miles from his cathedral, on the 25th of September; the year, however, is unknown|| His body was brought to Cork, and honourably interred in his church, where

his relics were afterwards deposited, in a silver shrine.* In his time there was a celebrated school at Cork, which produced a great number of saints and learned men. According to Dempster, he was the author of the epistle on the ceremonies of baptism, which is generally ascribed to Alcuin.

Suibhne, surnamed Mean, son of Fiachra, and great grandson of Murtough-Mac-Earca, succeeded Maolchaba, A.D. 615. He reigned thirteen years, and was killed by Congal, son of Scanlan, king of Ulster, at the battle of Traighbhrene, leaving the sceptre to Domhnall, brother of the monarch Maolchaba.

Domhnall II., brother of Maolchaba, and son of Hugue II., of the race of Niall the Great, by Conall Gulban, ascended the throne, A.D. 628. This monarch was both a good Christian and a wise king; he governed his subjects with much prudence, and gained several victories over his enemies. His humility was so great, that when he asked St. Fechin for the penance, and remission of a crime he had committed, he prostrated himself upon the earth, and allowed the saint to walk on him. The crime was, the revision which that monarch wished to make of the boundaries and dynasties belonging to the southern Hy-Nialls, and in consequence of which he made war against them.

Meath, which had been the domain of the monarchs of Ireland from the reign of Tuathal-Teachtmar in the second century, was divided into territories and dynasties in the reign of Niall, surnamed Noygiollach, at the end of the fourth century, and divided between his eight sons;‡ whose descendants, called the Hy-Nialls, were formed into two tribes, namely the northern and southern Hy-Nialls, from the situation of their respective territories.

The northern Hy-Nialls, namely, the four sons of Niall, called Eogan, Conall-Gulban, Eana, and Carbre, with their followers, invaded Ulster, where they seized upon the vast districts of Tir-Eogan, Tirconnel, Tir-Eana, Carbre-Gaura, and the environs of Lough Erne.

It appears that those princes had preserved their possessions in Meath for some time: we discover that in the time of St. Patrick, Carbre was in possession of Tailton and the parts adjoining; that some lands in West-Meath and in Connaught, belonged

* Usser. Prim. Eccles. Brit. cap. 17, page 926.

† "Pope Honorious sent letters to the nation of the Scots, whom, in their observance of the Easter, he had found to be in error."—*Bede's C. Hist.* b. 2, c. 19.

‡ "Moreover the Scots who inhabited the south of Ireland, had, long before this, paid attention to the Pope's mandate, for their observance of the Easter."—*Bede.*

§ Usser. Ind. Chron. note ad an. 630. War. de Epist. Corcagiens.

|| War. de Antiq. c. 29.

* Act. Sanct. Hib. ad 14, Mart.

† Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Fechini, ad 20 Jan. c. 24, cum notis.

to Eana; the same may be supposed of the other two.* Their great possessions however, in Ulster, made them afterwards abandon those in Meath, which were not so considerable, and which became, by degrees, blended with the possessions of the southern Hy-Nialls.

As the monarchs were sometimes chosen from one of those tribes, and sometimes from another, the recovery of those ancient possessions, by placing the northern Hy-Nialls nearer to the court of Tara, where the elections took place, would have enabled them to secure the votes, in the elections for a monarch. Those were the political motives which influenced Domhnall, and the secret cause which induced him to march an army into Meath, in order to oblige the southern Hy-Nialls to accede to his wishes. Alarmed at this step of the monarch, the southern Hy-Nialls assembled their vassals, made them take up arms, and prepared to defend themselves; but on seeing that they were inferior in numbers to the royal army, they implored the mediation of St. Fechin, abbot of the abbey of Fouar, in Westmeath, of which he was the founder. This saint was of noble descent, but was still more celebrated for his virtues, and high reputation of sanctity. Having complied with their request, he went to meet the monarch, who was advancing with rapid strides at the head of his army, and reproached him with his rashness and injustice, in endeavouring to disturb a possession of two hundred years. The monarch was at first deaf to his remonstrances; but the saint having recourse to prayer, God displayed such prodigies as moved the monarch, whose conscience was timid, and already under the influence of religion; thus, seeing hereby that the elements appeared to vindicate the will of Heaven, he relinquished his enterprise, made peace with the southern Hy-Nialls, and humbly submitted to the penance which the saint imposed on him. He spent the remainder of his days in the practice of penance and virtue; among other good works, he endowed the monastery of Cong, which St. Fechin had founded, and which Gratianus Lucius calls "*Cænobium Congense*."

This pious monarch died in the odour of sanctity, at Artfothad, since called Rath-Domhnall, in the district of Tyrconnel, after a reign of fourteen years, and an illness which confined him, for the space of eighteen months, to his bed, in which state the sacra-

ment was administered to him every Sunday, A.D. 642.*

The bishopric of Lismore was founded about the beginning of the seventh century, by St. Carthagh, who was also called Machuda.† This saint was descended from Fergus, of the race of Ire, father of Kiar, from whom the county of Kerry derived its name.

Carthagh having left his native country in his youth, founded a monastery at Rathene, in Westmeath: he was first abbot of it, and it is said that he was at the head of a great number of monks there, for forty years, who at one time amounted to 867.‡ He established a particular and very rigid order for this house; the monks lived by their labour, and on the vegetables which they cultivated with their own hands, like those of La Trappe. This order was afterwards blended with that of the regular canons of St. Augustine.

The high reputation for austerity and sanctity of the monks of Rathene, drew upon them the envy and displeasure of those of another monastery in the neighbourhood, and obliged them to leave their establishment. Carthagh led them to the district of Desie, near Portlargo, (Waterford), where he was received with respect by the prince of the territory, who assigned him a place called Dunsinnne, and since Lismore. Having settled his monks there, he founded a cathedral, of which he was first bishop, and a celebrated school, which was much frequented, not only by the natives, but likewise by a number of foreigners, who applied themselves in it to the study of true philosophy.§

The historians of the country affirm, that St. Cataldus, afterwards bishop of Tarentum, had been for some time over the schools at Lismore; Bartholomew Moron says the same thing in his life: St. Cataldus must therefore have lived in the seventh century, after St. Carthagh, who had founded the schools, rather than in the second, as Moron, ad-

* War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 4, Grat. Luc. c. 9.

† War. de Episc. Lismor.

‡ Usser. Prim. c. 17, p. 910. Act. Sanct. Hib. 10, Feb. in not. ad Vit. S. Cron.

§ "Lismore is a holy city, into the half of which, there being an asylum, no woman dare enter: it was filled with cells and holy monasteries, and a number of holy men are always in it. The religious flow to it from every part of Ireland, England, and Britain, anxious to emigrate to Christ; and the city itself is situate on the southern bank of the river, formerly called *Nem*, lately called *Aben-Mor*, i. e. a great river in the district of Nandesus." — *Allemand's Monastic History of Ireland.*

† Jocelin, Vit. S. Patr. c. 53, et Vit. Trip. lib. 2, cap. 4.

vances; no Christian schools having been as yet, either at Lismore, or in any other part of Ireland. The great number of Christians who (he says) had been in this country, in the time of St. Cataldus, proves that he was mistaken, respecting the age in which that saint lived.

Killaloe, situated in the county of Clare, on the right bank, and west of the river Shannon, near the famous cataract, above Limerick, which interrupts the navigation of the river, derives its name from St. Molua, who had founded a church there in the beginning of the sixth century, of which he was abbot.* In the annals of Innisfail, and in most of the histories of the country, this place is called Kill-da-Lua, which signifies the church of Lua, which was the real name of that saint. St. Flannan, son of king Theodoric, and disciple of St. Molua, was consecrated first bishop of this see, about the year 639, at Rome, by Pope John IV. During his episcopacy, Theodoric endowed this church liberally, and was interred in it, by his son, the bishop having died at an advanced age.

The monastery of Achad-Garvan, now Dungarvan, in the territory of Desie, was founded by St. Garban, or Garvan, son of Finbarr, and disciple of the great St. Barr, bishop of Cork.†

The monastery of Teach-Molaige, or Tulach-Mhin, in the territory of Fera-Muighe, in the county of Cork, was founded by St. Molagga.‡

The abbey of Tirdaglass, diocese of Killaloe, on the river Shannon, was founded by St. Colman-Stellan.§

In this reign we may place the foundation of two monasteries for females, by Saint Darerca, surnamed Mænen, of the race of the Clanna-Rorys, the first of which was that of Fochard, in the territory of Conall-Murthemane, in the county of Louth, in memory of St. Bridget, who was born in that place: there have been canonesses to the number of one hundred and fifty in that house.¶ The second was that of Kilsleve, or Kilslebe, in the territory of Ardmach, founded by the same saint, whom Colgan takes care not to confound with the abbess of Lin, who was sister of St. Patrick, and also called Darerca.

St. Aedan, or Aidus, surnamed Dubh, that is, the Black, king of Leinster, having

abdicated the throne, became a monk, and founded a monastery for regular canons at Kildare, of which he was abbot, and afterwards bishop.*

St. Fechin, an abbot and anchorite, was celebrated for the retired life he led, and the great number of religious houses which he founded in this and the two following reigns. His father was Coelcharn, of the race of Eocha-Fion-Fuothairt, brother of Conn-Keadcaha; and his mother Lassar was descended from the kings of Munster.†

This saint founded the monasteries of Easdara, Bile-Fechin, Kill-Na-Manach, and Druim-Ratha, for regular canons, in the diocese of Achonry, where he was born; the abbey of Kill-Na-Garban, in the territory of Coistolo; the abbey of Cong, between the lakes Mask and Corrib, on the frontiers of the counties of Galway and Mayo.

This house was built and endowed by Domhnall II., who became monarch of the island four years afterwards. Cong was a celebrated place, for having been the residence of the kings of Connaught, and a number of fine churches, as may be discovered by the extensive ruins which remain.

The monasteries of Inaidh and Ard-Oilen, two islands in the river Shannon. He also founded the monastery of Tibraid, in the territory of Maine, that is, in southern Teafna, which comprised a part of Westmeath and Anah, now the county of Longford, and that of Tulach-Fobhair, near Naas, in the county of Kildare.

Lastly, St. Fechin founded the monastery of Foure, in the territory of Dealna-Mor, in a pleasant valley, called Fobhair or Fovar, in which there were 300 monks under the rigid order of that saint. Mortification was practised in it to a high degree. Cambrensis says, that women were not allowed to enter the convent, nor even the mill belonging to it.‡

Saint Fechin died in 664, of a plague, called in the Scotie language, "Buidhe-Chonnaill," which had carried off a great number, both of the clergy and the people, without sparing even the crowned heads. Blathmac and Dermot II., who governed the island together, Cais or Caius Gan-Mathuir,

* Trias. Thaum. App. 5, ad Vit. S. Brigid. p. 629.

† Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Fechin, App. c. 2.

‡ "In Meath, at Fovar, there is a mill which holy Fechinus excavated with his own hands, out of the side of a rock. Neither into this, nor into the church of the saint, no woman entered; the mill was held in equal veneration by the natives, as one of the churches of the saint."—*Allemand's Monastic History of Ireland*, page 41.

* War de Episc. Laonens.

† Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Garvan. ad 26, Mart.

‡ Act. Hib. Vit. S. Molag. ad 20, Jan.

§ Ibid. p. 12 et 14, 142 et 247.

¶ Usser. Prim. Eccles. Ind. Chron. ad an. 630.

king of Munster, and several other princes, fell victims to this contagion, which is mentioned by Bede, in accordance with the historians of the country.*

Conall, surnamed Claon, son of Maolchaba, of the race of Niall the Great, by Conall Gulban, succeeded Domhnall, A.D. 642. This prince, according to the general custom of the time, shared the government with his brother Kellach. They reigned in peace, but ended their lives differently, the former having been killed in a combat against Dermot, and the latter died a natural death at Brugh, on the river Boyne.

St. Sacer, otherwise Mosacer and Mosacra, of the race of the Clanna-Rorys, founded in the reign of these princes the monastery of Teach-Sacra, near Taulaght, within three miles of Dublin.†

The monastery of Glasmore, in the territory of Desies, was founded about the same time, by St. Cronan, known by the name of St. Mochua, disciple of Saint Carthagh, for regular canons of St. Augustin. St. Cronan was killed in his abbey of Glasmore, with all his monks, by Danish or Norwegian pirates, who made a descent on the country in the seventh century.‡

We may also place about this time the foundation of a monastery in the territory of Hy-Cairbre, county of Lomneach, (Limerick,) called Kil-Mochelloe, or Kilmallock, from the name of St. Machelloe, of the race of Conare, monarch of the island, by whom it was founded.§

Blathmac and Dermot, surnamed Ruaidhnaigh, brothers, and children of Hugue III., ascended the throne, A.D. 854; and after a reign of ten years, were carried off, with a considerable number of their subjects, by a plague which ravaged the whole island, A.D. 865.||

The abbey of Chuain-Dolchain, in the county of Dublin, near the frontiers of Meath, was founded in this reign by St. Machua.¶

* "In the 664th year of our redemption, on the 3d day of May, about the tenth hour, in which year there was a sudden pestilence, whereby the southern parts of Britain were depopulated, and also extended into the province of Northumberland. This plague spread itself still more widely, and destroyed in its ravages great numbers of people"—*Bede's Church History*, c. 27, b. 3.

† Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Sac. ad 3, Mart. Allemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irlande, page 8.

‡ Act. Sanct. Vit. S. Cronan. ad 10, Febr. Allem. Hist. Monast. d'Irlande, page 52.

§ Ibid. Vit. S. Mochelloe, ad 26, Mart. Allem. page 60.

|| Bed. lib. 3, c. 26, et Act. Sanct. Hib. p. 603.

¶ Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Ferfugill. ad 10, Mart. Allemand, Hist. Monast. page 8.

The monastery of Inis-Bo-Fin, a maritime island on the western coast of Connaught, was founded in 664, by St. Colman, bishop of Lindisfarn, in England.*

The abbey of Mayo was first founded by St. Colman, for regular canons of St. Augustin, and afterwards finished by his disciple, St. Gerald, abbot of Winton in England, who accompanied that bishop to Ireland, whom Ragallach, king of Connaught, supplied with funds for this purpose.† The same St. Gerald founded the abbey of Elytheria, or Templegerard, in the county of Mayo, for regular canons.‡

Lastly, St. Gerald founded a monastery at Mayo, for nuns, of which his sister, St. Segresia, was abbess.

Seachnusach, son of Blathmac, succeeded his father and his uncle, and was killed, after a reign of six years, by Dubh Duin, of Kenel-Cairbre, A.D. 671.

Kionn-Faola, brother of Seachnusach, succeeded him on the throne, A.D. 671; he reigned but four years, having been killed at the famous battle of Kealtrach, in the territory of Thuomond, A.D. 675.

Fionachta, surnamed Fleadhach, which signifies, hospitable, son of Dunchada, and grandson of Hugue III., surnamed Slaine, succeeded Kionn-Faola.§ This pious prince being desirous of renouncing the world, and of devoting himself to the service of God, retired into a monastery about the twelfth year of his reign; the affairs of state, however, joined to the solicitations of the great men, induced him to leave the convent before the end of his noviciate, and resume the reigns of government.

This monarch gave battle to the people of Leinster, at Lochgabhair in Meath, near Kells, in which several of the provincial troops lost their lives; he then, at the request of St. Moling, suppressed the tribute called "Boiroimhe-Laighean," which the monarch Tuathal-Teacht-Mar, one of his ancestors, had imposed on that province in the second century, and which had caused so much blood to flow.||

It was in the reign of this monarch that the English, by order of Ecgrif, king of the Northumbrians, made a descent upon Ireland. In the year of the Incarnation of our Lord 684, (says Bede,) Ecgrif, king of

* Bede, Hist. Eccles. lib. 4, c. 4.

† Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. Gerald. ad 13, Mart. War. de Antiq. Hib. c. 26.

‡ Allemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irlande, page 78, et seq.

§ Grat. Luc. cap. 9. Keating's History of Ireland.

|| War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 4.

the Northumbrians, having sent General Berte with an army to Ireland, plundered that unoffending people (who had been always friendly and well-disposed towards the English), without sparing either churches or monasteries; however the Irish used all their efforts, and repelled force by force.* Thus, this attack of the Saxons was attended by no other result than the pillaging of some villages on the coasts of the island.

In the reign of this monarch, Cumasgach, king of the Picts, invaded this island with all his forces; but he was killed by the islanders at the battle of Rathmore, in Meath, in the barony of Lupe, and his army cut to pieces.

After a reign of twenty years, Fionnachta lost his life, together with his crown, at the battle of Greallach-Dolling, A.D. 695, and is placed in the martyrology, on the 14th of November, the day on which he is honoured as a saint.

In the reign of this pious monarch, some religious houses were founded; namely, the abbey of Lusk, in the county of Dublin, by St. Colga.†

The abbey of Achadh-Dubtuigh, in the district of Ly, on the banks of the river Bann, in the county of Antrim, was founded by Saint Guaire or Goar, of the race of Colla-Huais.‡

The abbey of Both-Chonais, in the district of Inis-Owen, county of Donegal, was founded by St. Congellus, of the race of Eogan, son of Niall the Great, from whom the illustrious tribe of the O'Neills are descended. This saint is not the same as he who had founded the abbey of Beanchuir, in the county of Down.§

The priory of Inchenimeo, (an island of Lough-Derg, in the river Shannon), which signifies the island of the living, called the priory of St. Hilary, was founded by Saint Donan. This house, which consisted of regular canons, was removed to Corball or Kilbara, a small place on the borders of that lake.||

The priory of Thome was founded, in the

* "In the year of our Lord 684, Egfridus, king of the Northumbrians, sent, under the command of Bertus, an army to devastate the country, and destroy an unoffending people, who had been most friendly to the English; neither churches nor monasteries were spared, they were repulsed by the natives."—*Bede*.

† Act. Sanct. Hib. it S. Colg. ad 20, Feb.

‡ Ibid. in Vit. S. Maidoc. ad 30 Jan. Append. c. 2, page 223.

§ Allemand, Hist. Monast. page 94. Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Christie. ad 3, Mart.

|| Allemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irlande, page 67.

same century, by the same St. Donan; this priory belonged to the house of Corball, which we have just mentioned.

Loingseach, son of Aongus, grandson of Domhnall II., and great-grandson of Hugue II., surnamed Slaine, of the race of Here-mon, succeeded Fionnachta-Fleadhach.

In the reign of that monarch the Britons and Saxons made an attempt upon Ireland; they laid waste the plain of Muirtheimne, at present the county of Louth; but they were repulsed by Loingseach, and forced to abandon their enterprise. They were afterwards totally defeated by the Ulster troops, at Moigh-Cuillin, or Ire-Conaght, in the county of Galway.

There was in this reign a dreadful murrain among the cattle, followed by a famine, that lasted for three years. After a reign of nine years, this monarch was killed, with his three sons, Ardgall, Consac, and Flan, at the battle of Cormiu, by Kellach, son of Ragallach, king of Connaught, A.D. 704.

Congall, surnamed Kionmaghair, son of Feargus-Fanuid, and descendant of Niall the Great, by Conall-Gulban, ascended the throne. He took delight to put away every year, the hostages which the provinces were accustomed to give the monarchs, in order to reclaim them by arms. He was always at war with the people of Leinster, to avenge the death of Hugh II., (son of Ainmire, his great-grand-father,) who had been killed by them at the battle of Beallach-Dunbolg. This unhappy prince became, at length, a persecutor of the church and clergy; but the divine vengeance arrested his career by a sudden death, A.D. 711.

Feargall, son of Maolduin, and great-grandson of Hugh IV., surnamed Vairionach, succeeded Congall. The inhabitants of Britain, who frequently made their attacks on Ireland, for the sake of plunder, arrived, during the reign of this monarch, in Ulster, where, after a bloody engagement fought at Cloch-Mionuire, they were entirely routed by the Dalriads, and other tribes of Ulster.

Although Fionnachta forgave the people of Leinster the tribute which they were obliged to pay to the monarch, it appears that some of his successors still laid claim to it. Feargall, being irritated with the Leinster men, whether from their refusal to pay the tribute, or from some other motives of dissatisfaction, entered their country with an army of 21,000 men. Mourough-Mac-Broin, king of the province, at the head of but 9,000, met the monarch at Almhuiue, at present Allen, in the county of Kildare. The disproportion of the two armies would seem, at first view,

to decide in favour of the monarch; but a panic spreading on a sudden through his soldiers, lost to him the victory and his life, besides one hundred and sixty lords, of his attendants. The historians of the country make the loss, on both sides, amount to 7,000 men. A.D. 722.

Fogartach, son of Niall, and grandson of Kernagh, of the race of Niall the great, by Conall-Creamthine, Dermot and Hugh III., surnamed Slaine, obtained the supreme government of the island; but he saw, almost at the same time, the beginning and end of his reign, as, about the close of the year, he was killed at the battle of Delgan or Kindeigin, A.D. 724.

Kionath, son of Jargallach, and descended from Niall the Great, by Conall-Creamthine, Dermot and Hugh-Slaine, was successor to Fogartach.

This monarch fought a battle with prince Flahertach at Dromorcain, where his army was entirely defeated, and himself found among the slain.*

He was succeeded by Flahertach, A.D. 727: this prince was son of Loinseach the monarch, of the royal race of Niall the Great, by Conall Gulban. In the reign of this monarch, Hugue, surnamed Ollan, at the head of his vassals, declared war against the Clanna-Nialls of Ulster, which was ended by the battle of Fotharta, in the territory of Muirthiemne, (Louth,) in which Hugue Roin, king of that province, lost his life. The cause of this war was the sacrilege committed by Hugh Roin, in several churches in the diocese of Ardmach, which he had pillaged, and the complaints advanced against him by Congos, then archbishop and confessor of Hugue Ollan, in a poem which he had composed on that subject.†

Flahertach, regardless of the royal dignity and splendours of the world, withdrew, after a reign of seven years, to Ardmach, A.D. 734, where he embraced the monastic state, and spent the last thirty years of his life in the practice of austerities.‡ This circumstance occurred whilst Congus was archbishop of that see.

Flahertach was the last monarch of Ireland, of the race of Conall-Gulban, son of Niall the Great; the O'Domhnalls or O'Donnells, the eldest branch of that illustrious tribe, have always supported the splendour of hereditary princes of Tyrconnel. The present chief of that very ancient and noble family is O'Donnel, son of Hugue, a general

officer in the service of her majesty, the empress queen, well known for his military exploits, not only in the last war against the Turks, but also in the present war with Prussia.

Hugue V., surnamed Ollan, son of Feargall the monarch, of the race of Niall by Eogan, took possession of the throne, which had become vacant by the abdication of Flahertach. This prince was learned, and a severe revenger of any injuries committed against the Church. He held an assembly at Tirda-Glass, in the district of Ormond, at which Cahall, son of Fionguine, king of Munster, and several other princes, were assembled respecting the payment of St. Patrick's tribute throughout the whole island. In the reign of this monarch, a disastrous war broke out between the provinces of Munster and Leinster; the two armies having engaged at Beallach-Feile, in the King's county, the success was for a long time doubtful; but at length victory declared in favour of Cathal, king of Munster, and Keallach, prince of Ossory, was found among the slain. The battle of Athseanuigh, which was fought some time afterwards, between the people of Leinster and the monarch, was more fatal to the Provincialists, having lost the greater part of their nobility, with Hugue, son of Colmain their king, and about 9000 of their best troops.

Cahall son of Fionguine, king of Munster, and Hugue Balve, king of Connaught, contemporaries of this monarch, both died in his reign. He himself ended his days, some time afterwards, at the battle of Keannanus, in Meath, which his successor had gained over him.

Domhnall III., son of Mourrough, descended, in the eleventh degree, from Niall the Great, by Conall Crimthine, and Dermot the monarch, ascended the throne, A.D. 743: his reign was long and peaceful. In his time the Picts made incursions into Leinster; they were, however, totally defeated by the Leinster troops at Rath-Beathach, in the district of Ossory, where Cahasach, their king, was slain.

Domhnall, being a prince endowed with the love of religion, was induced through piety, to make a pilgrimage to the island of Hy-Columb-Kill, where he died in peace, after a reign of 20 years, A.D. 763.

We may place in this reign, the foundation of two religious houses, one for men and the other for females: namely, the abbey of Taulacht, three miles from Dublin, which Colgan calls "Monasterium Tam lactense,"

* Trias Thaum. 7, Vit. S. Part. cap. 7; p. 130.

† War. de Archiepisc. Ardmach.

‡ Trias Thaum. page 294.

founded by Saint Moelruan;* and a monastery for females at Doire-Mell, in eastern Brefny, now Cavan, founded by St. Tigernach, for his mother Saint Mell.†

Niall, surnamed Frassach, son of Feargall, and brother of Hugue V., succeeded Domhnall, A.D. 763.

The peace which the kingdom enjoyed during his reign, was embittered by a general famine and frequent earthquakes, which spread desolation throughout the land.

This prince, who ardently desired to lead a more perfect life than what is generally spent upon a throne, abdicated it, after a reign of seven years, and withdrew to the island of Hy, where he passed the last eight years of his life in the practices of penance, A.D. 770.

Donchada, son of Domhnall III., governed the island after Niall; and after a reign of twenty-seven years, spent in peace, and the practice of good works, he died a natural death, A.D. 797.

We may here introduce the foundation of the priory of Damliag or Duleek, in the territory of Bregb in Meath, dedicated to the blessed Virgin, of which St. Cathmas was abbot in this reign.

The abbey of Clontuoskirt was founded about this time for regular canons of St. Augustin, by S. Boadan, who was first abbot of it.‡

CHAPTER XII.

As we have now come to the period of the invasion of Ireland by the Danes, we must interrupt the history of the succession of her kings, to verify the real state of religion amongst the Irish at that time; it will be found in the following chapter, together with the wars of those barbarians.

The church of Ireland was already well founded, from the time of the apostleship of St. Patrick, and the christian religion well established in this country; there were bishops and pastors every where; every canton had its church, and every church its pastor. It is probable that a diocese was not then considerable; whereas in the time of Saint Patrick, there were more than three hundred bishops in this island, where at present there are not forty.

* Act. Sanct. Vit. S. Ænguss. ad 11, Mart.

† Act. Sanct. Vit. S. Mell. ad 31, Mart.

‡ War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 26. Allem. Hist. Monast. d'Irlande, page 77.

Without speaking of the three first ages of Christianity, a period in which we find in other parts of Europe, Scoto-Milesians who were eminent for the sanctity of their lives both as bishops and monks; who had been fortunate enough to leave their own country, which was still in a state of idolatry; unacquainted also with Christianity, except what they learned from the accounts of travellers; the 4th century gave birth to the four great precursors of St. Patrick, namely, St. Ailbe, St. Declan, St. Ibar, and St. Kieran. These holy men who converted several districts in the island, founded some considerable abbeys, of which they themselves were abbots, and afterwards bishops.

Usher, according to an ancient authentic manuscript, discriminates three different classes of saints in Ireland, which correspond with the fifth and sixth centuries.*

The first class, called very holy, existed in the time of St. Patrick, who, after Jesus Christ, was head of them; this class, composed of three hundred and fifty celebrated bishops, was filled with the holy spirit, and were all the founders of Churches; they had the same mass, the same liturgy, and the same tonsure from one ear to the other. They celebrated Easter on the fourteenth of the moon, after the vernal equinox. Whoever was excommunicated by one church, was the same by all: neither did they shun the assistance nor the conversation of women, because, being founded by Jesus Christ, as upon a firm rock, they never dreaded the breath of temptation. In fine, this class which consisted of subjects from different nations, but principally Scoto-Milesians, lasted during the reigns of four monarchs successively, beginning with Laogare.

The second class consisted of priests to the number of three hundred, among whom there were some few bishops. They acknowledged but one head, namely, Jesus Christ; they had different liturgies and different masses; they celebrated the Easter on the fourteenth of the moon, as those of the first class; they had likewise the same tonsure from ear to ear; but they never spoke to women. This class continued also for four reigns, beginning with Tuathal.

The principal saints of this class were the two Finians, the two Brendans, Jarlath of Tuam, Congall, Coemgin, Kieran, Columb, Cannech, Lasren, Eugene Mac-Laisre, Luge Cormac, Colman, Nesson, Lasrea, Barrinde, Coeman, Conan, Ende, Aide, Berchan, and many others.

* Usher. Primord. Eccles. Brit. cap. 17. p. 913.

The third and last class comprised several holy priests, to the number of one hundred, amongst whom there were some bishops: they inhabited the woods and desert places, drinking nothing but water, and lived upon herbs, which they cultivated themselves, in nearly the same manner as the monks of La Trappe. They possessed no property; followed different rules and different liturgies, had different tonsures, some were shaved, and others wore their hair; they also differed in the celebration of the Easter, some observing it on the fourteenth day of the moon, others the thirteenth, and some on the sixteenth. This class likewise lasted during four reigns, till the time of Hugue III., surnamed Slaine, in the beginning of the seventh century.

The principal bishops of this class were Petran, Ultan, Colman, Edan, Loman, Senach, and others; the priests were Fechin, Foilan, Coman, Colman, Ernan, Cronan, and many others.

The sanctity of those three classes, is characterised in the monument quoted by Usher. The third class, he says, was very holy, the second less so, and the third still less than the second.* However, those who composed the last class, though inferior to the others in perfection, would be looked upon in the present age, as inimitable models of mortification and sanctity.

Usher quotes a second manuscript which he had seen, that mentioned those three classes or orders of saints in Ireland; the first order according to this manuscript, was as brilliant as the meridian sun in all its force; the second pale like the moon, and the third shone like aurora.†

Although it may be supposed that those three different classes of saints should belong to the two centuries, which followed the preaching of St. Patrick, still, if we compare them with the vision of that apostle, quoted by Jocelin, we may apply them allegorically to the different states of religion in Ireland, from the preaching of the gospel till the twelfth century, and the arrival of the English in this island.‡

St. Patrick, says Jocelin, filled with apprehensions for the church he had founded, offered up a fervent prayer to God, to know what its destiny would be in future ages.

* "The first order was most holy, the second order more holy, and the third, holy; the first was ardent as the sun, the second as the moon, and the third as a star."

† "The first, like the sun, was warmed by the fervour of its brightness; the second, pale as the moon; the third shone as Aurora."—Usher.

‡ Vit. S. Part. cap. 175.

The Lord having heard his prayer, first presented to his view an island, as if all on fire, and covered with a flame which raised itself to the skies; he afterwards beheld only the tops of the mountains burning. Those first visions may be applied to the four first ages of Christianity in that island, when religion was still in all its splendour. But the eclipse occasioned by the incursions of the barbarians of the north, in the ninth and tenth centuries, is strongly represented by the darkness, which, according to the vision, had succeeded to the light, and by the thinly scattered sparks, which the saint beheld in the vallies, and the still lighted coals which lay concealed beneath the ashes. The light which the apostle saw coming from the north, and which, after dispelling the darkness, lighted the whole island, implies the re-establishment of religion, after the expulsion of the Danes; which that author ascribes to the zeal of the learned Celse, otherwise Celestine, Ceallach, or in the language of the country, Kellach, who was archbishop of Armagh, in the beginning of the twelfth century, and of his successor, St. Malachi.* Jocelin here mentions, that the English claim the merit of having revived religion in that island; but the decision of it he leaves to the judgments of God; the vanity of their claim on that head, we shall discover in the subsequent part of this history.

The difference which prevailed in the liturgy and tonsure, caused no schism in the church of Ireland.

The first and most ancient liturgy of this new church took its origin from St. Mark;† it was introduced into Provence, Languedoc, and some other provinces, by St. Cassian and St. Honoratus; St. Germain and St. Loup established it in Gaul: and St. Patrick brought it into Ireland, where it has been scrupulously observed by his disciples.

This liturgy afterwards underwent some changes, both in this and other private churches, in which we discover different rituals and ceremonies. There were many other rites in this as well as in the Greek or Eastern church, and that of the Romans; all these different liturgies continued in use for a considerable time, even till the end of the eleventh century, when Gilbert, bishop of Limerick, and apostolical legate, wrote a treatise on the manner of celebrating the mass and the divine service, according to

* War. de Archiepisc. Armach.

† Usser. Primord. Eccles. cap. 17, page 916, et seq.

the Roman ritual, disapproving of every other.*

With respect to the tonsure, it is affirmed that it had been instituted by St. Patrick, in order to distinguish ecclesiastics from people of the world, by bearing an image and likeness of the crown of thorns of our Saviour, or perhaps to afford them thereby the opportunity of practising humility, and rendering them contemptible in the eyes of the Romans who considered those crowns as marks of bondage and slavery, because slaves were sold by having a crown on their heads, "*sub coronâ vendere solebant*," to indicate that the prince authorised the sale.

The tonsure of St. Peter and the western church, consisted in shaving the top of the head, as the bishops, priests, and Mandians, do at present; whilst the tonsure of the eastern church, which was that of St. Paul and St. James, adopted by the Benedictines, Celestines, and Bernardines, consisted in shaving the whole head, leaving only a small circle all around.

Small tonsures were condemned by the council of Toledo, as an abuse introduced into Spain by the heretics.† The Irish monks applied all those different tonsures, which are still in use among the monks and friars in Europe. There were also some who let their hair grow like the Nazarenes and modern Greek priests.

The difference which prevailed among the Scoto-Milesians, respecting the celebration of the Easter, was of much greater importance than that of the liturgy and the tonsure. The question concerning the Easter, which was the subject of much debate in the time of pope St. Anicetus and St. Polycarp, and afterwards under pope St. Victor, was one of the reasons for convening the council of Nice, as the churches of Syria and Mesopotamia still followed the custom of the Jews in celebrating the Easter on the fourteenth of the moon, without considering whether it was Sunday or not; the other churches, particularly that of the west, celebrated Easter on Sunday. This affair having

been duly weighed and examined into, the fathers of the council agreed to observe the Easter on the same day, and ordained that it should be fixed upon the Sunday immediately after the fourteenth of the moon, which was nearest after the vernal equinox, as it is indubitable that our Lord arose from the dead on the Sunday nearest to the pass-over of the Jews.

The more easily to discover the first day of the moon, and consequently the fourteenth, the council ordained that the cycle of nineteen years should be made use of, as at the expiration of that time, the new moons return on nearly the same days of the solar year. Notwithstanding this decision of the council, there still remained some Quarto-Decimans firmly attached to the celebration of Easter on the fourteenth, amongst others, the schismatic Audians in Mesopotamia.

In the west there were only the Scoto-Milesians, Picts, and a few Britons, who continued in error respecting the Easter, which they celebrated from the fourteenth to the twentieth of the moon. Their error was not concerning the day, but the week, as they always celebrated their Easter on a Sunday.* in this they were not Quarto-Decimans, although the Romans have been pleased, says Usher, to suspect them of it, upon false representations.†

The letters of Laurence, archbishop of Canterbury, pope Honorius and John IV., one of his successors, quoted by the venerable Bede, proves the obstinacy of the Scoto-Milesians, in that custom.

Laurence having succeeded St. Augustin, the apostle of England, his zeal was not confined to the English alone, whose chief pastor he was; he knew that the ancient inhabitants of Britain, and the Scots of Ireland, were in error respecting the Easter, which they celebrated from the fourteenth to the twentieth of the moon; he wrote to them, in conjunction with the other bishops, a pastoral letter, exhorting them to preserve peace and unity of discipline with the universal church of Jesus Christ.‡

* "At the request and desire of many amongst you, O most illustrious brethren, I have endeavoured to write a canonical rule for the hours and performing the office of the entire ecclesiastical system; desirous to obey not an arbitrary but a most pious injunction on your part, in order that the different and schismatical communities with whom almost the whole of Ireland abounds, may submit to the Roman Catholic discipline. What indeed can be named more indecorous or schismatical, than that the most learned of an order should become the idiot and layman of another church."—*Syllogisms*, No. 30, p. 54.

† Concil. Toletan. 4, can. 40.

* "Translated from line 13 to 17."—*Bede Church Hist.* b. 3. c. 4

† "And still the Romans were pleased to call this not only a heresy, but even a new one from the old. According to Bede, they suspected, (regard being had to the old Quartodecimans whose opinion being renewed by the Scots,) that they had been deceived by the reports of some."—*Usher Church Hist.* c. 17. p. 940.

‡ "He applied his care not only to the new church among the English, but he likewise displayed a pastoral solicitude both for the old inhabitants of Britain, and to the Scots who inhabit

Pope Honorius exhorts them to follow the decisions and the decrees of the councils respecting Easter: he says, that a small number of the faithful, in the most remote part of the earth, should not think themselves more wise than all the churches of the world.* John IV., successor to Severinus, supported by the apostolical authority with which he was invested, addressed to them a letter full of erudition, concerning the subject of the Easter; he strongly proves in it, that in conformity with the council of Nice, the Easter should be celebrated from the fifteenth to the twenty-first of the moon; he also upbraids them, that the Pelagian heresy was springing up anew amongst them, and exhorts them to be guarded against its poisonous effects.†

It appears, however, that this error was new amongst the Irish, and that there were but some individuals amongst them that conformed to it;‡ among that number are reck-

Ireland, neighbouring on Britain. If he knew, that, among the Scots in their own country or the Britons in Britain itself, there were some who lived a less ecclesiastical life, particularly in their celebration of the Easter, when they practised its observance from the 14th of the moon to the 20th, as the Sunday of the resurrection of the Lord. He wrote together with the other bishops, an epistolary exhortation to them, wherein he advises them to keep peace and unity in that Catholic church which is spread over the world, the following is the beginning of his epistle: 'the bishops Laurence, Mellitus, and Justus, servants of the servants of God, to their dearest brethren, the lords bishops and abbots, throughout all Scotia.'—*Bede's Church History*, b. 2, c. 4.

* "The same bishop Honorius sent letters to the nation of the Scots, whom he found in error in their observance of the holy festival of Easter, exhorting them not to consider the paucity of their numbers, settled in a remote corner of the world, more wise than the ancient or modern churches of Christ, which were spread over the world, and to celebrate no other Easter than that approved of and practised according to the synods of the popes."—*Bede's Church History*, b. 2, c. 19.

† "The same John who succeeded Severinus, after being elected to the popedom, (in order to correct the same error), sent letters full of authority and erudition, plainly pointing out, that the Sunday of Easter should be from the 15th to the 21st of the moon, according to the council of Nice. Likewise that the heresy of Pelagius, which he understood had been revived amongst them, should be guarded against and rejected, of that epistle, the following is the beginning, 'to the dearest and most holy Thomianus, Columbanus, and the other doctors as well as abbots of the Scots, Hilarius, arch-presbyter, holding the place of the holy apostolical see John Diaconus, and in the name of God being, elected, &c.'"—*Bede's Church History*, b. 2, c. 19.

‡ "In the beginning of this epistle, it is clearly pointed out, that, in very latter times, this heresy

oned some of their greatest saints, viz. St. Columbanus, St. Columbus, St. Aidan, St. Finian, St. Colman, the monks of the abbey of Hy, and many others among the northern Scots; those of the south had already submitted to the authority of the sovereign pontiff.*

This species of schism did not break the link of charity between the saints and the other churches. Their conscience made them follow, in part, the example of St. John, who observed the law of Moses, without considering that, in the time of this apostle, the church still adhered in many things to the Jewish law, the apostles not being able to reject at once all the observances of a law which God himself had given. The different cycles that were in use at different periods, might otherwise have caused a change in the observance of the Easter, particularly in a distant church, and not having the opportunity to consider the customs of the mother church. Even at Rome the cycle of eighty-four years was a long time in use; the Scots had adopted it, with this difference, that they counted from the fourteenth to the twentieth of the moon, instead of which, the Romans calculated from the sixteenth to the twenty-second, whereby the one exceeded perhaps, the bounds that were prescribed by the council of Nice, as well as that the other had taken precedence in it.

The custom of the Alexandrine cycle of nineteen years, as explained by Denis le Petit, (according to which they made their calculations from the fifteenth to the twenty-first of the moon,) being still new among the Romans, might not be known to the Scoto-Milesians, and therefore their opposition to it could not affect their sanctity.† They performed miracles; they drew a great number of souls to God, whom they loved without affectation, and with simplicity, accompanied with goodness of intention; and their hearts were so inflamed with the grace of charity, that they were worthy of being instructed upon that point of discipline.‡

sprung up among them, and some of the whole nation had been implicated in that heresy."—*Bede's Church History*, b. 2, c. 19.

* "Moreover that the nation of the Scots, who inhabited the south of Ireland, had long since hearkened to the admonitions of the pope, in their observance of celebrating Easter."—*Bede*, b. 3, c. 3.

† "Neither do I think that this observance of Easter could cause any obstruction to them, as long as none had come who could point out what decrees of a more perfect institution they might follow."—*Bede's Church History*, b. 3, c. 25.

‡ "But as they had not laid aside their fervour in charity, they have merited that the knowledge of

Adamnan, a priest from Ireland, and priest and abbot of the abbey of Hy, was one of those whom God inspired to bring back his countrymen, the Scots, to the canonical observance of the Easter.* Having been sent by his country, says Bede, to Alfred, king of the Saxons, in Northumberland, he stopped for some time in the province, and had himself instructed in a matter which, at that time, had caused so much uneasiness.† The learned of the country whom he met with, advised him not to join in obstinacy with a few people, in a distant corner of the earth, against the universal custom of the church, either in the observance of the Easter, or in any other matter which had been settled.

Adamnan being convinced from authority (as he was wise and very learned in the holy Scriptures), returned to his own monastery of Hy, with an intention of reclaiming the monks from their error; but meeting with some difficulty in the undertaking, he passed over to Ireland, where he was more successful. The northern Scots he reclaimed almost entirely, and brought back to the true observance of the Easter, those religious houses which were not dependant on that of Hy. He then returned to his island, where he died soon afterwards, with deep regret for the continued obduracy of his monks.

The priest Egbert succeeded better: after having spent some time in Ireland, in the study of the holy Scriptures, he went to the isle of Hy,‡ where he was honourably received, and having made known there how the Easter should be observed, had the consolation of seeing the monks relinquish their unbending obduracy, and whose zeal might, in the words of the apostle, be termed divine. Thus matters were, says Bede, disposed of by Providence, that the very Saxons, who had been indebted to the Scots for their knowledge of the true religion, found an opportunity of contributing in their turn a something to the happiness of their benefactors.

It is almost beyond conception how distinguished this nation had become both in religion and knowledge of the sciences, in those ages which immediately followed the apostleship of St. Patrick.§ If this portion

this should be made known."—*Bede's Church History*, b. 3, c. 25.

* Hist. Eccles. lib. 3, cap. 16.

† Usser. Primord. cap. 15, page 700, et cap. 16, p. 729, 730. Idem, Ind. Chron. ad ann. 703.

‡ Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. 5, c. 23. Usser. Prim. c. 15, p. 701, 702, et Ind. Chron. ad an. 716.

§ "Ireland at that time was pre-eminent above

of the history of Ireland rested exclusively upon the writers alone, of the country itself, there would be cause sufficient to reject it, as of doubtful authority—but the united testimony of a crowd of foreign authors, ancient as well as modern, from the time of the venerable Bede down to the present age, furnishes proofs that raise it beyond all doubt.

Besides the number of monasteries that had been founded in Ireland, and which were peopled with saints and learned monks, not inferior to the fathers of the deserts, for the austerity of their lives, and total abandonment of the world,* this country supplied all Europe, during these ages, with swarms of zealous missionaries, who announced the name of Jesus Christ amongst some nations, and among others caused it to revive: such have been St. Fridolin, St. Cataldus, Celius-Sedulius, St. Columb-Kill, St. Columbanus, St. Gal, St. Fiacre, St. Fursey, St. Arbogast, St. Maildolphus, St. Aidan, St. Colman, St. Ultan, St. Foilan, St. Kilian, St. Virgil, and others. Camden says, on this head, that Christianity made so rapid a progress under the disciples of St. Patrick, the country was called, in succeeding ages, the island of saints.†

By following the chronology of Usher and Ware, we may refer the apostleship of St. Cataldus, at Tarentum, in Pouille, and the history of the great Sedulius, to the fifth century.

every kingdom of Europe, for her pursuits in religion and learning."—*Usher's Church History*, c. 17, p. 699.

* "So great was their contempt, at that time, for riches, and the things of the world, that they never sought them, but even rejected them when offered, even though their inheritance. Columbanus himself, as the abbot Walafridus writes, replied to Sigebertus, king of the Franks, who made him large promises not to leave his kingdom, (the same thing as is mentioned by Eusebius concerning Thaddeus), viz., that those who had given up their own possessions for the name of Christ, should not embrace riches which belonged to others."—*Camd.* p. 730.

† "The disciples of Patrick made so great a progress in Christianity, that, in the following age, Ireland was called the island of saints; and none could be more holy and learned than the Irish monks, both in their own country and Britain, who sent swarms of most holy men into all Europe. To them, Luxovium, in Burgundy, Boliense, in Italy; Hornipolis, in Franconia; S. Gallus, in Helvetia; Malmesburia, in Lindefarn; and many other monasteries in Britain owe their origin. The following saints were from Ireland:—Celius Sedulius, presbiter, Columba, Columbanus, Colmanus, Aidanus, Gallus, Kilianus, Maildolphus, Brendanus, and many others, who were renowned for their sanctity and learning."—*Camd.* page 730.

The history of the life of St. Cataldus was written in prose, according to the ancient records of the church of Tarentum, by Bartholomew Moron, a native of that city; and in verse by his brother, Bonaventura, under the title of "*Cataldiados libri sex*," addressed to his fellow citizens, the beginning of which is herein quoted;* both these works were printed at Rome in 1604.

The birth, life, and country of St. Cataldus is detailed in the above-mentioned history. He was born in Ireland; his parents were Euche and Achlene; he made his studies at Lismore in Munster, where he was the delight of the Gauls, English, Scots, Theutones, and other strangers who resorted thither to hear him.† Having performed the functions of bishop of Ratheny or Rachuen, in the same province, for some years, he undertook a voyage to Jerusalem, to visit the holy sepulchre, and returning through Italy, he re-established the true religion amongst the Tarentines, who had already abandoned it, and returned to the impious worship of idols.‡

This history is in perfect accordance with the legend of this saint,§ and the office which is sung in honour of him, in the church of Tarentum,|| in which it is affirmed, that when Drogon, archbishop of that city, had caused the tomb, in which the body of the saint reposed, to be opened, a gold cross was

* "The icy Ierne bewails that so great an ornament of the west, second to none in piety, and celebrated in the ancient laws of Phalantus, should be sent to foreign nations: O muse, relate, and permit me to take from his paternal roof, a youth so flourishing, who beheld the borders of Judæa, and visited the monument of the holy sepulchre, to where the admonitions and commands of God, and his care for a falling people, bring, as their father, daring every age to come."—*Usher's Church History*, c. 16, p. 751.

† "A youth, endowed with a liberal discipline, soon attained to that excellence in instructions, that the Gauls, English, Teutones, Scotch, and other neighbouring people, who came to Lismore, flocked to hear him."—*Usher*.

"Cataldus, bishop, from some part of Ireland, was son of Euchus and Athena."

‡ "In the 160th year of our Lord, the Tarentines, returning to their worship of idols, as a dog to the vomit, (Anicetus Syrus being pope), the holy Cataldus, born in Ireland, brought them back to the ancient faith."—*Joannes Juvenis in Usher*.

§ "The holy Cataldus was from a part of Ireland which glories in her saints, as she glories in the Lord; she rejoices in her saints, in Catandus, a town of Eumenia. Cataldus was the son of Euchus and Athena."—*Usher*.

|| "Rejoice, O happy Ireland, for being the country of so fair an offspring; but thou, Tarentum, rejoice still more, which encloses (within a tomb) so great a treasure."—*Usher*.

found in it, with this inscription, "Cataldus Rachav," engraved on it, and that it was tied to the statue of silver, which the inhabitants of Tarentum had erected in honour of him.

A singular prophecy is ascribed to St. Cataldus, respecting the destruction of the kingdom of Naples.* Usher and Ware† mention it in the following manner, after Alexander ab Alexandro, who lived in 1500:—"It is true that in the reign of Ferdinand I., king of Naples, when the kingdom and city were enjoying the sweets of peace, Cataldus, a religious man, who was bishop of Tarentum a thousand years before, where he is still honoured as the patron saint, having appeared during the night to a virtuous ecclesiastic, who had lately received holy orders, commanded him to have a book sought for, (this was filled with divine mysteries, and written during his life, and was concealed in a certain place), and to present it to the king; but the ecclesiastic paying no regard to this vision, which was frequently repeated, Cataldus again appeared in his pontifical robes, with the mitre on his head, in the morning, whilst he was alone in the church, and ordered him, under pain of punishment, to seek for the book of which he had already spoken to him, and to present it to the king; whereupon the ecclesiastic assembled the people the next day, and went in procession to the place pointed out, where he found the book enclosed in plates of lead, and fastened with iron clasps. This book contained a prophecy on the destruction of the kingdom of Naples, and the calamities and unfortunate period which we have unhappily lived to witness."‡

* *Genialium dierum*, lib. 3, c. 15, apud Usser. Prim. c. 16, p. 758.

† *War. de Script. Hib. Colg. Act. Sanct. Hib.* p. 550.

‡ "While the kingdom of Naples was most flourishing under Ferdinand the First, king of Arragon, it appears that Cataldus, a holy man, who had been a thousand years before archbishop of Tarentum, and whom the Tarentines worship as their patron saint, appeared, in the dead of night, to a certain minister, who had been initiated and brought up in the sacred mysteries of religion, and commanded him to dig up and bring to the king a small book which had been written by him while living, and was secreted in a private place: that divine mysteries were contained in it. Little attention was paid at first to this vision, which appearing again more frequently in his sleep, and again whilst the minister was alone in the temple, very early in the morning, Cataldus himself, robed in the pontificals which he wore when living and covered with a fillet, appeared and commanded him, as soon as possible on the next morning, to dig up the little

This prophecy was discovered in 1492, and Ferdinand, after reading it, cast it into the fire.

Ferdinand, struck with terror on the approach of the French army, died suddenly. He was succeeded by his son Alphonso, who was no sooner in possession of the crown, than Charles VIII., at the head of a formidable army, laid waste his country, forced him to fly, and to pass the remainder of his days in exile; after this, Charles made a victorious and triumphal entry into Naples, with his imperial ensigns.

Moron fixes the arrival of St. Cataldus at Tarentum, in the year 170: however, if we observe all that is related of him, during his stay in Ireland, the great number of Christians that were in his time in the island, and in the schools of Lismore, which were not known in the history of the country before the time of St. Patrick, we should place this event some centuries later; it is mentioned by Usher and Ware to have taken place in the fifth century, according to Anthony Caraccioli, who had promised, in his edition of the "Italian Chronologists," published at Rome in 1626, to write a treatise exclusively on that subject.

It is likely that the zeal of St. Cataldus was not confined to the city of Tarentum alone, as he had been honoured, according to Volaterranus, at Geneva, on lake Leman, as bishop and professor; he must therefore have passed through that city, and made some stay in it on his voyage to the holy land.*

Dempster, who always endeavours to enrich his calendar at the expense of his neighbours, says, that St. Cataldus was a native of Knapdale, and had been brought up in the monastery of St. Philan: that he was thought by some to have been an Irishman, because he was born in the mountains of Scotland, which were sometimes called

Hibernia; but that it appears by a manuscript in the Ambrosian library, and the letters of Father Leslie, a capuchin, that he was born in the isle of Hy.

This claim of Dempster, says Usher, is imaginary, ridiculous, and contradictory.* If this saint was born in the mountains of Scotland, as he first says, how could he have been brought up in the supposed monastery of St. Philan, who lived some centuries after him?

Usher proves the absurdity of Dempster's system, by the ancient and modern offices of the saint, which mentioned his having been born in a town in the province of Munster, in Ireland, called Catande, at a short distance from Lismore, another town in that province, according to Bartholomew Moron. He adds also, that neither the mountains of Scotland, nor the isle of Hy, were ever called Hibernia.†

Abercromby, in order to maintain the system of Dempster, pretends that the Scots of Albania had been sometimes called Hiberni; the derivation of which he thinks to have discovered in the name of a territory in Albania, which was formerly called Ierne, at present Strathern.

To make this conjecture appear probable, he should have proved that Strathern formed part of Dalrieda, the ancient patrimony of the Scots, as a people are not generally named after a country which does not belong to them. But the different situation of those two cantons, one of which (Dalrieda) is on the western coasts of Albania, and the other towards the eastern shores of the same country, which the Picts were in possession of till the ninth century, is opposed to the above conjecture, otherwise, what analogy is there between Hibernia and Strathern? The one derives its name from Hibernia, a name which the Latins had always given to Ireland, and which has its root, as well as Juverna, Ierna, (the Ierne of the Greeks,) in the word Erin, a name always peculiar to that country.‡ The etymology of Strathern is naturally discoverable in the word *straithe*, which signifies valley, and Erin, the name of a river that

book which he had already told him of, which had been written and secreted by himself in a certain place, and to bring the same to the king without delay, threatening him with heavy punishment if it were not done. The day following, this minister accompanied in solemn procession by the people, proceeded to the place where the little book lay concealed for so long a time, and found it sealed with tablets of lead, and locked with clasps. It foretold to the king, that the destruction of the kingdom would happen; that the times were pregnant with sorrow, misery, and distress, which things soon after this came to pass. We have witnessed that to be largely rewarded, which furnished an experiment to men."

* Raphael Mafeus Volaterranus, Comment. Urban. lib. 3, 27, apud War. de Scriptor. Hib.

* Quæ partim commentitia sunt, partim ridicula et secum invicem pugnantia. Usser. Prim. Eccles. cap. 16, page 753.

† "To say nothing of the mountains of Scotia, who ever heard, that Ireland was called, the isle of Jonas?"—Usher.

‡ "Hibernia, Juverna &c., have sprung from Ierna; but that Ierna, the same as Iris, Juerdhon and Ireland, and Erin from the inhabitants."—Camd. p. 726.

waters it, and flows from thence, with the Tay, and falls into the German Ocean.*

Eumenius and Marcellinus use indiscriminately, in the fourth century, the terms Irish and Scots, to designate the same people, but they say that they came from Ireland, "*Scotorum à Circio*:" they mention that they had been till then a wandering people, without any fixed dwelling in Britain, "*cum aetate per incerta vagantes*."[†]

Moron makes mention of St. Donatus, a bishop in Italy, who was brother of St. Cataldus, with whom he had led, for some time, a solitary life.[‡]

Ireland gave birth to Sedulius, so celebrated for his writings, which have gained him the attention of a great number of authors, both ancient and modern. Some writers, amongst others, Sigebert, a monk of the abbey of Gemblours in Brabant, in his treatise on Illustrious Men, place him in the fourth century, under Constant and Constantius: "*Claruit tempore Constantis et Constantii, filiorum primi Constantini Imperatoria*." Trithemius, with perhaps more reason, says he lived in the fifth century, under Theodosius the younger; Usher and Ware, for other motives, place him about the end of the same century, and distinguish him from another Sedulius from Ireland, whom they suppose to have been the author of the Annotations on the Epistles of St. Paul.

At whatever time Sedulius may have lived, we have the following history of his life by Trithemius: "Sedulius a priest, a Scot by birth, and from his most tender youth, the disciple of Hildebert, archbishop of the Scots, was very learned in sacred and profane literature, and had a particular taste for prose and poetry. The desire of becoming perfect in his studies, induced him to leave his country; he went to France, and from thence to Italy, Asia, Achaia, from whence he set out for Rome, where he shone by his astonishing erudition. He wrote several works in prose and verse, of which I have only been able to discover the following. There were other works of his, the knowledge of which has not reached me. He was

at length, says Sigebert, ordained bishop; but he does not say of what see. He flourished under Theodosius, in the year of our Lord 430."^{*}

If we can attach belief to the chronicle attributed to Dexter, under the year 428, Sedulius had been bishop of Oreto, in Spain,[†] and although Damian à Goetz, and Sebastian Munster, in the description of Spain, reckon Sedulius among the number of Spanish poets, Francis Bivaricus says he was born in Ireland.[‡] The testimony of Sedulius himself, who says he was a Scot, "*Sedulius Scotigena*," in the beginning of his epistles, leaves no doubt on this subject; and the title of his annotations on the epistles of Saint Paul, published according to a very ancient copy in the abbey of Fulde, by John Sighard, in which he is called a Scot from Ireland, "*Sedulii Scoti Hiberniensis in omnes Epistolas Pauli collectaneum*," naturally

* "Sedulius, presbyter, a native of Scotia, was disciple from his earliest youth of Heidebertus, archbishop of the Scots; he was conversant in divine learning, and very skilled in profane literature, he excelled in poetry and prose, and leaving Scotia (Ireland) for the sake of informing himself, he came to France; after this he traversed Italy, Asia, Achaia, from whence he proceeded to Rome, where he became illustrious for his erudition. He wrote several small works both in prose and verse, from among which I have discovered the following, to a work eminently written to the abbot of Macedonia, comprising a series of the gospel, he gave the title of 'paschal poem and paschal feasts, in 4 books,' '14 books in prose on the epistles of Paul,' 'apostolical words,' 'one book on the miracles of Christ,' 'From the East, 1 book to Theodosius emperor,' 'while conductor of the famed Romulus,' 'book 1, on the larger volume of Priscianus,' 'book 1, on the second edition of Donatus,' 'book 1, exhortation to the faithful,' 'let us sing, O companions to the Lord,' 'book 1, on many epistles to various people,' 'Sedulius an Irishman,' 'two books on the miracles of Christ, written in prose.' Besides these there were some other works which have not come to be known. He was at length, as Sigebertus writes, made bishop, but of what city or place, it is not mentioned. He flourished under Theodosius, anno. 438."—*Trithemius in Usher*, c. 16, p. 769.

† "Isaac, a monk of Palestine, succeeded Foetadius, archbishop of Toul; he kept him there and his friend Sedulius, also bishop Orelanus, for the sake of preaching; the latter was eminent as a preacher, and composed many books."—*Usher*, p. 770.

‡ "After this we have Sedulius Oretanus who was bishop in Spain, but he does not say that he had been born in Ireland, as many think: Isicius himself who was bishop of Toul, had been a monk of Palestine, and there was also a monk Palestinianus. But whether there were two Seduliuses who were renowned for poetry, or but one, we shall not contend in this place."—*Usher*.

* "It is called Straith Ern, which in the ancient language of the Britons, signifies the valley of Ern."—*Camd.* page 765.

† *Camd. Brit. Edit. Lond. Tit. Scot.* p. 90.

‡ "Others think that Cataldus before he would come to Tarentum in Japygia, travelled with Donatus whom they make the first bishop of Lupa, and brother of St. Cataldus. At the same time, he led a most solitary life, near a little town which afterwards derived its name from St. Cataldus"—*Bartholomy Moron in Usher*, p. 760.

indicates his country, which was Ireland; notwithstanding the surprise of Dempster, that the theologians of Cologne should have added the word *Hibernensis* to *Scotus*, in the last edition of the library of the holy fathers,* the same title is at the head of the Basle edition of this author's works, and also of that which is in the library of ancient writers, edited in Paris.

The works of Sedulius were highly esteemed by the ancients; to which a council, composed of seventy bishops assembled at Rome during the pontificate of Gelasius, bears a favourable testimony. We think highly, said the fathers of the council, of the paschal work, written in heroic verse, by the venerable Sedulius.†

Hildephonsus, archbishop of Toledo, says of our author, that he was an evangelical poet, an eloquent orator, and a Catholic writer "Bonus ille Sedulius poeta evangelicus, orator facundus, Scriptor Catholicus."

Lastly, the church inserted, "A solis ortus cardine," and "Hostis Herodes impie," (taken from the writings of Sedulius,) in the breviary of hymns, the first at the nativity of our Saviour, and the last at the Epiphany, with the "Salve, sancta parens, enixa puerpera Regem," which is used as an Introit at the masses of the blessed Virgin.

St. Fridolinus, son of an Irish king, having embraced a monastic life, left his country and travelled through several parts of Germany and France, about the end of the fifth century, and in the time of Colvis, first Christian king of the Franks; on which account he was called "Fridolinus the traveller," by Judocus, Coccius, Possevin, and others.‡ After preaching the gospel in different parts of Gaul, he withdrew for some time to the monastery of St. Hilary, at Poitiers, of which he was created superior. Having been encouraged by the monarch, he caused this monastery to be rebuilt, whither he removed the body of St. Hilary.

He afterwards founded several religious houses in Thuringia, Alsace, Strasbourg, and on the frontiers of Switzerland; Colgan reckons eight, six of which were dedicated to St. Hilary, for whom this saint had a par-

ticular devotion. Lastly, he founded a monastery for females in an island in the Rhine, called Secking or Secane, where he was interred in 514. According to Baleus, he wrote some works of piety which have been lost.

Dempster ascribes other works to him, but as he is the only one who mentions them, his testimony must appear doubtful.

Modern Scotch writers place St. Fridolinus in their calendar. Some foreigners, and amongst others, Arnold Wion, Menard, and Wilson, have not doubted their integrity, but antiquity proves the contrary. Besides the Irish authors who claim him, but whose veracity might be disputed, Baltherus, a monk and canon of Secking, and the most ancient author of the life of St. Fridolinus, calls him a native of Ireland.* Gaspard Bruschius affirms, that he was son of an Irish king.† Canisius affirms, that ancient historians agree that Fridolinus was of royal blood in Scotia, which is called Ireland.‡ St. Fridolinus, says Guillian, an Irishman by birth, of noble descent, and a monk by profession, having come to Switzerland, preached the gospel there and in the neighbouring countries.§ Fridolinus, the traveller, says Possevin, a son of the king of the Irish Scots, wrote, it is said, some pious exhortations.|| Gesnerus, Baleus, Hanmerus, and others, whose integrity cannot be questioned, say the same thing. To have a more copious detail of the life of St. Fridolinus, we must have recourse to the chronology of the Germanic monasteries, by Gaspard Bruschius, and an anonymous author published in 1606,

* "It is not doubted that St. Fridolinus was born in a distant part of Scotia; the inhabitants of Hibernia (Ireland,) are called Scotigenæ."—*Life of St. Fridolinus*, c. 1.

† "The convent of Secking was commenced by St. Fridolinus, who was son of a king of the Scots; he was eminent for his studies in philosophy."—*Bruschius on German Monasteries*.

‡ "Old historians are agreed in this, that Fridolinus was of royal descent, that he was born in lower Scotia, which is called Ireland."—*Peter Canisius, life of St. Fridolinus*.

§ "Before these three, under Clovis, first Christian king of the Franks, Fridolinus, an Irishman by birth, and of royal lineage, spent a long time in Switzerland, and planted in it the name and faith of Christ, where he likewise performed many miracles. He converted the country of Claronensis, and the neighbouring parts, some of which he strengthened in their faith."—*Guillianus on Swiss Affairs*.

|| "Fridolinus, the traveller, was son of a king of the Irish Scots: he is said to have written some pious exhortations; he lived ann. 595."—*Possevinus*.

* "That Dempster may not feel surprise, how theologians of the colonies have been placed in the last edition of the library of the Holy Fathers, and that the adjective *Hibernensis* was added to *Scotus*."—*Usher*, c. 16, p. 771.

† "A paschal work of the venerable Sedulius, written in heroic verse, is entitled to our praise."—*Usher*, c. 16, p. 777.

‡ Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Fridolin, ad 6 Mart. War. de Script. Hib. lib. 1, cap. 1. Serm. S. Petr. Damian, de tranilat. S. Hilar.

amongst the Germanic writers, by Melchior Goldastus.

St. Columb, surnamed Kill, of whom I have already spoken, after having converted the northern Picts, founded the abbey of Hy or Jona, on the coasts of Great Britain,* celebrated both for the multitude of saints who received their education there, and for having been the burial-place of the kings of Scotland, who had chosen it through respect; and the great number of monuments of antiquity, written in the Scotie or Irish language, which were preserved there.

St. Columb composed several works in prose and verse; amongst others, a rule for monks, which still exists, commonly called the rule of Columb-Kill;† the life of St. Patrick, and a hymn in praise of St. Kieran, Abbot of Clonmacnoisk.

He also composed three hymns, the first of which begins thus—

“Altus Prosator, vetustus dierum et ingenitus.”

This hymn was presented to pope St. Gregory, who thought it very fine, except that the author had spoken with too much reserve of the blessed Trinity; which gave rise to the following hymn, in which he is more explicit on that subject, and begins with—

“In te Christe, credentium.”

St. Columb composed a third hymn, beginning with the words—

“Noli, Pater, indulgere.”

There are also several works of piety and prophecies, under the name of this saint, of which Colgan gives an account in his life.

St. Columb died in his abbey of Hy, the 9th of June, 597, where he was interred, leaving as his successor in that house, Baithen, who lived but two years. According to the Irish tradition, the relics of St. Columb were removed in the beginning of the ninth century, to the monastery of Down, in Ireland, and deposited with those of St. Patrick and St. Bridget.‡

St. Columbanus, a native of the province of Leinster, applied himself in his youth to the study of grammar and the liberal arts, in which he made considerable progress: he afterwards attached himself to Senell, a ve-

nerable man, and ably conversant in the holy Scriptures.

Columbanus made such a rapid progress under this skilful master, that, though very young, he wrote an elegant explanation on the book of Psalms, and many other instructive works, he afterwards placed himself under the guidance of St. Cougall, in the abbey of Beanchuir, or Bangor, from whence he departed, with twelve disciples, among the number of whom was St. Gall, to go to Britain, and from thence to Burgundy, where he arrived in the reign of Sigebert, then king of Austrasia and Burgundy, who received him with much honour and respect. The prince, perceiving his inclination for a retired life, gave him the choice of a suitable place in his states, and begged of him earnestly to select in his kingdom, instead of seeking an asylum in the neighbouring countries.* This saint, filled with gratitude, withdrew with his companions into the deserts of Vosge, and stopped in a place called Anagrates, where there was one old ruined castle, in which he remained for some time; but his reputation for sanctity having attracted a number of persons who were desirous of living under his discipline, he was obliged to seek a more commodious habitation. Luxeu, in the same desert, at the foot of the mountains of Vosge, appearing to him a suitable place, he founded a celebrated monastery, where he established his order, and the perpetual psalmody, by different choirs, who relieved each other day and night. He was the first who established the monastic order among the French.† The order of St. Columbanus was then considered as the model of a retired life, and Luxeu as the centre of perfection. The number of persons, of every rank and condition, who wished to submit to the law of St. Columbanus, was so great, that, in order to lighten the burden on the house of Luxeu, he was obliged to found another at Fontaine, in the same country.

Columbanus had been, for nearly twenty years, at the head of the monastery of Luxeu, when he was expelled, through the influence of Brunehaut. This ambitious queen shared the government of Burgundy with her grandson Thierry II., who was king. Fearing that the marriage of this prince would diminish her authority, she endeavoured to dissuade him from it, by procuring him illicit pleasures: which excited the zeal of St. Columbanus, who reproached him

* Bede, Hist. Eccles. lib. 3, cap. 44.

† Trias Thaum. Vit. S. Columb. Append 3, part 2 et 3.

‡ Jonas Abbas. Vit. S. Columban. apud Mes-singh. War. de Script. Hib. cap. 3. Act. Sanch. Hib. Vit. S. Deicol. ad 18 Jan.

* Camd. Brit. page 730.

† Jonas, Vit. S. Columb. cap. 9, et Breviar. Parisiens, ad 21 Nov.

severely for the shameful life he led. The prince, who had a high opinion of the sanctity of St. Columbanus, heard him patiently, but the intrigues of Brunehaut, who had prejudiced all the nobles of the kingdom against him, forced him to yield to the storm, by leaving his monastery at Luxeu.

Notwithstanding this disgrace, our saint was favourably received by Clothaire II., king of Suissins, to whom he foretold that in three years the French monarchy would be united in his person, which prophecy was afterwards accomplished; Theodebert II., having been defeated by his brother Thierry, and taken at Cologne, where he was assassinated by order of Brunehaut.* Thierry died of a dysentery, when going to make war against Clothaire, and Brunehaut was put to death by order of the latter.

St. Columbanus having preached the word of God in several provinces in France, and confirmed his doctrine by miracles too numerous to be introduced here, went to Italy, where, with the approbation of Aigilulph, king of the Lombards, he founded the abbey of Bobbio, in Milan, over which he presided but one year, having died there on the 21st of November, 615, and was succeeded by a native of Burgundy, called Atala.

The Augustine monks affirm that St. Columbanus was of their order; but Reyner says, that he was a Benedictine.† It is, however, certain, that this saint had established a particular order, and introduced it into France;‡ his disciples afterwards conformed to the rule of St. Benedict, which had been established some years before at Glanfeuille, by St. Maur, still preserving the statutes of their father Columbanus.

St. Columbanus wrote many works in Latin, which are quoted by Ware and others: namely, a book of commentaries on the psalter: a work against the Arians, which Jonas calls, "a work of flowery erudition;" "Contra quos etiam libellum florentis scientiæ edidit;"§ thirteen homilies published

by Messingham, according to an ancient manuscript in the abbey of Bobbio; epistles to different persons, some of which were published by Goldastus; "Carmen Monastichon," or a monastic poem, copied from an ancient manuscript of Freisingen, in Bavaria, by Henry Canisius; the monastic rule which this saint had introduced into France, published by Messingham, after the original manuscript in the abbey of Bobbio, a book of the daily penance of the monks, a manuscript in the abbey of St. Gall in Switzerland: an epigram on the form and manner to be observed in the prescribing of penance on the seven deadly sins: and on the vanity and misery of human life, written in verse. Lastly, he wrote two epistles to pope Boniface, which are still in being, and his apology respecting the celebration of the Easter, when he was summoned to attend the synod of Mâcon.

St. Gall, who was born of noble parents in Ireland, was placed at an early age, according to his life, written by Wallafridus Strabo, an author of the ninth century, under the guidance of St. Columbanus, with whom he made considerable progress in the study of the Holy Scriptures, the liberal arts, grammar and poetry, and in the practice of regular discipline; having received the order of priesthood in obedience to his master's wishes, he was his constant companion in his travels through Britain, France, and Germany, when he was expelled from his monastery of Luxeu, by the intrigues of queen Brunehaut.* Having arrived in Germany, and being desirous of settling in a place called Tucconia, near lake Turicin or Tigurin, now called the lake of Zurich, in Switzerland, St. Gall, moved with zeal, set fire to a temple, in which the pagans were sacrificing to demons, and caused their offerings to be thrown into the neighbouring lake. The pagans, exasperated at the conduct of the saint, resolved to put him to death, but he had the good fortune to escape from their hands, with St. Columbanus, and to reach the castle of Arbona or Arbon, situated on a river of that name which falls into the lake of Constance, where they were hospitably detained for seven days, by the priest Willimar. During this interval, they sought a suitable place for a retreat; Willimar informed them of an old building, called Brigantium, in Rhætia, at present

* Abrégé Chron. de l'Histoire de France.

† Crusenius. Monast. Augustin. part 2, c. 11. Apostolat. Benedict. in Angliâ, page 156.

‡ "The monks being therefore settled in these parts, he mixed in his turn, among them, and filled with the holy spirit, he composed the regulations which they should keep."—*Abbot Jona's Life of St. Columb.* c. 9.

§ "This father of wonderful sanctity, laboured among the most zealous: he shone gloriously among worldlings by his miracles, and taught by the holy spirit, he established monastic regulations, and was the first who delivered them to the Gauls."—*Odericus Vitale's Church Hist.* b. 8.

* Wallafrid, Strabo, Ab. Augiens, Vit. 8. Coll. apud Messingh. Martyrol. Notkeri. Balbut. ibid. Petr. de Nata lib. de Gest. Sanct. lib. 9, cap. 72, et War. de Script. Hib. cap. 3.

Bregent, in the country of the Grisons; he furnished them with a boat, and every thing necessary for their voyage, and a deacon to escort them; having found, in that place, an ancient oratory, dedicated to St. Aurelia, but apparently converted into a pagan temple, they broke in it three bronze idols, which formed the object of the worship of the people who frequented it, and to which they sacrificed, as the tutelary gods of the country. Those saints, having repaired this church, which had been profaned by the pagans, dedicated it anew to its former patron. St. Gall preached the gospel to the inhabitants of the canton, several of whom he converted; but the pagan party being too strong, he was obliged to abandon his undertaking.

The two saints then resolved to go together to Italy; but St. Gall having been prevented by a fever, they separated. St. Columbanus set out for Italy, and St. Gall returned to the priest Willimar, with whom he remained till he was perfectly recovered. The desire of leading a retired life, induced him to return to the desert; he chose a habitation on the banks of a small river, called Steinaha, now Stinace, near lake Constance, where he built a cell.

The bishopric of Constance being vacant, prince Gunzo wrote to our hermit, to beg of him to assist at a synod which was to be held, for the election of a successor in that see. The saint repaired thither, attended by a deacon called John, who had been his disciple for three years, and another named Magnold.

The great reputation for science and virtue which St. Gall had acquired, gained him the suffrages of the whole assembly, to fill the see of Constance; but his great humility not allowing him to accept of that dignity, he proposed in his stead his deacon John, who was received by the meeting, and consecrated bishop of Constance. St. Gall having spent seven days with the new prelate, returned to his cell, where he caused a monastery to be built for himself and twelve of his disciples, who were desirous of embracing the monastic state with him.

Eustachius, who succeeded St. Gall in the monastery of Luxeu, having died, the monks deputed six of their fraternity, all Irish, to St. Gall, to influence him to undertake the government of their house, with the title of abbot; but the saint declined this honour likewise. He afterwards died at priest Willimar's, on the 16th of October, 635, aged 95 years; others say that he died in 625.

The cell of St. Gall became afterwards a celebrated abbey, from the renown of its patron, and the liberality of Sigebert II., king of Austrasia, and some neighbouring princes. A large and populous town, which still bears the name of St. Gall, was built in the same place.

The abbot of St. Gall is prince of the empire; he sits, with right of suffrage, in the general diet: his jurisdiction is very extensive, and his annual revenue estimated at 100,000 ducats: he has a mint, and when the Helvetic diet has need for his aid, can raise an army of 12,000 men.

The life of St. Gall has been written in verse by Notquer le Begue, part of which was published by Henry Canisius. Dempster, as was usual with him, numbers this saint among the Scots of Albania, but his assertion is opposed by Wallafridus, Strabo,* Notquer le Begue,† Petrus de Natalibus,‡ Vollateran and others who maintain that he was an Irishman. We have some of St. Gall's works, viz. a sermon which he preached in the church of St. Stephen of Constance, at the ceremony of the consecration of St. John, bishop of that city—some epistles published by Henry Canisius—a discourse upon the church government, which he pronounced in presence of the bishop of Constance, the original manuscript of which is preserved, according to Possevinus, in the library of St. Gall; his psalter, of which Joachim Vadianus speaks, in his treatise of colleges and monasteries in Germany, and which he mentions to have been translated into German, by Notquer le Begue.

Bollandus published, with notes, the life of St. Deicol, written, as he calculates, more than eight hundred years ago, according to memoirs in the monastery of Lure.§ This saint was a native of Ireland,|| and called in

* "While this illustrious Saint Columbanus was engaged in Ireland, the noble parents of the sanctified Gallus offering their son in his early youth to God, with gifts placed him under his instruction." —*Wallafrid, in his Life of St. Gallus.*

† "On the same day, the anniversary of the death of the most holy Gallus Confessor, who was an Irishman, is celebrated among the Germans. Under an instinct of divine love, travelling with his master and abbot Columbanus, through Gaul, he entered Germany." —*Martyrology of Nother Balbut.*

‡ "Gallus descended from illustrious parentage, in Ireland, and being placed under the instructions and guidance of St. Columbanus, was advanced from being a monk, to the order of priesthood." —*Petrus de Natalibus, St. G.*

§ Ad. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Deicol. ad 18, Jan.

|| "Among these things it is to be remarked, that St. Deicolus was an Irishman, for he himself said to the Pope, that he was from that country,

the Irish or Scotie language, Dichuill, in Latin Dichullus and Deicola; he was half brother of St. Gall, and like him, a disciple of St. Columbanus. The infirmity of his health not allowing him to accompany Father Columbanus into Italy, he obtained permission from him to remain in Burgundy, where he founded, at a few leagues from Luxeu, the celebrated monastery of Lure, in Latin Lutra, or "Lutrense monasterium," the care of which he confided to St. Columbanus, his spiritual son and disciple, and caused an oratory to be built for himself near the convent; where, after spending the remainder of his life in meditation, and penitential practices, he died at an advanced age, and was interred on the fifteenth of the calends of February, the day on which his memory is honoured.*

Canisius quotes the life of St. Magnoald or Magne, written by his cotemporary, Theodore, a monk of St. Campden.† This saint, who had accompanied St. Gall to Ireland, of which he was a native,† shared with him the labours of the apostleship: after the death of St. Gall, he founded two cells in Germany; one at Campden or Campidana, the government of which he confided to his colleague Theodore; and the other at Fuessen, in Latin "ad Fauces," at the foot of the Alps. Those cells having been richly endowed by king Pepin, became afterwards celebrated abbeys. This saint having been at the head of the latter for twenty-six years, died in the odour of sanctity, on the eighth of the ides of September, aged seventy-three years.

Among the disciples of Saint Columbanus, may be reckoned Jonas, abbot of Luxeu, before the middle of the seventh century. According to Trithemius, Coccius-Sabellus, Arnold Wion, Molanus and others, who, in

the old style call him Scot, "de veteri Scotia," that is, Irish, which he himself indicates in his preface to the life of St. Columbanus.*

Jonas wrote, in Latin, the life of St. Columbanus, to which he had been an eyewitness: he also wrote the lives of Attala and Eustachius, both disciples and successors of St. Columbanus; the former at Bobbio, the latter at Luxeu. To him are also attributed some hymns, and the lives of Bertulph, successor to Attala, in the monastery of Bobbio, and of Burgandeford; of these lives Bede is not the author, though published among his works. Lastly, Jonas wrote the life of John, founder and first abbot of a monastery in the diocese of Langres, at the solicitation of Hunn, who was abbot of it. This life was published in Paris in 1637, by Pierre Rouere.

Fiacre, born of noble parents in Ireland, being desirous of devoting himself to God in solitude, left his country, and went to France accompanied by some disciples: he addressed himself to Faron, bishop of Meaux, who received him with kindness.† This holy prelate, observing that he was possessed of much mildness and simplicity, asked him his country, the intention of his voyage, and his name.‡ Fiacre answered that Ireland, the island of the Scots, was his country, and that of his ancestors; that, wishing to lead a secluded life, he had left his country and his friends, to seek a place suitable for that purpose; and that his name was Fiacre. The good bishop seeing the holy disposition of Fiacre, gave him the forest of Brodole, which belonged to him, with permission to settle there. Fiacre having thanked his benefactor, caused a part of the wood to be cleared, and founded a monastery, dedicated to the blessed Virgin, where he led the life of a hermit.§ This saint was so celebrated

i. e. from the Scots who inhabited Ireland."—*Hugo Menardus*.

* "On the same day, the remains of St. Deicolus was deposited in the monastery of Lutra; of which he was first abbot, having been a disciple of St. Columbanus: he was renowned for his many virtues, and the splendour of his miracles; he gave up to the care of St. Columbanus, his solicitude for that place ordained, according to the will of God, for the sake of religion. He withdrew to a more secluded retreat, in order to devote himself to the contemplation of heavenly avocations, that he might breathe forth his soul to God, with attention, and with prayer pass unto him: after his happy death, his splendid miracles attested his admission to Christ."—*Laussius, the Gallican Martyrology*.

† Messing. Florileg. Insul. Sanct. Vit. S. Magni.

‡ "When St. Columbanus together with St. Gallus was passing from Ireland, a certain brother named Magnoaldus descended from the aforesaid country Hibernia (Ireland)."—*Life of St. Magnus*.

* Idem. Vit. S. Columban. War. de Script. Hib. 3.

† Messing. Florileg. Insul. Sanct. Vit. S. Fiacrii. War. de Script. Hib. c. 3.

‡ Act. Sanct. Vit. S. Connan. ad 13, Jan. not. 10.

§ "St. Fiacrius, confessor, was born of very noble parents in Ireland, and of a sanctified character through life. At the time that St. Faro was archbishop of Meldi, St. Fiacrius and his companions sought his friendship, which the pious Faro freely gave. Viewing the simplicity of his countenance, he said, I pray, my dearest friend, that you tell me your origin, your country, and the object of your journey, and name. The holy Fiacrius replied, O most reverend father, I am from the country of the Scots, and my ancestors the same."—*Capgravius in his Legends*.

"Fiacrius was born of noble parents in Ireland, which is called Scotia by the ancients; from a desire to lead a secluded life, he came to St. Faro, to Meldi, together with some companions."—*Breviary of Paris in Messingham*.

for the austerity of his life, and the many miracles which God wrought through his intercession, both before and after his death, some of which are mentioned by Capgravius and Surius, that he became an object of veneration to the faithful, and an office of nine lessons in honour of him was inserted in most of the breviaries throughout France; it contains a hymn, the beginning of which is subjoined, as underneath.*

Hector Boetius and others affirm, that St. Fiacre was son of Eugene IV., king of Scotland: this opinion was adopted by some foreigners without examining into it. According to Dempster, our saint wrote to his sister Syra, a treatise on the excellence of a monastic life, the original manuscript of which is preserved, it is said, at Meaux, and a book of meditations.

Aidan, a monk of the abbey of Hy, was the apostle of the kingdom of Northumberland in England.† King Oswald, who had embraced Christianity during his retreat among the Scots, being re-established on the throne, and desirous of having his subjects instructed in the religion that he professed, sent for St. Aidan, from the abbey of Hy, and was consecrated bishop for this mission. The saint preached the gospel everywhere with success, and as he was not well acquainted with the Saxon language, it was edifying to behold the prince, who was master of the Scotie, acting as interpreter between this missionary and the people.

Saint Aidan first founded an episcopal see, of which he was first bishop, in an island on the eastern coast, called Lindisfarn, which that pious prince granted him for the purpose; he also founded several other churches and monasteries in different places, where he caused the people to be instructed in the Christian religion, and ecclesiastical discipline. The life of Aidan, says Bede, was widely different from that negligence and inactivity which prevail at present. All who attended him, both monks and laity, were obliged to occupy themselves either in reading the holy Scriptures, or learning psalms; such was his daily employment, and that of the brothers who accompanied him, in all the

places where they went. He was never influenced through fear, to spare the rich, but frequently rebuked them for their faults; and the money which he received from them was applied in relieving the poor, and in the ransom of slaves. He kept his passions in subjection, and entirely free from avarice, pride, or self-love: in fine, his life was an example of charity, chastity, humility, and every virtue. This celebrated doctor, having filled the see of Lindisfarn for nearly seventeen years, and having converted the Northumbrians to the faith of Jesus Christ, died on the 31st of August, 651; he was interred at first in the cemetery of the church at Lindisfarn, and when the church was rebuilt some time afterwards, his relics were deposited on the right of the altar. No doubt can be entertained respecting the country of Aidan: Colgan, after the Martyrologies of Dunagall, Taulaght, and Cashel, and the annals of Roscrea, says that he was a native of Ireland.* This opinion is supported by the authority of Edwald Mahew, an Englishman, who published the life of St. Aidan, on the 31st of August; and by the author of the life of St. Oswald, on the fifth of the same month, in which, when speaking of St. Aidan, he says he was undoubtedly an Irishman, as in that age none but the Irish were called Scots. Besides, St. Aidan was a monk of the abbey of Hy, the members of which were Scots from Ireland, whereas the Picts had given that island to St. Columb-Kill, and to the Scotie monks who had preached the faith of Jesus Christ amongst them † From that abbey, therefore, were the twelve disciples who had accompanied this apostle to Britain, as is remarked in his life, besides some others who had afterwards followed him from Ireland.‡

St. Finian, a native of Ireland and a monk of the abbey of Hy, succeeded St. Aidan in the episcopal see of Lindisfarn, and in the mission of the kingdom of Northumberland. He caused to be built in the Isle of Lindisfarn, says Bede, a church suitable for an episcopal see, not of stone but of oak, after the manner of the Scots;§ he laboured perseveringly for the conversion of souls; he baptized Penda, king of the interior provinces, and Sigebert, king of the East-Angles, with the lords of their retinue, and sent

* The holy Fiacrius, from a part of Ireland, after leaving his country, he came to Faro, bishop of Meaux, seeking his protection: he was illustrious for his innumerable virtues."

* "Ireland is dignified by the lustre of a new lamp: that island glitters, to the Meldi, by the presence of so great a light. The former sent Fiacrius; Meaux received the ray which was sent. The joy of both is in common: the latter possesses a father, the former a son."—*Bede's History of the Church*.

† Bede, Hist. Eccles. lib. 3, c. 3, et seq.

* Act. Sanct. Hib. p. 677, not. 7.

† "Which island was a gift of the Picts, who inhabited those parts of Britain, to the monks of Ireland, who preached to them the faith of Christ."

—*Bede's Church History*, b. 3, c. 3.

‡ Trias Thaum. Vit. 5, S. Columb. lib. 2.

§ Bede, Ecclesiast. lib. 3, cap. 25.

priests to instruct and baptize their subjects.* He consecrated Cedda, who had laboured much in converting this people, bishop of the kingdom of the East-Angles. This holy prelate died at Lindisfarn, having been at the head of that church for ten years.

St. Colman, a native also of Ireland, succeeded Saint Finian in the bishopric of Lindisfarn. Those three prelates were celebrated for the sanctity and purity of their morals, their zeal for the propagation of the faith, and the exercise of every virtue; it can be affirmed that the Saxons of the northern provinces were indebted to them for the knowledge of the true God; though they were in error respecting the celebration of the Easter, which was a matter of discipline. It appears that there was a degree of harshness with which bishop Colman was treated by Wilfrid, at the conference of Strenae-halch; he was obliged to leave Britain, and withdraw to the isle of Inis-Bo-Fin, on the western coast of Ireland, where he founded a monastery.†

Saint Furse was descended from noble parents in Ireland, his father was Fintan, son of Finloge, prince of southern Munster, and brother of St. Brendan of Clonfert; his mother, Gelgesia, was daughter of Æd, or Hugue, surnamed Fin, that is, *white*, prince of the Hy-Brunes in Connaught, from whom the noble tribes of the O'Rourke and the O'Reillys are descended.‡ Furse was baptised and brought up in a religious life, by his uncle Brendan.§ Having attained the age of maturity, he founded, with the consent of his uncle, a monastery in an island called Rathmat, near lake Orbsen, in the county of Galway, which Colgan thinks is the present parish church of Kill-Fursa, in the diocese of Tuam.||

St. Furse having laboured in the conversion of souls in Ireland, for the space of twelve years, went, about the year 637, with some disciples, to England, where he was kindly received by Sigebert king of the east Saxons:¶ this saint, having rescued some of the Picts and Saxons, who had escaped the zeal of the preceding missionaries, from the superstitions of idolatry, and brought them to the worship of the true God, founded the abbey of Cnobersburgh, now Burgh-Castle,

in the county of Suffolk, on some land which the king had given him; he afterwards induced this pious prince to abdicate the throne, and become a monk. This monastery was afterwards considerably enlarged by the liberality of Anna, who succeeded Sigebert, and some lords of the kingdom. The desire of leading a retired life, made our saint relinquish the government of his monastery, which he confided to his brother Foilan, and to the priests Gobban and Dicull; he then withdrew to a place of solitude with his brother Ultan, where he spent a year in prayer and continence, living only on the fruits of the earth, produced by his labour.

The troubles caused by the incursions of the Normans into England, and the dangers that threatened the monasteries, induced St. Furse to go to France, where he was presented to Clovis II., by Erchinoald or Herceuald, mayor of the palace. The king being informed by Erchinoald of the saint's intention and wishing to encourage him to remain in his kingdom, gave him choice of a suitable place for building a monastery. St. Furse availed himself of this offer, and settled at Latiniacum, (Lagny) on the river Marne, six leagues from Paris; where he caused three chapels to be built, the first of which he dedicated to our Saviour, the second to St. Peter, and the third was called when he died, after his own name, through the devotion of the faithful. Being afterwards joined by several monks, his disciples, who had followed him from Ireland, amongst others, Æmilianus, Euloquius, Mombulus, &c., and seconded by the liberality of the king and lords of the country, he founded a monastery which he himself governed.

His zeal was not confined to the interior of his convent; he laboured with success in the conversion of souls, at Brie and in its neighbourhood, and his preaching was always accompanied by miracles.

St. Furse was not forgetful of his brothers, nor the monastery he had founded in the country of the east Saxons: having formed the design of visiting them, he appointed his disciple Emilianus, to govern the monastery of Lagny in his stead, and set out for England; but falling sick at Mezieres, he died the 16th of January, 648: his body was removed to Peronne by order of Herconvald, and placed in a gallery till the dedication of the church, which took place twenty-six days after. On the day of the ceremony, the body of the saint was placed in the choir, and found to be as whole and untainted as the day on which he died.

* Bede, *Ibid.* cap. 22.

† Bede, *Hist. Eccles. lib. 3, cap. 25.*

‡ Messing. *Floril. usul. Januar. Vit. S. Furs. Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Furs. ad 19, Januar. Ibid. ad 9, Febr. War. de Script cap. 3.*

§ Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Furs. lib. 1, note 7.

|| *Ibid.* page 89, note 14.

¶ Bede, *Hist. Eccl. lib. 3, cap. 19.*

Four years afterwards a chapel was built, to the east of the altar, in which the saint's body was deposited, and where it might be seen in the time of Bede, without stain or corruption. The festival of St. Fursey is kept to the 16th of January at Peronne, where he is honoured as the patron saint. Dempster says, that he composed a book on the monastic life; and a prophecy in the Scotch language. Colgan published after Arnold Wion, some hymns which were written in his praise.

James Desmay, of the faculty in Paris, doctor in theology, and canon of the collegiate church of St. Fursey, wrote an ample history of the life of that saint in French; it was translated into Latin, by the Rev. father Eugene O'Gallacher, a monk of the order of Louvain. This author supposes that St. Fursey had gone to Rome, from whence he returned through Austria, Flanders, Brabant, Liege, and Namur, before he founded the monastery of Lagny. He also mentions, after Bede and other ancient monuments, the visions of that saint, and miracles which he wrought.

Saint Arbogast, a native of Ireland, came, says Gaspard Bruschius, as a stranger and hermit to Alsace, where he built an oratory, in nearly the same place where the present city of Haguenau is built, and devoted himself to the service of God, in fasting and prayer.* His charity made him sometimes leave his retreat, to instruct the people in the knowledge and fear of God, and to invoke the Father, and his divine son Jesus Christ, to draw them from their idolatrous worship and superstition.† His conduct having attracted the notice of king Dagobert, this prince appointed him to succeed St. Amand in the see of Strasburg, in 646. Having filled that bishopric for twelve years, he died 658. He was interred, as he had requested, in the place of public execution, called Mount Michel, being desirous of imitating Jesus Christ, who suffered without the walls of Jerusalem, in the place where criminals suffered; a monastery was founded long afterwards, where his tomb stood, and dedicated to his name, near which was built the great church of that city. It is said that he composed a book of homilies and learned commentaries on the epistles of St. Paul.‡

* Act. Sanct. Hib. page 36, 37, 117. War. de Script. Hib. cap. 3, et Brusch. de Epis. Germ. page 55.

† Henric. Pantalcon. prosopog. viror. illustr. Germanizæ, et Sebast. Muns. Cosmograph.

‡ Baleus, et Flaming. Collect. Sacr. page 183.

Maidulphus, an Irish monk, and very learned man, went to England in 676; he founded a monastery and established a school at Ingleborne in Wiltshire; this place was called after him, Maildulfesburgh (Maildulfurbs,) at present Malmesbury.* This school was celebrated for the great number of students, eminent for their learning and piety, who had received their education there, amongst others, St. Aldelm, who succeeded him, and was the first Saxon that wrote in the Latin tongue, either in prose or verse.†

This monastery became a celebrated abbey, through the liberality of king Athelstan, and other benefactors. St. Maildulphus wrote on the observance of the Easter, on the tonsure, on celibacy, and on rules for the arts and natural philosophy: he composed hymns, dialogues, epistles, and several other works which have been lost. This holy man died at an advanced age, in his convent of Malmesbury, where he was interred.

St. Cuthbert, son of an Irish prince was born at Kenanuse, otherwise Kells in Meath, or according to others, at Kilmacudrick, within four miles from Dublin.§ Sabina, his mother, having undertaken, according to the taste of the times, a pilgrimage to Rome, left him in the abbey of Mailross, where he became a monk and afterwards prior;§ he acquitted himself honourably in the discharge of his duties in this abbey, and was summoned to Lindisfarn, by Eata, bishop of that see; from thence he went to an island called Farne some leagues in the sea, where he lived as a hermit, till he was appointed bishop of Lindisfarn; with reluctance he accepted that dignity, but was constrained to yield to the solicitations of king Egfrid, and

* Guiliem. Malmesb. de Gest. Reg. Angl. lib. 1, cap. 2, et War. de Script. Hib. cap. 3.

† "Nor was it known by any other name for a long time, than Ingelborn, till Maidulphus a certain Hibernian Scot, a man of the soundest erudition and a peculiar sanctity of life, being taken by the deliciousness of the grove. After this opening a school, and devoting himself with his congregation to a monastic life, built a monastery in it: from hence it began to be called by Maildulphus, instead of Ingleborne, the town of Maildulfesburgh. By Bede, the city of Maildulphus, and afterwards contracted into Malmesbury. By some historians, from presents which were formerly made to this place, it is called Meldunum, Malduburg, and Maldunsburg. Among the disciples of Maildulphus, Aldelmus who had been appointed his successor, was particularly noted; for he was the first of the English people who wrote in Latin, and was the first who taught the English to compose Latin verse."—Camden, p. 176.

‡ Bede, Hist. Eccl. lib. 4, cap. 27, 28.

§ War. de Script. Hib. cap. 3.

some bishops whom he had assembled in synod, for that purpose.

He was consecrated bishop in presence of the king, at York, on Easter day, 684, by the archbishop Theodore; after continuing for two years in that diocese, he returned to his monastery in the isle of Farne, where he died on the 20th March, 686. According to Baleus, he wrote a treatise on the ordinances of his church, and another entitled "Precepts for the Monastic Life;" Timmouth and Capgrave, who published his life, mention the monastic rules which he had given to his monks, and which Dempster calls "Exhortationes ad fratres."

Saint Gertrude having become, on the death of her mother Itte, abbess of Nivelles, in Brabant, sent to Rome for relics of the holy martyrs, and for books of piety;* she also sent to Ireland for learned men, to expound the holy Scriptures, and instruct the nuns in them, and to preach the word of God in the country around. Among this number were two brothers of St. Fursey, Foilan and Ultan, commonly called St. Foignan and St. Outain. St. Gertrude afterwards conferred on St. Outain the lands of Fosse, in the diocese of Maestricht, between the Meuse and the Sambre, to build a monastery and an hospital.†

St. Kilian, a native of Ireland,‡ called the apostle of Franconia, left his country with

* Baillet, *Lives of the Saints*, 17th March.

† "Rome at that time took care to have the relics of the saints and holy books brought to her; she sent to Ireland for learned men to expound to herself and to her people, the canticles of the holy law, which the Irish had almost by heart. The monastery of Vossuensis was built on the banks of the Sambre for receiving the saints Fullanus and Ultanus, brothers of St. Furseyus."—*Breviary of Paris*.

‡ "From a district of Austria, and a castle called Wirtzburg near the river Meuse, the birth-place of the martyr Chilianus and two of his companions, who after coming from the island of Scotia (Ireland) preached the gospel of Christ in the above places."—*Martyrology of Rhabanus*.

"The holy Kilianus born in the island of Hibernia (Ireland) is considered as a renowned bishop of Wirtzburg."—*Marianus Scotus*.

"Saint Kilianus an Irish monk, preached in these times the evangelical doctrine to the eastern Franks, and is called their apostle."—*Chronicles of Cardinal Bellarmini*.

"In a district of Austria, where stood a castle of New France, nay a city as in the Teutonic dialect, Wirtzburg, situate near the river Meuse, signifies, the martyrdom of St. Kilianus, the first bishop of that city, and that of his two disciples, Colonatus a presbyter, and Totnanus a deacon, took place. They came from Ireland, the island of the Scots, and after receiving the authority of the apostolical see, they preached the name of Christ to that city and district."—*Martyrology of Nother*.

two companions called Colonat and Totnan, the one a priest and the other a deacon; being desirous to visit the church of Rome, he took his route through Flanders and Germany; on his arrival in Rome, having been presented to pope Conon, the holy father found him to be possessed of so much wisdom, and so perfect in his knowledge of the holy Scriptures, that he ordained and appointed him to preach the gospel to the infidels of Franconia, where having converted duke Gosbert, and a great number of his subjects, he fixed his see at Wirtzburg, of which he was the first bishop, and was afterwards honoured as a martyr.*

Gosbert, whilst he was a pagan, married Geilana, his brother's wife; but being converted to Christianity, St. Kilian, like another John the Baptist, reproached him with truly apostolical freedom, for this incestuous marriage, and advised him to separate from her; Geilana, exasperated at the holy prelate's reproof, caused him and his companions to be assassinated on the 8th of July, 689, the day on which they are honoured by the church as martyrs.

The removal of these holy bodies by St. Burchard, bishop of that see, gave rise to the Hexastich, as subjoined;† it was written in the beginning of the sixteenth century, by Doctor Engilbard Funkius. Some works are attributed to St. Kilian, namely a treatise against Arianism, and one against extraneous worship.

Sedulius, surnamed the younger, to distinguish him from the Great Sedulius, of whom we have spoken in the fifth century, assisted at a council, held at Rome, against illicit marriages, the 5th of April, 721, under the pontificate of Gregory II.‡ He left to posterity compilations on the Gospel of St. Mathew, which are still to be seen in manuscript in some of the libraries in Paris. It is said that he wrote the commentaries on the large volume of Priscianus; on the second edition of Donatus, and on the art of Eutychius; he is thought to be the author of a work that was written in Gothic characters.

* Usser. Prim. c. 16, p. 732, Messingh. Florileg. insul. Sanct. Vit. S. Kilian, War. de Script. Hib. c. 3, et Fleuri Hist. Eccles. lib. 40.

† "These are the masters of Herbipolis, who have taught thee how to worship the true God: the wicked Geilana ordered them at length to be put to death, and concealed beneath this place their martyred bones, which Burkardus now places beneath this monument, lest they should lie in a filthy spot, without praise and the rites of burial."—*Ware on Irish Writers*.

‡ War. de Script. Hib. c. 4, et Severinus Binius. Concil. tom. 5.

on parchment, found in a monastery in Galicia, and has given rise to the opinion of his having been bishop of Oporto in Spain; it was entitled, "Concordantia Hispaniæ atque Hiberniæ a Sedulio Scoto, genere Hiberniensi et Episcopo Oretensi."

Albuin, an Irish monk, filled with zeal for the propagation of the faith, left his country, says Trithemius, and went in 742, to Thuringia, a part of upper Saxony, where, by the mildness of his preaching, he converted a great number of Gentiles to the faith of Jesus Christ; after which the Pope nominated him bishop of Fritzlar, or rather of Buraburgh; Arnold Wion gives him the title of the apostle of the Thuringians. According to Serarius, this bishopric was united to Paderborn, in 794.*

Saint Virgilius, sometimes called Solivagus, from his love of solitude, was born of an ancient and noble family in Ireland,† where he distinguished himself by his learning. Having gone to France, king Pepin was highly taken with him, on account of his mildness and profound erudition.‡ This prince having detained him two years, recommended him to Otilo, Duke of Bavaria, and had him appointed to the bishopric of Juvave, since called Salsburg, in 772.§ Pepin caused to be convened the council of Dillingue, at which six bishops assisted, the most celebrated of whom was St. Virgilius of Salsburg.|| Virgilius remained for two years, without being ordained bishop; the duties, however, of the see, he got Dobha, a bishop who went with him from Ireland, to perform. He rebuilt the monastery of St. Peter of Salsburg, in a magnificent manner, of which he was abbot, before he was consecrated bishop.

Cheimar, Duke of the Carinthians, besought St. Virgilius to visit his people and confirm them in the faith; but being unable to go, he sent the bishop of Modestus, with four priests, some deacons, and clerks, conferring on him the power of consecrating churches, and to ordain. He went thither himself afterwards, where he consecrated several churches, ordained clerks, and pro-

ceeded as far as the boundaries of the Huns, where the Drave falls into the Danube. Whilst Virgilius was bishop of Salsburg, a dispute arose between him and Boniface, archbishop of Mayence, concerning baptism. Boniface asserted that the baptism administered by a priest of the country, who through ignorance of the Latin tongue, had corrupted the form by saying, "In nomine Patria et Filia et Spiritu Sancta," was invalid, and should be renewed. Virgilius, on the contrary, maintained, that this change in the form of the baptism being merely accidental, could not affect the validity of the sacrament. The debate became warm on both sides, and the matter was referred to the pope: on this occasion, Virgilius, bishop of Salsburg, and Sidonius, archbishop of Bavaria, wrote a letter to Pope Zachary, who decided in their favour, against Boniface, whom he accused of being in error.

Virgilius was not so favourably treated on another occasion; he was summoned to the court of Rome, concerning a treatise on the Antipodes, wherein he did not agree with the opinion of the ancients, who thought that the earth had a flat surface; that there were no antipodes, and that the sky met the earth at the horizon. This saint, who excelled in every kind of learning, was a subtle philosopher, and an able mathematician; he was of the opinion of Ptolomy, who was the first to reduce geography to a system; he maintained that the earth was spherical, a great part of which was therefore unknown; that every nation had its antipodes, and inhabitants diametrically opposite; which opinion being unknown to the ancients, and apparently opposed to some passages in the holy Scriptures, and fathers of the church, Virgilius was represented by Boniface, as having broached an erroneous doctrine, and declared heretical by Pope Zachary, as it appears by his epistle to Boniface. If, says he, Virgilius maintains, that there is another world, and other men under the earth, another sun and another moon, he must be suspended in council from the church, and from the priesthood.*

By this decision of the pope, it would appear, that the matter had been badly represented to him, whereas he did not comprehend the opinion of Virgilius respecting the antipodes: it appears also, that the above sentence was never put into execution against him. The dispute between Virgilius and Boniface is well described by Canisius, Aventinus, and Velsar, historians of Bavaria.

* Act. Sanct. Vit. S. Albuin. ad. 15, Mart. War. de Script. Hib. c. 3, Lig. Vit. lib. 2, c. 42, Her. Moguntin. lib. 3, et Trith. de vir. illus. Ord. Benedict. lib. 4, c. 190, lib. 3, c. 367.

† "Saint Virgil was descended from a noble family in Ireland. He was a man of extraordinary piety and learning."—Gasp. Brus. on German Monasteries.

‡ Messingh. Florileg. insul. Sanct. Vit. S. Virgil. et Act. Sanct. Hib. p. 760, 764, 769.

§ War de Script. Hib. c. 4.

|| Fleuri Hist. Eccles. lib. 44.

* Usser. Epis. Hiber. Syllog. Epist. 16, 17.

Melchoir Goldastus, in his notes on the life of St. Columbanus, quotes a glossary, which is attributed to Virgilius. This saint died the 27th November, 785: he was looked upon as a man of piety, and very learned in philosophy and the mathematics: he was canonised by Pope Gregory IX., in 1283.

St. Donatus left Ireland with his companion Andrew; and after travelling through France and Italy, settled in Etruria, now Tuscany, where he led the life of a hermit for some time, after which he was nominated bishop of Fiesole.* He remained for a considerable time at the head of that church, and became celebrated for the brilliancy of his virtues. It is affirmed that the Dominicans at Rome have his life in manuscript; he wrote his travels, the office of his church, and commentaries on the holy Scriptures; he gave also a description of Ireland in hexameter and pentameter verse, some fragments of which are quoted by Colgan.† This saint flourished in 840, and his festival is celebrated on the 22nd of October. Dempster ascribes to Andrew, the companion of St. Donatus, and archdeacon of Fiesole, some tracts, viz. on the usefulness of penance, the good of giving alms; to the brothers who had received the habit from him, the acts of his master Donatus, and a work on morality. Philip, a Florentine, and ambassador of Pope Boniface IX., published the lives of Andrew and his sister Bridget in 1390, according to a manuscript in an abbey in Florence, wherein, amongst other things, he says: "Andrew, a holy man, from the island of Ireland, more generally called Scotia," &c.

About this time, says Ware, lived St. Findan, whose life was published in 795, by Melchoir Goldastus.‡ When Ireland began to be infested with the Danes, St. Findan, son of a prince of Leinster, was made prisoner by those barbarians; but having escaped, in a miraculous manner, he went to Rome, from whence he travelled to Germany, where he remained for twenty-seven years; he was first a hermit, and afterwards abbot of the monastery of Richnaw, which he had founded on a peninsula in the Rhine, where he died in 827.

St. Buo, a native of Ireland, and Ernulphus, from the same country, went to Iceland, where they preached the gospel with success; they burned the temples in which the pagans offered up human sacrifices, and

founded a church dedicated to St. Columb, in the city of Esinberg. They are looked upon as the apostles of Iceland.

Dempster says that St. Buo, wrote a book of homilies to the Icelanders;* very dishonourably, however, he calls him a Scot from Albania, although his account is taken from Arngrim Jonas, an historiographer of the Icelanders, who expressly calls Ernulphus an Irish Christian: "Irlandum hominem Christianum," and Buo, a young man from the same country, ejusdem provincie juvenem." The memory of St. Buo is celebrated on the 5th February, but the year of his death is not known.

The public schools; namely, Ardmach, Lismore, Ros Ailithir otherwise Ros Carbery, Clonard, &c., and the learned professors who presided over them, attracted many students from the neighbouring nations.

The almost universal inundation of Europe in those ages, by the barbarians, who were opposed to all civilisation and literature, caused them in a great degree to concentrate themselves in Ireland, which was then the only asylum that remained for them; besides this, it was a nation very well disposed to cultivate them; as it has been seen, that the Greeks, after the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, carried with them into Italy, and the neighbouring countries of Europe, philosophy, the sciences and fine arts, from Greece.

The venerable Bede mentions a great number of English, both nobles and others, who came to Ireland, in the time of the holy bishops Finan and Colmanus, to be instructed in divine learning, and perfect themselves in the practice of a monastic life. He then adds that the Scots provided them gratuitously with every thing that they needed, even with books for study.† "Our Anglo-Saxons," says Camden "went in those times to Ireland, as if to a fair, to purchase knowledge; and we often find, in our authors, that if a person were absent, it was generally said of him, by way of a proverb, that he was sent to Ireland, to receive his education.

* Hist. Eccles. Scot. lib. 2, n. 168.

† "This country pressed upon Ireland likewise with the like carnage. There were in it (at that time) many nobles and gentry from among the English, who in the time of bishops Finan and Colmanus, having withdrawn themselves thither, for either the sake of divine study or to lead more chaste lives: some gave themselves up to a monastic life, and others attended in the monasteries to hear the professors. All of them the Scots most freely admitted, and supplied them gratis with daily sustenance, with books, and masters."—Bede's Church Hist. b. 3, c. 27.

* War de Script. Hib. c. 6.

† Dempst. Hist. Eccles. Scot. lib. 4, n. 366. Trias Thaum. p. 255, 582. Ibid. lib. 1, n. 31.

‡ Script. Ber. Alleman. tom. p. 318.

It even appears, continues he, that our ancestors, the ancient Anglo-Saxons, had learned the use of characters in Ireland.*

Edilvinus, after having studied there, was bishop of the province of Lindisse, where he governed his church as a true pastor; Alfred, king of the Northumbrians, went also to Ireland to perfect himself in the study of philosophy and the sciences: "In Hibernia magno otio litteris imbutus, omni philosophia composuerat animum."† Young Willibrordus, struck with the great reputation for learning which the Irish possessed, and influenced by the example of St. Egbert a bishop, and the venerable Wicbert a priest, who had abandoned all, to devote themselves to study and contemplation in Ireland, left his monastery, with the consent of his abbot, to go thither and prepare himself for the mission which God intended him for;‡ and after spending twelve years in Ireland, was appointed archbishop of Utrecht, and converted the Batavians, the Frieslanders, and the people of Antwerp, to the faith of Jesus Christ.§

* "Our Anglo-Saxons, at that time, flocked to Ireland as if to purchase goods. Hence it is frequently read in our historians on holy men, 'he has been sent to Ireland to school;' in the life of Sulfenus who flourished 600 years before, it is read.

"Moved, by the example of our fathers, for a love of reading, he went to the Irish, renowned for their philosophy."

"From the Irish, our ancient English ancestors appear to have received their method of forming letters, and obviously made use of the same characters which the Irish now make use of."—*Camd. Brit. Edit.* p. 730.

† "Who himself went, the age following, for the sake of reading, and being well instructed, returned to his country, and being appointed bishop for the province of Lindisse, he ruled his church for a long time, most nobly."—*Bede's Church Hist.* b. 3, c. 27.

‡ Guill. Malmes. lib. 1, de gest. Regum. Anglor.

§ Fleury Hist. Eccles. 1, 40.

|| "Because he heard, that scholastic erudition flourished in Ireland; he was roused by his intercourse with some holy men, and by report, particularly by Egbertus a most holy father and bishop, (he had the surname of saint); likewise by Wicbertus a holy man and a priest of God, both of them from their love of heaven abandoned their home, their country and relations, and withdrew to Ireland, that they might inhale in retirement, the love of God, and the sweetest fruits of contemplation, from above. The holy youth desirous to rival their religious avocations, with the consent of his abbot and brethren, he speedily proceeds to Ireland, uniting himself in friendship with the above fathers. In order, that like the prudent bee, he might gather honey from flowers of piety and in the hive of his breast, construct the combs of virtue. There during 12 years, he was taught, amongst the most pious and religious masters, that he would become

Timuthensis and Leland, make mention of St. Petrocus, who, after renouncing the crown of his father, who was king of Cumberland when he died, and leading a monastic life for some years, together with sixty persons with whom he had united himself, went to Ireland, where he devoted twenty years to the study of literature and the holy scriptures.*

Mark, a native of Britain, was brought up in Ireland, and after exercising the episcopal functions with sanctity, he was induced to go to France, by the liberality of Charles the Bald, and withdrew into the monastery of the Saints Medard and Sebastian, where he lived as a hermit, and a wise philosopher.†

Two English priests, who were both called Evaldus, having studied in Ireland, went to preach the gospel to the Saxons in Germany.‡

The Saxons were not the only people who came to seek after the sciences in Ireland.§ Bede affirms that Agilbert, a native of France, having studied the scriptures for a long time in it, was, on his return to his own country, nominated bishop of Paris, where he died at a very advanced age.||

a preacher to many people."—*Alcuin in his life of Willibrordus.*

"There came a certain man from the western boundaries of the world, powerful in virtue, filled with divine love, acute, vigilant, and fervent, he came to thee, O happy France, in the time of king Pepin: fruitful Britain was his mother, but learned Ireland nurtured him in sacred study, his name was Willibrordus."—*Usher's Syllogisms.*

* "The blessed Petrocus was from the county of Cumberland. Being the son of a king and his father having died, the chief men among his subjects, seconded by the people, endeavoured to prevail on him to succeed the father as heir to the crown. He however slighted the pomp of royalty, and taking with him sixty companions, entered a monastery where he took the habit of their order. In some years after this proceeding to Ireland, he spent 20 years in the study of the Scriptures and sacred discipline."

"Burning with an unusual love for study, he consulted the most learned masters, nor did he desist until he passed 20 complete years in reading good authors. A treasure was found at length, by so assiduous a regard for study, which, lest it should lie hidden, the finder transferred this Irish treasure to Cumberland, that he might exhibit it to the view of all."—*Usher*, c. 14, p. 563.

† "Marcus a native of Britain was educated in Ireland, and having passed a long time in the discharge of his episcopal functions, undertook to travel. Having gone to France, and influenced by the liberality of the most pious king Charles, entered the monastery of Saints Medard and Sebastian, where he led the life of an hermit. In our time he was a philosopher of peculiar sanctity."—*Antisidorensis in Usher's Syllogisms.*

‡ Fleury, Hist. Eccles. liv. 41. § Ibid. liv. 39.

|| "A certain bishop named Agilbertus came into

Usher speaks of several illustrious persons who had spent part of their time in Ireland, to perfect themselves both in piety and learning: among this number were St. Sampson, archbishop of York, and afterwards bishop of Dol in Brittany; St. Magloire, his successor in that see, and St. Maclou, bishop of Aleth, at present St. Malo.

He likewise mentions Petranus, a noble Briton of Armorica, who had left his country to go and spend the remainder of his life in Ireland, in the practices of temperance and every virtue, and whose son Paternus afterwards followed him; "Hiberniam petiit ibique magnâ vitæ abstinentiâ et virtutibus Deo placuit." It is well known that Dagobert son of Sigebert III., and grandson of Dagobert I., king of Austrasia, was sent into Ireland by Grimoald, mayor of the palace, where he remained for twenty years.*

The zeal of the Scoto-Milesians for the instruction of their brethren, was not confined to the limits of their own island; they sent learned men into foreign countries to found universities and schools for science and literature.

Besides the Irish Scots, who instructed the Saxon youth in England, in the time of king Oswald,† Fleury mentions the abbot of St. Dunstan, who was brought up in the monastery of Glastonbury, in the ninth century, by Irishmen who were employed in instructing the youth of that house.‡

"In those early ages," says Camden, when speaking of the monastery of Glastonbury, "the Irish were eminent for their sanctity in serving God; they were supported at the king's expense, for instructing the youth in piety and the liberal arts. They embraced a retired life, in order to devote their time, more calmly, to the study of sacred literature, and learn to bear the cross by leading a life of austerity. At length Dunstan, a man of cultivated mind, and whose sanctity and doctrine had gained him the esteem of princes, introduced Benedictine monks into that monastery, of which he was first abbot.§

the province, from Ireland. He was a native of France, but for the sake of studying the Scriptures, he passed a considerable time in Ireland, from which country, Agilbertus returned to Gaul: he was then appointed Bishop of Paris, where he lived to a very advanced age and died."—*Bede's Church History*, b. 3, c. 7. * Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.*

† Imbuebantur præceptoribus Scotis parvuli Anglorum unâ cum majoribus, studiis et observatione disciplinæ regularis. *Bed. Hist. Eccles. Anglor.* lib. 3, c. 3, et alibi.

‡ Flury, *Hist. Eccles.* Usser Primord, cap. 6, page 110.

§ "Translated in same page, from line 14 to line 25 included.

I have already spoken, after the same author, of Maildolphus, an Irish monk;* he was a learned man and founded a monastery, and a school at Ingleborn, in Wiltshire in England which became celebrated for the number of persons who received their education in it, and were distinguished for their piety and learning.

Clement, otherwise called Claude Clement, and John Scot, known by the name of Albinus, were both natives of Ireland; they left their country on account of the tumults of war, and went to France, where their learning and other good qualities soon gained them the esteem of Charlemagne, the Solomon of those ages of ignorance.† About the year 792, this monarch having founded two universities, or schools, (academy, university, and school, among the ancients, signified the same thing), one at Paris and the other at Pavia, confided the care of them to those two learned men.‡ He settled Clement at Paris, and sent Albinus to Pavia. Polidore Virgil speaks of them in the following words; Alcuin, a native of England, being in France, began to teach the sciences at Paris. By his advice Charles was the first who founded a school in that city, and another at Ticinum, now Pavia, in Italy. It was, (continued he), in the year 792, that two monks from Ireland, or rather from Scotia, came to France, where they publicly cried "wisdom to sell," and as a remuneration for their learning, asked only food and clothing; one of them called Clement, was kept at Paris by Charles, where the young men of the city of every rank and station, were placed under his discipline; and the other was sent into Italy, where he taught at Ticinum.

Polidore here supposes that Alcuin was in France before the arrival of the monks from Ireland, and that he had begun to teach the sciences at Paris; this is a point of criticism which merits attention.

It is true, that, according to Fleury, Alcuin passed through Pavia, where meeting with king Charles, in 780, he was invited by him to go to France; where according to our author, he set out for England, about the year 790. He fixes his return afterwards to France, in the year 792, which was the time of the arrival of the Irish monks, according to Polidore.

There are several grave authors however, who assert that the schools at Paris were founded by Clement before the arrival of

* *Camd. Brit. edit. Lond. p. 176.*

† *War. de Script. Hib. cap. 6, et Ibid. cap. 15.*

‡ *Hist. Anglic. lib. 5, page 264.*

Alcuin in France : amongst whom are Notker le Begue, the Chronicle of Arles, quoted by Vincent de Beauvais, Paulus Emilius, Antoninus, Lupoldus, and others that are cited by Colgan.* Alcuin, himself, in the first book of his treatise against Elipandus, addresses him in these words : " Before I came into France, by order of king Charles, your error was examined at Ratisbon, the king himself presiding at the assembly, and Felix present, where it was condemned by the authority of the bishops."

According to French annals which were written by an anonymous author, quoted and followed by Baronius, the synod of Ratisbon was held in 792.

" The year following, 792," says Fleury, " king Charles caused Felix of Urgel to be brought to Reginum or Ratisbon in Bavaria, where he had spent the winter, and assembled a council there, in which Felix was heard, and being convicted of error, was sent to Rome to pope Adrian."†

It is obvious, therefore, from the words of Alcuin himself, addressed to Elipandus, and from the authority of Fleury, that this learned man did not go to France till after the council of Ratisbon, and the year 792, and consequently after the establishment of the schools at Paris, the same year, by Clement; unless we were to suppose with Fleury, that he had already been there, and that it is to his return only, to that country allusion is here made.

Notker is opposed to this explanation : he says that Albinus, an Englishman, (the same undoubtedly as Alcuin, whereas he had taken the Latin name of Flaccus Albinus, and was well known under the name, not the same as Albinus of Pavia), being informed of the encouragement which Charles had given to learned men, (speaking of Clement and Albinus) went to offer him his services.‡ The matter appears, notwithstanding, beyond dispute, that Alcuin neither taught nor founded schools at Paris : André Duchêne, who published his works, proves it by incontestible arguments; he observes, no mention is made in any of his works, of his having been at Paris, much less of having founded schools in it; whilst he is very precise in his account of all the places he had lived or taught in. He speaks, in his tenth epistle, of the latitude of Belgium, where he had lived, " in Belgica latitudine:" in the prologue to the life of St. Riquier, he mentions the monastery of

Centule, where he had been. He says, in his 55th epistle, that he had spent some time at St. Amand; and in several others he speaks of Tours, where he lived and had taught for a long time. He does not even mention Paris in any of his writings, except once in his homily on the nativity of St. Willebrordus, without giving cause to suppose, in any shape, that he either lived or had taught there. However, the establishing a celebrated school in a capital city is not of such a nature, that it would be passed over in silence by him, whose glory was interested in it.

It is remarkable, indeed, that Fleury, who expatiates largely upon the merit and virtues of Alcuin, makes no mention of his having founded any establishment in Paris; he says, that he instructed Charlemagne in rhetoric, logic, and particularly in astronomy; that he had instructed the princesses Gisele and Rictrude, daughters to Charles; Angilbert, afterwards abbot of Centule; Riculfe, archbishop of Mayence; and some others;* which he calls the school of the palace, which was fixed at Aix-la-Chapelle, and was, he says, governed after Alcuin, by a Scot or rather an Irishman. In a word, it appears that from the arrival of Alcuin in France, he had been always attached to the court, until he was appointed to different abbeys; amongst others, to that of St. Martin of Tours, whither he withdrew, and continued till his death, which happened in 804.

Some authors, such as Possevinus, Robert Gaguin, &c., give Clement a share in the glory of having founded the university of Paris, by giving him for colleagues in that undertaking, not only his fellow citizen John Scot, the same as Albinus of Pavia; but also Alcuin, and Raban, afterwards archbishop of Mayence. Others say with Wion and Vincent de Beauvais, that these four doctors had been disciples of the venerable Bede.

We have already observed that John Scot, otherwise Albinus, was sent to Pavia by Charlemagne at the time that he settled Clement in Paris, and when Alcuin presided over the schools of the palace, and afterwards over those of Tours, till his death, without any mention of his having taught at Paris. With respect to Raban, he was not more than born at the time of the foundation of the schools at Paris, in 792.

Raban, according to Nicholas Serarius, was nominated abbot of Fulde in 825, at the age of thirty years.† We should therefore

* Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Clem. ad 20 Mart.

† Hist. Eccles. lib. 44. Calmet, Abrégé Chronol. l'an 972.

‡ Fleury, Hist. Eccles. liv. 44.

* Hist. Eccles. lib. 45.

† Lib. 4, de reb. Moguntin. in 6, ejusdem sedis Archiepiscop.

place his birth in 795, which was subsequent to the foundation of the Paris schools; and were we even to suppose that he was ten years older at the time of his appointment to be abbot of Fulde, it would not be correct; he was too young to be a scholar in 792, or the founder of schools.

The opinion that these four masters were disciples of Bede, has not been supported; the contrary appears more like truth. Although Alcuin, in speaking of the venerable Bede, sometimes calls him, through respect, "Bede the master," and sometimes "the noble and celebrated master of his time," he never says that he had been his; on the contrary, he speaks of himself to have been, from his earliest youth, the pupil of Egbert, bishop of York, as appears from his letter to Eanbald, who succeeded Egbert in that see. All that I have said respecting the time when Raban lived, is sufficient to prove that he was not the disciple of Bede who died in 735.* That opinion is not maintained by any ancient monument; as to Claude Clement and John Scot, the authors who speak of them say, that they came from Ireland; it is well understood that the Irish did not go, in those ages, to seek the sciences amongst the English; it was the very contrary, "Anglo-Saxones nostri illa ætate, in Hiberniam tanquam ad bonarum litterarum mercaturam confluerunt."†

The difficulty lies in determining, which was the country of Clement and Albinus: modern Scotch authors place them among the number of their countrymen, as well as all who distinguished themselves by their virtue and learning in foreign countries, under the name of Scots; which Buchanan sings in some fair lines, that prove that this poet possessed more talent than honour, and which are, says Usher, more applicable to Ireland than Scotland, as Notker le Begue, a monk of St. Gall, who wrote the life of Charlemagne, about 70 years after his death, asserts with confidence that these doctors were from Ireland.‡

* Calmet, *Abrégé Chronol.* à l'an 735.

† *Camd. Brit. edit. Lond.* p. 730.

‡ "What an able poet has written of his own country, can be more fitly applied to our Scotia:

"'Whilst rude Mars was disturbing Latium and the world, this was the only country which hospitably received the muses that were expelled. From her Charles transferred the wisdom of Greece and of Latium, to the Celtæ, and from her he obtained the doctors and instructors of the uninstruted youth.'

"Notkerus Balbulus, a monk of St. Gall, who wrote the history and life of Charles the Great, 70 years after his death, clearly proves that the

The testimony of the monk of St. Gall should undoubtedly have weight on this subject, with every man of discernment. He lived in the ninth century, a period not distant from that of which he wrote the history, and was a very learned man, having presided over the schools of St. Gall, after Marcellus. He wrote the life of Charlemagne, which enabled him to know what had occurred during his reign; his works were published by Canisius, in 1601, from an ancient manuscript. Among other things he mentions the following:—

"When Charles began to reign alone in the west, and that literature had been forgotten almost everywhere, it happened that two Scots from Ireland, who were exceedingly learned, called Clement and Albinus, came with some British merchants to the coast of France, and having no other commodity to dispose of, they, in order to satisfy the people that surrounded them, cried, "science to sell;" their hearers, thinking them to be mad, communicated the news to Charles. This great prince, who was desirous that learning might be revived in his empire, made them be brought to court, and after questioning them, he was filled with joy, and made them remain with him; but being obliged, some time afterwards, to go to war, he established Clement in France, and gave orders to have him provided with every necessary for his support, and with a suitable dwelling for himself and the pupils, whom he placed under his discipline. Albinus was sent into Italy, and the monastery of St. Augustin, near the city of Ticinum, granted to him, where all who were desirous to receive instructions might resort to him.

He adds also, that another Albinus, an Englishman by birth, being informed of the reception which those learned men met with from the monarch, came to offer him his services;* it would appear that he was the

above doctors had been brought from Ireland."—*Usher, in an old epistle upon Ireland.*

* "When Charles began to reign alone in the west, and that learning had almost every where become extinct, it happened that two Scots from Ireland arrived on the shores of Gaul, with some British merchants; these two men were incomparably skilled in sacred and profane learning. While they displayed nothing for sale, they cried out to those who came to purchase, 'If any one be desirous of wisdom, let him come to receive it.' They were invited to the presence of Charles, who questioned them, and was overjoyed after they were examined: he kept them for some time with him. Charles, soon after this, being obliged to go to war, ordered the one named Clement to reside in Gaul. He recommended to them some very noble youths, some of the middle classes, and several of the lowest

same as Alcuin, but, according to Notker, different from Albinus of Pavia. Vincent de Beauvais and some others, quoted by Usher, give the same account as the chronicles of Arles, which were written in or about the tenth century.*

The writers of every age and country have adopted the opinion of Notker, and the chronicles of Arles, respecting the country of Clement and Albinus, and the foundation of the schools at Paris by the former;† they are, Vincent de Beauvais, a Frenchman, who flourished in the thirteenth century; Lupoldus Bebenburgius, a German, in the fourteenth; St. Antonius and Antonius Sabellus, Italians; Joannes Rossus, an Englishman, and Gaguinus, a Fleming, in the fifteenth; Huldericus Mutius, a German; Polidore Virgil, an Italian; Wion, a Fleming; and Cassoneus, a Burgundian, have adopted the same opinion in the sixteenth century, as well as Joannes Magnus, and Claudius Roberti, a Frenchman, in the beginning of the seventeenth. In fine, we may add the authority of Trithemius, in his treatise on ecclesiastical authors, and the illustrious men of the order of St. Benedict, and that of Possevinus, in his sacred compendium.

The reputation of Claude Clement drew disciples to him from all parts.‡ Amongst others, he had Brunon, Einardus, Modestus, and Candidus, monks of the abbey of Fulde, whom Ratger, their abbot, had sent thither to be perfected in the sciences, and who afterwards became celebrated for their learning and writings.§

ranks; it was also ordered by the king, that every thing necessary for their support should be supplied to them, and convenient houses for their accommodation were provided. The other, named Albinus, was sent to Italy, where the monastery of St. Augustin, near the city of Ticinum, was given him, that all who wished to be instructed might come to learn. It was heard how graciously Charles, the most religious of kings, received Albinus, who was an Englishman, &c."—*Speculum Historia*, b. 23, c. 173.

* "In these happy days, when the liberal sciences flourished in Ireland, above every other country, two Scots came from Hibernia, with British merchants to Gaul: one of them, named Clement, was appointed to settle at Paris."—*Usher's Syllogisms*.

† Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Clement. ad 20, Mart. p. 701.

‡ Browerius de Reb. Fuldens, lib. 1, c. 14.

§ Rabanus and Halton of Turin, were sent to Albinus, master, to learn from him the liberal arts. Brunon and Eindardus, a most skilful instructor in various arts, were sent to Clement, a Scot, to study grammar."—*Browerius's Notes on Rabanus*, p. 118.

Our Clement should not be mistaken for Clement, a Scotchman, who was opposed to St. Boniface of Mayence, and was condemned, first in 744, with Adalbert, a native of Gaul, his accomplice, at the council of Soissons, and afterwards at the council of Rome, held in 745, by Pope Zachary; neither does it appear that he was the same as Clement, bishop of Auxerre, although it has been advanced by some authors.*

Clement wrote some rules on grammar, which were quoted by Melchior Goldastus. He is thought to be the same as Clement, author of the life of Charlemagne, mentioned by Wolfgangus Lazius, in his commentaries on the Roman republic.

If Claude Clement be the same as Claude, a pious and learned man, mentioned by Trithemius, who flourished in the time of Louis le Debonnaire, that is, in 815, but whom that author erroneously calls a disciple of Bede, who died some years before; other works are attributed to him, namely, commentaries on St. Mathew, on the Epistles of St. Paul, the Pentateuch, the books of Joshua, of the Judges, Ruth, the Psalms, historical memoirs, a summary of homilies, and on the accordance of the Evangelists.†

Lupoldus Behenburgius, who flourished in 1340, makes mention of Clement.‡ The French, says he, may be compared to the Romans and Athenians, on account of the works of Clement, an Irishman.

It is remarkable, how Henry of Auxerre speaks of this nation, when writing to Charles the Bald: "What shall I say (he says) of Ireland, which, notwithstanding the dangers of the sea, sends crowds of philosophers to our shores, the most learned of whom condemn themselves to a voluntary exile, to devote themselves to the service of the wise Solomon."§

Charles the Bald, emperor and king of France, is praised, says Fleury, for having by his authority and munificence revived literature, which had been begun by his grandfather, Charlemagne, attracting the

* Fleury, Hist. Eccles. lib. 42, Usser. Sylog. Epist. Hib. Epist. 15, Usser. Præf. Epist. Sylog.

† De Vit. Illust. Ordin. Bened. lib. 2, c. 28, Bellarmin. de Script. Eccles. et Possevinus in apparatu.

‡ Let. de zelo vet. Princip. German.

§ "What shall I say of Hibernia (Ireland) which, despising the dangers of the sea, emigrates with crowds of philosophers to our shores? Whosoever among them is the more skilled, he enjoins exile on himself, to familiarise in his vows, himself with Solomon, the wisest of men."—*Henricus in Camden*, p. 730.

learned from all quarters, amongst others from Ireland, and supporting a school in his palace.*

Moengal, also called Marcellus, was fellow-citizen of St. Columbanus and St. Gall, and like them, a native of Ireland.† He came from Rome, says Eckerhard, to the abbey of St. Gall, with his uncle, the bishop Mark, to visit their countryman Grimoald, who was elected abbot of that monastery, about the year 840. "He remained there at the solicitation of Notker le Begue, and other monks of the house, having sent his other companions back to Ireland."‡ The same author, in the life of Notker le Begue, says, that Marcellus was entrusted with the government of the schools of the cloisters.

Gaspard Bruschi extols those schools highly, while under his direction.§ "Under the abbot Grimoald, says he, a number of excellent books have been written, at a considerable expense, and at that time the abbey of St. Gall was a celebrated school, in which the children of princes and nobles were instructed in wisdom, and rendered capable of conducting public affairs." To Moengal the merit of those schools should be attributed, who presided over them, under Grimoald, the abbot. He died in that monastery, the 30th September, but the year is not known. He was succeeded by his disciple, Notker le Begue, sometimes called the monk of St. Gall. According to Judocus Metzler, he wrote upon the gospel a homily, which still exists.||

John Scot, surnamed Erigena, that is, a native of Erin, or Eire, which was in the language of the country, the true name of Ireland, was, says Malmsbury, a man of a strong and eloquent mind; from his earliest years, he applied himself in his own country to study, and went afterwards to France, where he was presented to Charles the Bald.¶ Being very learned in the peripatetic philosophy, the Greek language, and other branches of literature, he soon caught the esteem of that prince, who was the patron of the learned.

At that time, the question respecting grace and predestination was a subject of much debate, and the ablest pens were employed in clearing up the difficulty; Erigena was

consulted by Hinemar, archbishop of Rheims, and Pardulus, bishop of Laon; at the solicitation of these prelates, he wrote a treatise against the doctrine of two predestinations.* This treatise was opposed by Prudentius, bishop of Troyes, who maintained in the preface to his book, that Erigena had followed Pelagius, Celestius, and Julian, concerning grace; that he had impugned the justice of God, by denying original sin, and that he broached a dangerous doctrine. These imputations, however, seem to have been caused by forced results, which Prudentius had deduced from the work of Erigena, as he admitted of original sin, and the necessity of grace.† Our author was suspected of having been in error, concerning the real presence, in a work which he wrote in two parts, on that subject.

Erigena translated after this, from Greek into Latin, works which were generally attributed to St. Denis, the Areopagite, which he dedicated to Charles the Bald. As this work was filled with metaphysical and obscure questions on the divine nature and attributes, Pope Nicholas I. wrote a letter to Charles,‡ in which he observed, that "John, one of the nation of the Scots, had translated into Latin the works of Denis the Areopagite, concerning the names of God, and the celestial hierarchy, which book should have been sent to him for his approval, particularly as John, though in other respects a man of profound learning, was suspected of an error of faith; he consequently begged of him to send the book and its author to Rome, or to expel him from the Paris university." The king being desirous to keep in with the pope, without giving umbrage to John Erigena, advised him to return to his own country, in order to avoid the storm. In obedience to the king's desire, John returned to Ireland, where he died in 874.§

In accordance with the English authors, Ware changes the circumstances and time of the death of Erigena, which he fixes ten years later. He came, he says, to England in 884, at the solicitation of king Alfred, who employed him some time afterwards in re-establishing the schools at Oxford. He adds, that Isaac Wake informs us, that the statutes of Alfred and Erigena, a Gothic work, were preserved there in his time, as monuments of antiquity. Lastly, after Cam-

* Hist. Eccles. lib. 25.

† Fleury, Hist. Eccles. lib. 54.

‡ De Casib. monast. S. Galli. p. 36.

§ De monast. German. sub Grimoaldo.

|| De viris illust. monast. S. Galli.

¶ War. de Script. Hib. c. 6. De gest. Reg. Ang. lib. 2, cap. 4, et Vide Porr. Rog. Hoved.

* Fleury, Hist. Eccles. lib. 48.

† Dupin, Hist. Eccles. cent. 9, page 82.

‡ Spotiswood, Hist. Eccles. lib. 2, page 26.

§ Dupin, cent. 9, page 83.

den and Harpsfield, he quotes on that subject, the annals of the new monastery at Winchester, in the following terms: * "In the year of our redemption 886, the second year after the arrival of St. Grimboald in England, the university was begun at Oxford: the first lecturers in theology were, the abbot of St. Neoth, a learned man, and St. Grimboald, an able interpreter of the holy Scriptures. Asser, a monk, was professor of humanity; John, a monk of the church of St. David, instructed in logic, music, and arithmetic; John Erigena, a monk and companion of St. Grimboald, a man of penetrating mind, and ably conversant in all the sciences, was the first who gave instructions there in geometry and astronomy, in presence of the glorious and invincible king Alfred, whose memory will be always dear, both to the clergy and laity of his kingdom. This wise king gave orders that the children of all the nobles, or those of their servants, who possessed a taste for study, should be sent thither to be instructed in literature."

Erigena, whom some confound with John of Mailross, the disciple of Bede, others with John of St. David, withdrew, after three years, to the abbey of Malmesbury, to avoid a disagreement which arose between Grimboald and the old scholars of Oxford, where it is said, he died of the wounds he received from his scholars, and where he is considered as a martyr; he was interred on the left, near the altar, where the subjoined inscription is to be seen upon his tomb.† His festival is celebrated on the 10th of November, according to the Roman martyrology, published at Antwerp in 1586, by order of pope Gregory XIII. As there were at that time, several learned men in England of the name of John, the English writers may have confounded John Erigena, with John, abbot of Etheling, who, it is said, was assassinated at the instigation of his monks, particularly at Malmesbury, who mentions this fact, appears to have given it from hearsay, "ut fertur;" and moreover, as neither Berengarius nor his disciples, who have so highly extolled Erigena, who seems to have favoured their error respecting the real presence, speak of him as a martyr. It appears

however, that Erigena, was one of the most learned men of his time, and the most perfect master of the Greek, Chaldaic, and Arabic languages.

John Erigena composed several works; besides his treatises on predestination and the eucharist, and his translation of the works of Denis the Areopagite, of which I have already spoken; Baleus affirms that he translated the ethics of Aristotle, on the secret of secrets, or the government of princes, into three different languages, namely, the Chaldaic, Arabic, and Latin; according to the same author, he wrote a treatise on the immaculate mysteries of faith, against the barbarians; a work which was paraphrased for the instruction of youth; some dogmas on philosophy; also poems, epistles, and homilies.* He is thought to have been the author of extracts on the difference and connection of the Greek and Latin syntax, found among the writings of Macrobius, to which the following note is subjoined; "Here ends the garland which John hath gathered in the books of Ambrosius, Macrobius, and Theodosius, which elucidate more fully the rules on Greek verbs." It is said, that in the library of M. de Thou, there were two books on the division of nature, which were attributed to John Scot Erigena. Ranulphus Higden, a monk of the order of Citeaux, mentions them in his Polychronicon;† it is probable that Honorius Augustodunensis alludes to this work, when he says, that John Scot or Chrysostom, a man who was extremely learned in the holy Scriptures, wrote in a style of elegance, a work on the nature of all things, "de naturâ omnium rerum."‡

Dupin says he was author of two books on predestination, five on nature or the division of nature, and a book of visions.§ Those books on nature were printed at Oxford in 1681; but his book of visions is still in manuscript; he adds that Erigena had translated some commentaries of Maximus on the books of Denis the Areopagite; that his translation of the commentaries of Maximus on St. Gregory of Nazianzen had been printed at Oxford in 1681; that Trithemius mentions a commentary on the gospel of St. Mathew, and a book of offices composed by John Scot. Dupin also adds that Erigena had some knowledge of the sciences, and was an able logician and mathematician; but that he was of an arrogant disposition, a weak reasoner, and poor theologian; how-

* Britan. p. 267, Hist. Eccles. Anglor. secul. 9, cap. 5.

† "Within this tomb John Erigena lies,
Who, while living was wonderfully endowed with knowledge,
By martyrdom he at length ascends to Christ,
With whom he has merited to reign for ever,
together with the saints."

* Usser. Epist. Hib. recensio, page 135.

† De Luminat. Eccles. lib. 3.

‡ Lib. 5, cap. 32.

§ Hist. Eccles. ant. 9, page 95.

ever this opinion should be considered as the effect of prejudice and of party spirit, as Malmesbury, Hoveden and others, represent him to have been possessed of great penetration, and universal knowledge in learning; and that Anastasius the librarian, his contemporary, in his letter, 23d March, 875, to Charles the Bald, says, "that he was a man eminent for his sanctity, and that he ascribes to the special influence of the spirit of God, his translation of the works of St. Denis, finding it extraordinary that such a work could have been written by a barbarian (this epithet is unfit) of Scotia, situated at the extremity of the earth, without the special aid of the spirit of God." Dempster, says Ware, vainly endeavours to change the country of John Erigena, because his contemporaries called him Scotus; which, however, was the general name of the Irish in that century; Erigena, signifies indeed a native of Erin, which is the real name of Ireland; as Angligena signifies an Englishman, and Francigena a Frenchman.

When we consider the advantages which the Scoto-Milesians enjoyed with respect to religion and the sciences, in the first ages of Christianity, could we suppose them not to have possessed, likewise, cultivated minds and polished manners? The sciences which enlighten and ornament the understanding, flourished amongst them more than in any other nation. That Christian morality which regulates the motions of the heart, formed men among them who were celebrated for the sanctity of their morals. Notwithstanding these advantages, an astonishing mixture of vice and virtue was discoverable among them, and as a certain author remarks, "they were ardent in every thing, whether good or evil: *In omnes affectus vehementissimi.*" Whilst one part of that people devoted themselves to God, by renouncing all intercourse with the world, and thereby served as a model to the neighbouring nations; the spirit of discord was still kept up, either by the tyranny of their princes, the ambition of their nobles, or the frequent revolts of their subjects. Instead of preserving their conquests abroad, and enforcing the tribute which their pagan ancestors had imposed on the Picts, the inhabitants of the Orkneys, Hebrides, and the Isle of Man, they were always in arms, one against the other, and the gospel which they had just received with so much respect, was not able to remove that spirit of discord which was the cause of such disorders.

It appears that war was the chief occupation of the Irish, whose genius made them

consider that passion, which in truth, savours of ferocity, as a virtue, and as true heroism.

Every man in particular has some ruling propensity, and it is almost the same with nations.

The passions have different shades and different degrees of enormity among different people.

Like other nations which were their contemporaries, the Scoto-Milesians possessed a mixture of virtue and vice; they were superstitiously attached to their religion; noble in their sentiments, humane, hospitable, and sincere friends, but implacable enemies. They considered it a dishonour to seek redress for an insult by resorting to justice; and a spirit of revenge, common to both prince and people, was the cause of their frequent wars.

Their kings, unattended by guards, commanded their armies in person, always marching at the head of their troops. The manner of fighting at that time was very different from what it is at present, and their battles much more bloody, from which it cannot be a matter of surprise, that so many lives were lost in war.

It might appear, that this martial spirit, and their frequent wars, must have injured agriculture, trade, and literature; but as their campaigns were of short duration, and that a war was frequently terminated by a single battle, they had sufficient time for cultivating their lands, and feeding their flocks; two things, which essentially formed the sources of wealth, and maintained, both in their food and raiment, that noble simplicity which prevailed universally amongst them. Luxury, which commonly implies abundance among a certain number, and indigence amongst others, was unknown to the Irish, who were accustomed, for many ages, to live on the productions of the earth. Each tribe possessed their hereditary right of territory, and the chief distributed among the different branches of his tribe, fiefs and lands, from whence they easily derived their subsistence. They were unacquainted with that pomp and false splendour which frequently place people, of the lowest rank, above men of honour: virtue, birth, and a diversity of colours in their dress, were the distinguishing marks of rank among them; the great did not despise the little, and the latter joyfully acknowledged their dependence.

Avarice was not known among a people who amassed nothing; whatsoever they themselves had no need of, was appropriated to the wants of hospitality, and their houses

were always open to the strangers; a taste for history, poetry, and music, procured him at all times an easy access, and no inquiries were made after the name, or whence he came.

In ancient times the intercourse with foreigners was inconsiderable, when compared to what it has been for some centuries back. It is certain that the Phœnicians carried on a trade with Ireland, where their principal objects were the mines and metals with which this island abounded; and with Britain where they obtained tin from Cornwall.* In after ages the Milesians traded with the Gauls, Britons, and people of the north; to which Tacitus alludes, when he says, that the harbours in Ireland were more commodious, and better known to merchants than those of Britain.†

Leisure was not less requisite for the cultivation of the sciences, than for agriculture and commerce; however, it has been proved, that in the sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries, literature had been more flourishing in this island, notwithstanding the tumults of war, than in the neighbouring countries.

This nation having been always free, and never subjected to a foreign yoke, were uniform in their manners and customs; so that a description of them, during one century, can be applied to every other. It is not believed, says Camden, that that nation ever submitted to the dominion of the Romans, which he adds, would have been an advantage to its inhabitants, whereas they would have been thereby, the sooner despoiled of their barbarity.

It is true, according to the general opinion, that the Romans had polished every nation which they conquered. If the merit of a polished people rests upon a knowledge of building with stone and cement, instead of with wood; if it be derived from a number of arts, which generally tend to support luxury, false splendour, and to corrupt the morals; in fine, if true glory consists in an immoderate ambition and a desire of subduing and enslaving every other nation, at the expense of the blood of many millions of men, and a wish to deprive them of that liberty so natural to all men, and to call those generous people barbarians, who had the fortitude to spurn their chains, and despise their foreign customs, the Romans would undoubtedly deserve that eulogium; but if that glory were the reward of simplicity and innocence of manners, of noble actions, uprightness,

and benevolence, of what service would those brilliant arts, which form the delight of our frivolous times, have been to a nation whose government was founded on the laws of nature, and the virtues which arise from it? Several nations, no doubt needed such masters; but the Scoto-Milesians, who were a lettered people before the Romans were in being, might easily dispense with them in the acquirement of the sciences.

The account which Camden, after Camdenius, gives at the end of his *Britannia*, of the manners and customs of the ancient Irish, is so trifling and incorrect, that it does not merit to be either quoted or refuted.

Christianity produced no change in the fundamental constitution of the state. Men learned thereby to command and obey, by the purest principles of equity and justice, of which God was the source and object, as he was to be also their reward.

Although the clergy, as being the substitutes of the druids, enjoyed a share in the legislative authority, still as they followed no other rules than those of the gospel, and as their lives, which were exemplary, afforded ample security for their conduct, there was nothing to be feared from their abuse of power.

On the other hand, the laity claimed no share in that power which the clergy held from God alone; so that there was no conflict between them for the spiritual and temporal authority, which were altogether independent of each other; and this harmony contributed much to the happiness of the state in general.

CHAPTER XIII.

HUGH VI., surnamed Oirnich, son of Niall-Freasach, ascended the throne of Ireland on the death of Donchada, A.D. 797. He governed the island as monarch, for about twenty-two years.

The reign of this prince is remarkable for the invasion of the country by the barbarians of the north, who had been, hitherto, unknown to the Irish.

This may be considered as the period of the decline of religion in Ireland, and the termination of the brightest days of the Irish church: for the incursions of the barbarians were at the commencement, marked by blood and slaughter; burning of towns, churches, and monasteries; putting the clergy and the faithful to death, or carrying them away as

* Bochart *Geograph. Sec. lib. 1, cap. 39.*

† *Vit. Agricolaë, p. 499, apud. Grat. Luc. cap. 12.*

slaves; and spreading terror and devastation every where. But God has not cast off his people, or forgotten his promises, and the Irish have always preserved their religion, although with less of splendour than before.

Before we enter into a detail of the wars of the Normans, it is necessary to examine the origin of that nation, which was so formidable to a great part of Europe in the ninth century.

Scandinavia, situated in the north of Europe, comprised Norway, Sweden, and all the country to the west of the gulf of Bothnia. According to the historians of that country, it was peopled a short time after the deluge, by two Asiatic colonies, namely, the Goths and Swedes, who each founded an extensive kingdom. Most of the barbarians, who ravaged Europe during the decline of the Roman empire, were colonies from these two nations, who were sometimes at peace, and sometimes at war, with each other. In course of time, the territory of the Goths being overburdened with inhabitants, was obliged to send colonies to the islands of the Baltic sea, and to the surrounding countries, extending as far as the Cimbrian Chersonesus, since called Jutland. These colonies although dispersed, always acknowledged the Gothic kings as their sovereigns; but at length, having chosen Dan, son of Humel, for their monarch, they separated from the Goths, and assumed the appellation of Dani or Danes, from which is derived the name of Denmark. The Norwegians were also a colony of the Goths, from whom they as well as the Danes, were descended. These two nations afterwards became powerful, and capable of making war, even against those from whom they sprung. The situation of their country, intersected by arms of the sea, and the great quantity of materials it supplied for the construction of vessels, having inspired them with a taste for navigation, they were enabled to make incursions, the effects of which were but too severely felt in France, England, and Ireland. As the population increased rapidly in those cold climates, Denmark and Norway were frequently obliged to send out colonies, in order to relieve the parent countries; while a hope of booty induced the colonists readily to leave, under the pretext of seeking new habitations. Olaus Wormius affirms, that piracy was formerly tolerated, and even considered honorable amongst the Danes, and that the most celebrated and strongest wrestlers were employed in the exercise of it by the kings

and their children.* The success of the first adventurers induced others to follow in quest of fortune. They formed companies, and equipped vessels, like the Corsairs of Barbary, or privateers in time of war. As they shared the booty with their kings, the latter provided them with general officers, or commanded in person, when there was any considerable prize to be taken. Instead of regular troops, they formed free and independent companies, whose aim was pillage, rather than conquest, and who, succeeding each other, left to the nations they invaded no time for repose. Such was the enemy that ravaged the coasts of Europe, in the ninth century, and checked the progress of Charlemagne, in the conquest of the Saxons. In France they were called Normans, which signifies, north-men; in England, Ostmans, that is, men from the east, the people of Livonia, Estonia, and Courland, having been sharers in their incursions. The Irish included all those nations under the names of Danes and Norwegians, calling them in their own language, "Lochlannuigs," which signifies, powerful on sea. They also distinguished them by the titles of "Dubh-Lochlannuigs," and "Fionn-Lochlannuigs," that is, black and white Lochlannuigs, the former being the Danes, and the latter the Norwegians. I shall henceforward call them sometimes Danes, sometimes Norwegians, and frequently Normans, in conformity with the language in which I am writing.

According to the Irish annals, the Normans first appeared in this island in 795. They laid waste the coasts of Albania and Ireland, and pillaged the isle of Recrain, now Rachlin, in the north of the county of Antrim.† About this time St. Findan, son of a prince of Leinster, was carried away captive by these barbarians; but according to his life, written by an anonymous author, his companion, and published by Melchior Goldastus, he made his escape in a miraculous manner.‡ Dicuil, a contemporary Irish author, mentions these first depredations of the Normans, in his work on the boundaries of the nations of the earth.§ In 798 three years after, these pirates returned, and

* "Piracy was considered among the Danes honorable and lawful, and frequently the kings themselves and their children, had the most celebrated and bravest wrestlers employed in it."—*Ware's Antiquities*, c. 24.

† *War. de Antiq. Hib.* c. 24. *Grat. Luc.* c. 9. *Brudor. Propug. Cathol. Verit.* lib. 5, cap. 14.

‡ *Porter. Compend. Annal. Eccles. reg. Hibern.* sect. 4, c. 1. et *Usser. Primord. Eccles.* p. 1038.

§ *Tom. 1, rerum Aleman.* p. 318.

committed depredations in the north of Ireland, and in the Hebrides.

The barbarians, who at first had only plunder in view, being pleased with the country, formed the design of conquering it;* for which purpose, a fleet of fifty vessels landed a body of troops in the western part of Munster, who commenced pillaging and laying waste the whole province. Airtre, who was at the time king of Munster, assembled his troops, and gave them battle; the action was bloody, and the Normans having been defeated, made a precipitate retreat to their vessels during the night, leaving four hundred and sixteen men dead on the field of battle. About the same time, they pillaged the abbey of Hy-Columb-Kill, and massacred the monks, with Blaithmac, son of an Irish king, whose life has been written in verse by Wallafrid Strabo. Kellach, then abbot of Hy, found means to escape this massacre. He took refuge in Ireland, where he spent seven years in the abbey of St. Columb, at Kells, in Meath, and then returned to his abbey of Hy, where he died shortly afterwards.

In the year 812, the Normans made a second descent on Ireland, in which they were not more successful than in the first. Having landed on the coast of Munster, they practised every species of cruelty on the inhabitants, sparing neither age nor sex, nor even the churches or monasteries. They however shared the same fate as before, having been repulsed with considerable loss, by Feidlime, king of that province. At the same period, a fleet of Normans landed on the eastern coast of the island. They spread terror in all directions, pillaged the celebrated abbey of Banchor, and killed the bishop, with nine hundred monks. Another body landed at Jobh-Kinseallagh (Wexford), laid waste the whole country; burned the churches, and plundered the monasteries, as far as the territory of Ossory, where the inhabitants coming to an engagement with them, killed seven hundred and seven on the spot, and obliged the others to abandon their booty. They were not, however, disheartened by this defeat; their loss being retrieved by new reinforcements, they soon after arrived in Limerick, and burned the territories of Corcabaisquin, Tradruighe, and Iobh-Conuill-Gabhra; but being vigorously attacked by the inhabitants of Iobh-Conuill, at Seannuid, they were completely defeated, and obliged to give up their booty.

Rhegino, in his chronicle for the year 812,

* Keat. Hist. of Ireland, part 2.

mentions these first victories which the Irish gained over the Normans. "A Norman fleet," says he, "having landed in Ireland, came to an engagement with the Scots, in which several lives were lost, and the rest put to flight."* Hermannus Contractus speaks in nearly the same terms.† It may here be observed, that in the ninth century, the Irish were known to foreigners by the name of Scots. About the year 818, Turgesius, king, or son of the king of Norway, landed with a formidable fleet in the north of Ireland. He had the reputation of being a great warrior, but was cruel and vindictive. On the news of his arrival, all the Normans who had been dispersed in small bodies throughout the kingdom, united under his standard, and appointed him their general. This tyrant, seeing himself commander-in-chief of all the Normans in Ireland, began by issuing his commands in every quarter; sending his officers to harass and pillage the inhabitants, with orders to spare neither age nor sex. There were, at the time no strongholds or fortified towns in Ireland; but the Norman general, knowing the necessity of having places of retreat, into which he might withdraw in case of need, and secure his booty, remedied this want, by stationing his fleet, which consisted of several small vessels, with sails and oars, in the different lakes of the country. One part he stationed in Lough Neagh, another in Lough Rea, in the river Shannon, and the rest he sent to Lughmaigh. These were the garrisons from which the barbarians issued to commit their depredations in the country, and the fortresses which served them as a retreat, when they were repulsed by the inhabitants. The orders of the tyrant were but too faithfully executed by those inhuman monsters; heaps of slain were to be seen on every side, and churches and monasteries pillaged and burned. The church of Armagh was plundered three times in one month, the abbot made prisoner, and the university, which, till that time, had been so celebrated, and in which there were sometimes 7000 students, was completely destroyed, and the scholars assassinated, or put to flight, together with their teachers.

Hugh, the monarch, appeared quite insensible to the misfortunes of his subjects. Instead of avenging his country's wrongs, and defending her against the common

* "A fleet of Norwegians having attacked the island of Hibernia, they came to an engagement, in which many of them were killed, and the rest put to flight."

† "A Danish fleet having attacked Ireland, was defeated by the Scots."

enemy, having conceived some displeasure towards the people of Leinster, he entered that province at the head of an army, and committed dreadful devastations there.

The natural phenomena which were this year observed, and the convulsion of the elements, seemed to forbode something fatal to the nation. About the end of the month of March, the thunder and lightning were so violent and frequent, that no less than one thousand and ten persons of both sexes, perished in one district between Corcabas-kin, in the county of Clare, and the sea shore. At the same time there happened an extraordinary swell of the ocean, which inundated a part of the country, that has never since been reclaimed, the current of the waters being so strong, that an island called Inis-Fidhe was rent into three parts, thereby indicating a submarine earthquake.

In this reign may be fixed the foundation of the priory of Disert-Kellach, or Kells, in Meath, by St. Kellach an anchorite, probably the same as Cellach, abbot of Hy, who took refuge in Ireland, to avoid the fury of the Normans.

After a reign filled with troubles, Hugh the monarch died at Athda-Ferta in the territory of Tirconnel, but according to some, he was killed at the battle of Cathdroma.*

Conquovar or Connor, son of the king Donchadha, succeeded Hugh in the government of the island, A.D. 819. The Normans, who now began to settle in the country, being joined by new reinforcements every year, pillaged and burned all that they found in their path. The monasteries of Inis-Damhly, Cork, Banchor, and Dundaleathglass, where there was a celebrated academy, fell sacrifices to their fury. The monastery of Moigh-Bille was still more unfortunate; having been set on fire, the monks unable to save themselves, all perished in the flames.

The new monarch, feeling more deeply than his predecessor, the misfortunes of his people, and exasperated by the cruelties which the barbarians continually exercised, assembled his forces, gave them battle in the plain of Tailton, and gained a complete victory over them. This advantage, however, availed him but little, as the reinforcements which the barbarians were constantly receiving from their own country, enabled them to keep the field, and continue hostilities. The inhabitants of Leinster came to an engagement with them some time afterwards at Druim-Conla; the victory remained for some time doubtful, but the provincialists

having lost their general, Conning, the chief of the tribe of Fortuaths, and a celebrated warrior, the barbarians were victorious; after which they began their plunder anew. Conquovar finding himself unable to relieve his country, or defend it against the barbarians, died, it is said, of grief.

Niall, surnamed Caille, son of Hugh IV., succeeded Conquovar, A.D. 833. This monarch's reign was not more tranquil than that of his predecessor. In 835 a considerable fleet arrived from Norway under the command of Turgesius, and laid waste nearly the whole province of Connaught, with part of Meath and Leinster. Some time afterwards the pirates subdued the greater part of Ulster, demolished the churches, and practised every species of cruelty upon the Christians. Their chief seized on Ardmagh, and expelled Faranan, the archbishop, with the monks and students. They subsequently burned the monasteries of Inis-Kealtrach, Cluain-Mac-Nolsk, Cluain-Ferta-Lusachra, Tirdaglass, and Lake Eirne.

The year 840 was remarkable for the destruction of the Picts. After a long war the Scots defeated them in two successive battles, under Kenneth II., and left little more than the name of that unhappy people, who had played an important part in Britain for several centuries. The kingdom of Scotland, which before consisted of Dalriada, that is, of the territories of Cantyre, Knapdale, Lorne, Argyle, and Brun-Albuin, with the neighbouring isles, was then established on the ruins of the Picts, in its present state; and that ingenious and warlike people began to be known to the neighbouring nations.*

About this time Feidhlim, son of Criomthan, king of Munster, and likewise archbishop of Cashel, whom Cambrensis improperly styles king of Ireland, having received some annoyance from the inhabitants of Leath-Con, laid their country waste from Birr to Tara, where he met with some resistance, and lost prince Jonractach, son of Maolduin, the most distinguished of his followers, in battle.† Feidhlim died a short time afterwards, and was succeeded in the government of Munster by Olchobhair, abbot of Imly, an ambitious man, who had sufficient influence to procure his election as king of Cashel.

Colgan, following the annals of the four masters, fixes in the year 838 the arrival of two considerable fleets, of sixty vessels each, with Norman troops, one of which entered

* War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 4.

* Usser. Primord. Eccles. cap. 15, page 612.

† War. Antiq. Hibern. cap. 4.

Drogheda, by the river Boyne, and the other Dublin, by the Liffey; with which reinforcement the Normans began to settle in the country. They constructed fortresses in every part of the island, which were commonly called *Danes Rathes*, signifying the forts of the Danes, but which the Irish designated *Mothes*. These fortresses, the remains of which are still to be seen all over Ireland, were constructed of earth in a round form, raised to the height of about twenty feet, flat, and a little hollow on the top, and were sometimes thirty, sometimes forty fathoms in diameter. When the barbarians were pursued by their enemies, these served them as entrenchments and places of retreat; and as they were built on eminences, in view of each other, their occupiers enjoyed the advantage of being able to convey the intelligence of any disastrous occurrence, from one extremity of the island to the other, by burning straw on the top of them.

In the meanwhile, Niall, the monarch, having quelled a revolt of the inhabitants of Fearkeal and Deabhna-Eathra, gave battle to the Normans, near Doire, in Ulster, and gained a complete victory over them. He afterwards defeated them in the territory of Tirconnel; which victory however, he survived but a short time. Being desirous of crossing the river Callain, in the county of Kilkenny, and perceiving the waters to be much swollen, he desired one of his attendants to try the depth of the ford; but the violence of the current having thrown him from his horse, and the king seeing no one disposed to give him assistance, he advanced towards the banks of the river, where the earth giving way under his horse's feet, he fell into the water, and was drowned along with his guide.* It was from the name of this river that he was called Niall-Caille.

After the death of Niall-Caille, the throne of Ireland remained vacant for some time, and the sceptre was torn from the hands of its ancient people. Usurpation and tyranny having conquered, and Turgesius being declared king of Ireland by his adherents, he immediately sent emissaries to convey the intelligence to Norway, and to solicit the succour necessary to support him in his new dignity, against a people so jealous of their liberty.

The Irish, exasperated at the idea of the slavery with which they were threatened, and calling to mind the courage and heroism of their ancestors, and the liberty they had enjoyed for so many ages, resolved to make

a last effort to shake off the yoke of tyranny. Every prince and lord had orders to fight the Danes in their respective districts, and the attack was to be general throughout the kingdom. The execution was speedy and attended with success.

The Danes were first defeated at Ard-breacan, in Meath, by an army composed of the principal nobility of the tribe of Dailgais. The united forces of Olchobhair, son of Kionnfaoth and king of Cashel, and Lorcain, son of Keallach, king of Leinster, gave battle to the Normans at Scia-Naght. They fought for some time with much obstinacy; but the barbarians, having lost Count Tomair, their chief and presumptive heir to the crown of Denmark, with 1200 men, who were killed on the spot, were forced to abandon the field of battle to the conquerors. They were again defeated near Cashel, with the loss of five hundred men, by the same king of Cashel, and the inhabitants of Eoganacht; and in another action with the inhabitants of Hy-Finginte, in the territory of Lomneach, they lost three hundred and sixty men.

The inhabitants of Tirconnel having taken up arms to recover their liberty, attacked the barbarians at Eastuadh, and killed a considerable number. They lost besides two hundred men in an action against the inhabitants of Kianachta. Tighearnach, prince of Loch-Gabhair, in Meath, killed two hundred and forty of them at Druimda-Chonn; and his example was followed by the inhabitants of Kinal-Fiacha, and Fearkeal, in Westmeath.

Maolseachlin, or Malachi, son of Maolbruana, brother of Conquovar the monarch, and prince of East Meath, known by the title of king of that province, was among the first to signalize himself against the enemies of his country. He gave them battle twice; first at Foure, where he killed seven hundred of their men; and the second time at Casan-Linge, in Leinster, where the barbarians were completely routed; their loss amounting to 1700 men slain, with Saxolb, their general.* This victory induced Turgesius to court the friendship of that prince; but fortune soon changed the aspect of affairs, and rendered these brilliant advantages abortive.† On one hand, the length of the war had already exhausted the resources of the Irish; and on the other, Scandinavia, called by an ancient writer, "*Officina gentium*," an inexhaustible store-house of

* Keating's History of Ireland, part 2.

† War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 24, et Grat. Luc. cap. 9.

* Gratianus Lucius, cap. 9.

men, was continually sending succour to the usurpers.* In this critical juncture a considerable reinforcement arrived, which revived the fallen courage of the barbarians, and forced the Irish to submit and acknowledge themselves a conquered nation. The barbarians resumed their cruelties; made themselves masters of Dublin, and established a colony in the territory of Fingal, in the neighbourhood of that city.

Turgesius, seeing no one able to dispute the supreme power with him, began to change the form of government. He appointed a Norman king to each province; placed a captain in each territory, an abbot in each church or monastery, a serjeant in each village, and obliged every house to lodge a soldier. The will of those tyrants, supported by military execution, took the place of laws, so that no man was any longer master in his own house.

The tyrant now imposed a tax of an ounce of gold on the chief of every family. Those who did not pay, were subject to the penalty of having their noses cut off, from which the tax, in the language of the country, was called, "Airgiod srone," that is, nose money. As the barbarians were equally hostile to literature and religion, they destroyed the churches, monasteries, academies, and other places intended for divine worship and study; they expelled the ministers and professors, burned their books and profaned the holy vessels; they forbade the instruction of youth in any science, even reading or writing, or any military exercise, lest they might one day make use of them to recover their liberty, and lastly, they prohibited the people on pain of being committed to prison, to assemble under any pretext whatsoever. Such was the state of Ireland during the sway of these tyrants. The Irish having lost all hopes of regaining their liberty, were in consternation and despair. No alliance or marriage took place—every one passed his time in the strictest retirement; the secular and regular clergy, in order to shelter themselves from the fury of the Normans, lay concealed in the woods, where they celebrated the divine mysteries, and spent their days in prayer and fasting; while the faithful sought them in secret to receive consolation from them, and join in their prayers for the delivery of the people. They were at length heard; and the persecution, which had lasted about twelve years, was terminated by an event, as

sudden as it was singular, and one for which no parallel is to be found in history.

Turgesius had a castle built for himself in the vicinity of Malachi, prince of Meath; and went frequently to visit his neighbour. Malachi was a man of considerable talents, an able politician, and brave warrior, and possessed all the qualities requisite to govern a kingdom. He one day asked the tyrant what he should do to get rid of a certain kind of very destructive birds that had lately arrived in the country? The tyrant, not mistrusting the statement answered, that their nests should be destroyed.* Malachi, who by the birds meant the Normans, readily felt the force of this answer, and occupied himself solely with devising means to act upon it; an opportunity for which was soon afforded him by the tyrant. Some days afterwards, he being on a visit with the prince of Meath, saw his daughter Melcha, who was young and formed to please, particularly in the eyes of a man of so depraved a character. His passion for her became violent and wishing to make her his concubine, he demanded her of her father. Nothing was farther from Malachi's thoughts than the idea of dishonouring his daughter; it was, however, a delicate affair, and stratagem was necessary in the absence of strength to extricate himself from the dilemma. Having weighed every circumstance, he, on one side, saw the danger of refusing the barbarian, who was absolute master in the country, and whose conduct was ruled solely by passion: on the other, should his project succeed, he conceived a faint hope of delivering his country from slavery. Having formed his plan, he turned his thoughts towards carrying it into effect. He told the tyrant that his proposal was hard; but, that as he could refuse him nothing, he would send him his daughter on an appointed day, together with fifteen young ladies of her own age, to keep her company and render her those services her rank required; at the same time, requesting that the whole affair

* "The king of Meath asked Turgesius, by what method, some very destructive birds which had lately arrived in the country could be removed. The answer was, that their nests (if they had built in the country) should be every where destroyed, (alluding to the castle of Turgesius). In about 30 years after his death, a general insurrection of the Irish, broke out, and the interpretation of the birds' nests, was carried into effect. The pomp of the Norwegians and the tyranny of Turgesius, continued in Ireland, till at length the nation being roused, they recovered their former freedom, and their government."—*Giraldus Cambrensis Topography*.

* Bruod. Propug. Cathol. Verit. lib. 5, c. 14, et Porter, Compend. Annal. Eccles. Reg. Hibern. cap. 1, sect. 4.

might be kept secret, so as to screen his daughter's honour.

In the mean time, Malachi had the whole country searched for fifteen young men without beards, of acknowledged honour and bravery, whom he caused to be dressed in female attire, with each a poinard concealed under his robe, and gave them the instructions necessary to execute his project, which would put an end to tyranny. He also inspired them with sentiments of religion and patriotism, and commanded them to defend the honour of the princess at the peril of their lives, and to have the doors opened for him, in order that he might come to their succour with a body of troops whom he should hold in readiness at a short distance; and lastly to seize the tyrant and chain him, without depriving him of life.

Turgesius did not fail to repair on the day appointed, to receive the princess Melcha and her fifteen young ladies; he even invited fifteen of the principal officers of his army to share in the festival. After spending the day in feasting, each of the officers was shown to the apartment intended for him; and orders given for the guards and other domestics to retire. Turgesius himself remained alone in his apartment, where he impatiently awaited the arrival of the princess Melcha. The porter, who was the only one of the domestics entrusted with the secret, soon entered, accompanied by the princess, with her little troop of amazons, who came, like a second Judith, to deliver her people. The tyrant who was heated with wine, was about to insult the princess, when the young men immediately threw off their robes, and drawing their weapons, seized him and tied him with cords to the pillars of his bed. They then opened the gates of the castle to permit Malachi and his troops to enter; fell on the garrison, beginning with the officers, and put all, except Turgesius, to the sword.

When Malachi had given the place up to pillage, in which they found immense booty, he repaired to the spot where the tyrant was bound, and reproached him bitterly with his tyranny, cruelty, and other vices, and having loaded him with chains, had him carried in triumph before him. He allowed him to live a few days, in order that he should be a witness, before his death, of the sufferings of his countrymen, and then caused him to be thrown, chained as he was, into lough Ainnin in Westmeath, where he perished.*

* "The king of Meath, (the poison rankling in his breast) promised to send him his daughter to an island in Meath (Lough Vair), together with fifteen

The news of the defeat of Turgesius spread rapidly throughout the whole island, and had very opposite effects on the two parties.† The Irish, who looked upon this advantage as a happy omen of the recovery of their liberty, took up arms, pursued the Normans in every direction, and killed a considerable number of them. On the other hand, the Normans having lost their chief, made but a feeble resistance, and sought safety by flight. Those who were near the sea quickly regained their vessels, and quitted the island for a time.

The princes and nobles of the kingdom, seeing themselves delivered from tyranny by the death of Turgesius, and the universal extirpation of the Normans, assembled for the purpose of re-establishing the ancient constitution of the state, and the legitimate succession to the throne. Malachi had deserved too much gratitude from his country, to dread a rival. He was declared monarch of Ireland by unanimous consent, and placed on the throne which several of his ancestors had already occupied. Every thing then returned to its natural order; religion again flourished; the churches and monasteries were rebuilt; the laws to protect the innocent and punish the guilty were again vigorously enforced; and the ancient proprietors restored to the possession of the lands and lordships they had lost during the usurpation.

Whilst the Irish were enjoying the sweets of peace and liberty, after the severity of a tyrannical government, the Normans, whom they had expelled some time before, did not lose sight of the island. The difference which they found between the rich and fertile lands of Ireland, and the cold and barren mountains of Scandinavia, made them constantly regret the former. Being however unable to return in an avowedly hostile manner as before, they determined to come under the pretext of commerce; to commit no act of hostility; to insinuate themselves by degrees into the good will of the inhabitants, and thereby insensibly to attain their end. They,

illustrious virgins. This gave delight to Turgesius, who came (with as many youths of his own nation,) on the day and to the place appointed. He found there fifteen beardless youths, brave and chosen for the purpose, having beneath their female attire, poinards secretly carried, by which Turgesius and his companions fell."—*Cambrensis Topog. Hib. dist. 3, cap. 40.*

† "News of this event was quickly spread through the whole island: the Norwegians were every where destroyed either by force or stratagem; those who escaped being forced to return in their ships to Norway, and the islands whence they had come."—*Camb. Topog. cap. 41.*

made a shew therefore of bringing over some merchandize, but the holds of their ships were filled with arms and ammunition. The following is the account given by the author of the *Polychronicon*. "After the death of Turgesius," says he, "three brothers, Amelanus, Cyraeus and Imorus, landed with their retinue in Ireland, in a peaceable manner, under the pretext of carrying on trade. With the consent of the Irish, who were living in indolence, they settled in the maritime parts, and built the cities of Waterford, Dublin, and Limerick, and their numbers having increased, they frequently insulted the natives.* They became, indeed, almost as formidable as in the time of Turgesius, and often gave battle to the inhabitants, with success. Two circumstances contributed to this misfortune; first, having settled in the island under the pretext of carrying on trade, they had the advantage of being able, unnoticed, to bring over reinforcements; secondly, the discord and domestic wars of the petty princes of the country, who often called in the aid of these foreigners against each other, so that the latter were sometimes a match for both the conquerors and the conquered.† In the same manner we have seen in France, in the time of Charles the Bald, his nephew Pepin, who left the monastery of St. Medard de Soissons, and was declared king of Aquitaine, join the Normans, and pillage Poitiers and many other places. The inhabitants of Northumberland, in England, in like manner having revolted against Edgar, sent to Ireland for Anlaf, a Danish captain, and chose him for their king.‡ Thus too Elfrick, earl of Mercia, and his son Edrick, betrayed king Ethelred in the command with which he entrusted them against the Danes. This same Edrick, (the favourite of that prince, who created him duke of Mercia, and gave him his daughter in marriage), deserted the royal army the night before a battle, and joined the enemy with forty of the king's vessels, which caused the submission of the entire of the west of England to the Danes.§

The disorders were considerably increased

* "After the death of Turgesius, three brothers Amelanus, Cyraeus and Imorus, under the pretext of peace and of carrying on traffic, sailed with a retinue for Ireland, and with the consent of the Irish, who were prone to idleness, settled on the sea shore; they built the cities of Waterford, Dublin, and Limerick, and their numbers having increased, they frequently insulted the natives."—*Fleury's Ecclesiastical History*, b. 49.

† *Fleury*, Hist. Eccles. lib. 49.

‡ *Baker's chron.* page 10.

§ *Baker's chron.* page 14.

by the arrival of a Danish fleet. The Danes, who were jealous of the progress of the Norwegians in the island resolved to contest the glory of the conquest with them; and having first pillaged Dublin and its environs, which were in the power of the Norwegians, they defeated them in a pitched battle at Linnduachaill, in which about 1000 men were killed on the field.

Malachi seeing two barbarous nations contending about a country to which neither had a right, thought it time to stop their progress, and for this purpose he convened an assembly of the princes and nobles at Rath-Aodh, now Rath-Hugh in the territory of Kinel-Fiacha, in Westmeath, in which regulations were made relative to the state of affairs; the princes who had been at variance were reconciled, and all appeared disposed to defend the common cause.

Some time afterwards, the monarch carried on a successful war against the Danes, to revenge the death of Maolguala, king of Munster, who had been inhumanly killed by the barbarians. Malachi having met them at Drom-da-Moighe, came to an engagement with them, in which several of them perished.

Malachi's piety having inspired him with the desire of going to Rome, to thank the Lord in the centre of Christianity, for the success which had ever attended his arms, sent ambassadors with presents to Charles the Bald, with whom he was on terms of peace and friendship, both for the purpose of asking permission to pass through his kingdom,* and to inform him of his victories over the Normans, who were already well known in France, by the robberies and cruelties they had committed. A friendliness had existed between the kings of France and those of Ireland, in the time of Charlemagne. That monarch had not only attached men of learning to him by his favours; but Eginardus, the author of his life, asserts that he had the kings of the Scots, that is, of Ireland, at his command, who gave him the title of lord, and called themselves his subjects, as appears by the letters they had written to him, and which were to be seen in the time of that author.†

* "Malachi sent ambassadors to Charles the Bald, king of the Franks, with presents, to obtain his friendship and permission to go through his dominions to Rome, on account of the victories he had obtained."—*Ware's Antiquities*, c. 24.

† "He had the kings of the Scots so much at his will, from his munificence, that they never called him by any other name than that of lord, and pronounced themselves his subjects and servants."

Eginardus, in the year 812, plainly indicates that the country of the Scots, here alluded to, is Ireland; for, he says, the Norwegians having attacked Ireland, the island of Scots, were put to flight by its inhabitants.*

This alliance existed till the twelfth century, as long in fact, as the Irish were a free people; the succours which their kings sent to France against Henry II. of England, having formed one of the motives which induced that prince to undertake the conquest of their island.†

Besides the political alliance between the two nations, there was a private connexion between their subjects by marriage. The tyranny of Turgesius and the persecution of the Normans, had obliged many persons to leave Ireland; and others having followed king Malachi to France, several settled there, and entered the service of Charles the Bald, some of whose descendants still carefully preserve the tradition of their Irish origin, as for instance the noble family of the Dales, who trace their descent from the O'Dalys of Corcaiduin.

The Scotch of latter times have used every effort to deprive the Scots of Ireland of the glory of this alliance with France, and to ascribe it to their own ancestors. By means of the two-fold acceptance of the word Scoti or Scots, they assume an honour to which they are not entitled. They are not indeed, ashamed to reckon among their countrymen, the Irish Scots of the earlier time, when the race was pure and unmixed with foreigners;‡ but with surprising inconsistency, the authors of that nation affect to calumniate the modern Irish, who are more closely allied to them than the former. They forget that the aspersions with which they

load them, indirectly reflect on themselves, as two thirds of Ireland have within a century, been peopled by Scotch and English Presbyterians.

Buchanan, without quoting any author more ancient than himself, says that Achaius, king of the Scots of Albania, had entered into an alliance with Charlemagne; but independently of there being no ancient records in which it is mentioned, and that no traces of it are discoverable in the public archives, if we consider the state of the Scots of Albania at that time, the existence of such an alliance will appear doubtful. Previously to the conquest of the Picts, which happened in 840, after the death of Charlemagne, the Scots possessed but a small district, called in the Scotie language Albin, the inhabitants of which were called Allabany or Allebanachs,* and to this day have no other name in that language, the terms Scotia, Scotland, Scot, or Scotch, having been given them by foreigners. This district was confined to the narrow limits of Dalriada, which formed but a very small portion of modern Scotland, and consequently was of too little importance in the world, for its inhabitants to have pretended to an alliance with the emperor of the west.

The conquest of the Picts may be ranked amongst those extraordinary events, in which chance and unforeseen circumstances have sometimes a greater share, than the power of the victor.

Kenneth, king of the Scots, having resolved to revenge the death of his father, Alpin, who had been cruelly put to death, by the Picts, whose prisoner he was,† made use of stratagem to overcome the reluctance his subjects had to go to war with them. He invited the principal of his nobility to a supper, and in the gloom of the night, whilst they lay on the floor of the banquetting hall, intoxicated with wine, and overcome with sleep, they heard a voice, as if from heaven, commanding them to make war upon the Picts. This was enough to rouse a superstitious and credulous people, and inspired them with such confidence, that the Picts were unable to withstand the first onset, and being seized with terror were completely defeated.

The intercourse which existed between the Scots of Ireland and those of Albania, makes it probable that the former contributed to this conquest of the Picts. They still considered themselves as forming but

Letters are still extant, which were sent to him, in which their affection for him is manifested."—*Eginard's Life of Charlemagne, preface.*

* "The Norwegians having attacked Hibernia, the island of the Scots, were put to flight."—*Ogygia, prologue, p. 30.*

† "After this Henry resolved to subdue Ireland, both on account of its contiguity, and the succours they afforded to France against him."—*Polidorus Virgil, Hist. Angl. book 13, p. 55.*

At this period many marriages took place between the French and the Irish, otherwise Scots. *Bolland. Act. Sanct. Life of St. Erard, 8th Jan.*

King Henry being then at rest from all hostile arms both at home and abroad, takes into his consideration the kingdom of Ireland, as a kingdom which oftentimes afforded assistance to the French. *Baker, Chron. on the reign of Henry II.*

‡ Hume's Essay on the Characters of Nations. See the *Mercur de France* of the month of January, 1756.

* Camd. Brit. page 88, 90.

† Buchan. Ker. Scotie Hist. p. 169.

the same people; and their union was strengthened by alliances between their princes. Fionliath, son of Niall-Caille, monarch of Ireland in 833, and who afterwards became king himself, under the name of Hugh VII., married about this time, the daughter of Kenneth, king of the Scots of Albania; from which there is good reason to believe that he shared with his father-in-law, the glory and perils of the war against the Picts.

The judicious Camden states that the Picts were destroyed by the Scots from Ireland, who fell on them, so that about the year 740, they were completely defeated in a single battle, and their name and nation almost annihilated.* We may suppose that there was an error of the press in this, and that the printer had put 740 for 840, which is not unlikely; for it is evident that Camden indicates the conquest of the Picts by Kenneth, with the united forces of the Scots from Ireland. It appears in any case, according to this author, that at the period in question, the Scots from Ireland fought the Picts in their own country, which makes it natural to suppose that they had done so likewise under Kenneth, king of the Scots of Albania in 840. This victory having made the Scots masters of the kingdom of the Picts, as far as the eastern ocean, their very name became obliterated; the northern part of Britain was, by degrees, called by foreigners Scotia or Scotland, and the inhabitants Scots or Scotch, and to distinguish them from the ancient Scots of Ireland, they introduced the names of Scotia Major, which was given to Ireland, and Scotia Minor, the country now known by the name of Scotland;† which terms were used till the

* "The Scots from Ireland pouring in upon the Picts, the latter were so overwhelmed in battle anno. 740, that they became almost annihilated, and those who remained, merged into the name and people of the invaders."—*Camd.* p. 83.

† "It is proper to investigate why the Scots who were in Britain, call that part in which they were settled, Albanan, or Albin, and the Irish Allabany. Historians say, that Hibernia (Ireland) was Scotia Major, and that the part of Britain inhabited by the Scots, was Scotia Minor. Although the Scots and Picts were incessantly harassing the Britons by battles and plunder, still their limits did not extend beyond the narrow portion which they occupied in the beginning. Bede observes, that for 127 years more or less, they did not carry their standards into Northumberland, and then only, when the Picts were almost destroyed, and the kingdom of Northumberland torn by intestine evils, and by the incursions of the Danes. It was then that the entire of north Britain including the parts traversed by the Clyde, and the Frith (Forth) of Edinburgh,

twelfth century, when the English, in their own dialect, gave to Hibernia the name of Ireland, signifying the land of Ire, as they had called Britain England, that is, the land of the Angles, a people who came from Lower Saxony. The above is the account given by foreign and disinterested authors of the settlement of the Scots in Britain, and of the changes which took place in the name of that people, and the country they inhabited; which account agrees with that of the venerable Bede, who marks their arrival in that country and designates their place of abode. He first says, that the Scots entered Britain, after the Britons and Picts;* afterwards, that they settled on the northern shore of the great gulph, which formerly separated the Picts from the Britons, where the fort of Alcuith was situated;† and in the eighth century, when finishing his history, a short time before his death, he says, that the Scots who inhabited Britain, being content with their territory, had engaged in no enterprise against the English.‡

Although Bede, says Usher, distinguishes the Scots of Ireland from those that inhabit Britain, still he acknowledges but one Scotia, namely Ireland; a like course to which he follows in the distinction made by him between the English who settled in Ireland, and the Anglo-Britains, although there is but one country called England.§

He likewise observes, that neither Dalrieda, which was the patrimony of the Scots

got the name of Scotland. No one denies that to have been a part of Northumberland, and to have been in the possession of the Saxons."—*Camden.* p. 90.

* Britain received after the Britons and Picts a third race of the Scots on the side of the Picts.—*Bede, Eccl. Hist.* book 1, cap. 1.

† "A very extensive bay formerly separated the territory of the Britons from the Picts. It stretches for a great distance inland, on the west, where the fortified city of Alcuith, belonging to the Britons, now stands. The Scots on their arrival in the country, appropriated to themselves, as has been observed, the portion to the north of the bay."—*Bede, Eccl. Hist.* b. 1, c. 1.

‡ "The Scots who inhabit Britain, are content with their own boundaries, nor do they plot any stratagem or fraud against the English."—b. 1, 5, c. 24.

§ "As in our time, the distinction of Anglo-Britons and Anglo-Irish, does not require two Englands, one in Britain and another in Ireland, so neither did it cause the settlements of the Scoto-Hiberni and the Scoto-Britanni to constitute two Scotias. For although Bede carefully marks a distinction between the Irish-Scots and those of Britain, still Scotia is always one and the same to him, viz., Hibernia (Ireland)."—*Usher's Primord. Eccles. Brit.* c. 16, p. 733.

until 840, nor Albania generally, even after the conquest of the Picts, was called Scotia, till about the eleventh century, when the two races were united as a nation, and the Picts completely forgotten; nor have any authors before that period mentioned Albania under the name of Scotland, which name was not used till the English gave to the Scots of Ireland the name of Irish, in their language, (in Latin *Iri* or *Irenses*), and that of Ireland to their island.*

Buchanan is not the only Scotch writer who mentions the alliance with Charlemagne. Hector Boetius names the ambassador who had been entrusted with its negotiation, and those who accompanied him.† He says that Achaius sent his brother William into France to Charles, accompanied by Clement, John, Rabanus, and Alcuin, all, he says, of the pious and learned nation of the Scots, attended by a numerous train from the same country. It has been already observed that Scotland had no right to claim Raban and Alcuin, the former of whom was a Frenchman, and the latter universally acknowledged to have been English. With respect to Clement and John, otherwise Albin, contemporary authors call them Scots from Ireland. So manifest an error in facts should therefore make us at once reject this statement, when we have otherwise reason to doubt it.

The alliance of the Scotch with France cannot be traced farther back than the twelfth century. It is affirmed that a Scotch cohort accompanied St. Louis to the holy war; but the connexion of these two nations in the fifteenth century, under Charles VI. is much more certain. The right of citizenship, which the Scotch had then conferred on them, is an undoubted proof of the services they had rendered to his crown.

The true Scotch have the reputation of being gifted and warlike; they have distinguished themselves on every occasion by

their bravery; of which the generous effort made by them in our time, in favour of their legitimate prince, is a striking example; and they always have maintained with honor, the character of worthy children of their ancestors, the *Scoto-Milesians*. This reputation having flattered the vanity of some of their historians, they have endeavoured to give it an air of antiquity, and in a manner to engraft it on the merit of the ancient Scots, as if they had been the same people.

The Scots were celebrated in France, and the rest of Europe, before the eleventh century. The Irish, who till then were the proper Scots, began, at that period, to lay aside that name, which became exclusively applied to the inhabitants of North Britain, and they are the only people since known to foreigners by the name of Scots, or Scotch. The world has been accustomed to call them so, without investigation, and none but the learned in antiquity can elucidate such distant facts. These circumstances were favourable to the claims of their historians, and have given rise to the fabled alliance of the nation with Charlemagne.

The analogy which exists between the names of Offa, king of the Mercians, who had solicited the friendship of Charlemagne, through Alcuin, and Eocha, which is the real Scotie name for Achaius, mentioned by the Scotch authors, might have suggested the idea of this alliance. By substituting the latter for the former, the historians of that nation have been enabled to lay claim to princes who did not belong to them, and to render their history illustrious by appropriating to themselves the deeds of others, like Abercromby, who endeavours to persuade us, that the celebrated Caractacus, king of the Silures in Britain, was the same as a pretended Caractacus, king of Scotland, four centuries before any kingdom of Scotland existed in Britain; whilst Tacitus informs us that Caractacus was a British prince, of Spanish origin, and king of the Silures, in the southern part of Britain; that he defended himself bravely against the Romans, with only his own forces; and that he ended his days in captivity in Rome, or its neighbourhood. Besides, the period of his death, according to Tacitus, is at variance with the date of the accession to the throne, of the successor to the supposed Caractacus of Scotland.

Notwithstanding the troubles which disturbed Malachi's reign, this pious prince governed his subjects with equity and justice. He formed alliances with foreign princes, and gained several victories over the enemies of his country; but his weakness in

* "Dalrieda, which was the settlement of the *Scoto-Britanni*, up to the year 840, had not obtained the name of Scotia, nor did Albania generally acquire that name until after the destruction of the Picts, and the memory of them became effaced, which did not take place before the eleventh century, as we have mentioned in the beginning of the preceding chapter. We are of opinion that no writer of the preceding ages can be adduced, who ever designated Albania by the name of Scotia, which name, however, was subsequently in frequent use, when the English began, in their language, to call the *Hibernians* Irish; in Latin *Iri* and *Irenses*; and from it their country *Ire-Land*."—*Usher, Primord. Eccl. Brit.* cap. 16, p. 734.

† *Hist. Scotor. lib.* 10, p. 194.

having given a footing to the Normans in the maritime towns of the island, after the cruelties they had previously exercised in the country, lessens considerably the opinion we should otherwise have entertained of his policy.* This prince died, much regretted, and was interred with great pomp at Cluain-Mac-Noisk, A.D. 863.

Hugh VII., surnamed Fionliat, son of the monarch Niall-Caille, succeeded Malachi. He married Maolmuire, daughter of Kenneth, king of Scotland, by whom he had a son called Niall-Glundubh.*

Many remarkable occurrences took place during the reign of this monarch. Connor, son of Donnogh, prince of Meath, was killed at Clonard, by the Danes, commanded by Amlaoib; but the monarch attacking them some time afterwards, at Lough-Febhail, now Lough-Foyle, in the county of Donegal, they were completely defeated, and several thousand killed, amongst whom were forty of the principal men in their army, whose heads were carried in triumph before the conqueror.† Encouraged by this success, the army pursued them in every direction, even to their forts, where they put a great number to the sword, and carried off considerable booty. Some time afterwards, the monarch, with about one thousand horsemen, gained a complete victory at Killuandoigre, over a body of five thousand men, both Danes and Irish insurgents, which very much humbled the barbarians. About that time the castle of Cluain-Dalchain, near Dublin, was set on fire. It had been built by Amlaoib, the Danish chief, and was garrisoned by his troops. The natives, taking advantage of the confusion caused by the fire, killed several of them, with their chiefs; but the tyrant soon afterwards took signal revenge, by putting a considerable number of the inhabitants to death, in an ambuscade he had prepared for them. This advantage raised his fallen courage, and the continual reinforcements that arrived from Denmark, soon enabled him to pillage and burn Armagh, and massacre the inhabitants; after which he sailed with a fleet of two hundred vessels for Wales, accompanied by his brother Ivar, to the assistance of his countrymen, Hinguar and Hubba, and returned the following year to Dublin, loaded with booty, having pillaged Wales, and part of

Scotland. Amlaoib, or Amlavus, survived this expedition but a short time, and Ivarus died the year following. Ostinus, son of Amlavus, was assassinated by the Danes, of whom he became chief, after his father's death, and was succeeded in the government of these barbarians by Godfroy, son of Ivar. It was in this juncture of affairs that Roger, son of Moirmain, a British king, took refuge in Ireland, with the relics of St. Columbkil, which he presented to the Irish monarch.

In the reign of Hugh, the kingdom of Cashel was governed by Donnogh, who succeeded Cionfaola; and Thoumond, by Lorcán, son of Lachna, chief of the noble tribe of the Dalgaís. In it also may be fixed the foundation of an abbey by Flan-Mac-Kellach, at Bally-ne-Scelig, otherwise Mount St. Michael, in one of the Sceleges isles, on the coast of Kerry, in Munster. The king, having repented sincerely of his sins, died on the twelfth of the calends of December, 879, at Druiim-Inisclain, in the district of Tyrconnel.

Flan, surnamed Sionna, son of King Malachi, succeeded Hugh VII. in the supreme government of the island. This monarch's reign was long, and filled with troubles.* The Danes still continued their hostilities; they plundered Cluain-Ioraird and Kildare, A.D. 888, and exercised unheard of cruelties, so that he was obliged to come to an engagement with them, which was disastrous to both parties, from the number of men killed on each side. The monarch gained a dear-bought victory, and Hugh, prince of Connaught, son of Conquovar, king of that province, was found among the slain. Several other battles were fought also, with unequal success.

Discord now began to prevail amongst the Danes in Dublin, A.D. 892. Godfrey, son of Ivar, the Danish prince, was assassinated by the intrigues of his brother Sitrick; while the latter found a formidable enemy in Galfrid, son of Merlus. The strife between these chiefs was carried to such a pitch, as to divide the city into two parties, one half declaring in favour of Sitrick, and the other for Galfrid. Their disagreement did not, however, prevent them from pillaging the city of Armagh some time afterwards, and destroying the churches. In this expedition they surprised Cumasgach, king of Ulster, with his son Hugh, and took them prisoners. Sitrick did not long survive his fratricide, being killed by his own people.

* Keating's History of Ireland. War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 24.

† Grat. Luc. c. 9. Propug. Cathol. Verit. lib. 5, c. 14. Porter. Comp. Ann. Eccles. Reg. Hib. sect. 4, c. 1.

* Keating, Waræus, Grat. Luc., Bruodinus, et Porterus, ibid.

His brother Amlave, having led a body of troops some time after into Tirconnel, was defeated and killed by the inhabitants. A fresh reinforcement of Danes that arrived in Dublin, in 902, was destroyed near that city by the people of Leinster.

The war against the Danes was not the only one in which this monarch was engaged. The equilibrium of the kingdom was already lost; the union established between the princes at the assembly of Rath-Hugh, by the authority of Malachi, was forgotten, and the rights of the monarchy-violated. These circumstances induced Flan-Sionna to march with an army into the north of Munster, which committed dreadful devastations. Donnogh, king of that province, died in the meantime.

Cormac-Mac-Culinan succeeded Donnogh, in the kingdom of Munster; he was of the royal race of Cashel, and king of the province. He himself was both a spiritual and temporal prince, being, at the same time, bishop of Cashel, and king of the province. Of such unions some examples were to be found amongst his ancestors. Olcobar, who died in 851, and Cenfoelad in 872, were at the same time kings of Cashel, and bishops of Emly. We have seen the functions of both dignities exercised by Jonathan, Simon, John Hircan, Aristobulus, and Alexander Janne. The Roman emperors took pride in the title of high priest; and without recurring to the example of the sacrilegious power, so shamefully usurped by the kings of England, of which a certain author avails himself on this subject, we see still ecclesiastical electors in Germany, who are both spiritual and temporal princes.

Caradocus of Lhancarvan, in his Welsh chronicle, mentions Cormac as a man of piety. However, either he, or the editor of his work in English, is mistaken, in calling him Carnot, son of Cukeman, king and bishop of Ireland.

In the seventh year of the reign of Cormac, he declared war against the province of Leinster, to enforce the payment of a Boi-roimhe or tribute, which the kings of Cashel exacted from the inhabitants of that province. This peaceable and pious prince was averse to the war; but his objections were overruled by his council, and particularly by Flahertach, abbot of Iniscatha, of royal blood, who persuaded him that Leinster, as forming part of Leath-Modha, according to the division made of the island in the third century, between Conn the monarch, and Modha, king of Munster, owed homage to his crown: whereupon, he assembled an

army, and marched towards the frontiers of Leinster.

Cormac's uneasiness for the success of the war increased daily. He foresaw that it would be fatal, not only to his province, but to himself in person, particularly as the monarch had declared in favour of the people of Leinster, and had marched with a body of troops to join them. These motives induced Cormac to receive the sacraments before he commenced hostilities, after which he made his will, by which he left several pious legacies to churches and monasteries. He bequeathed an ounce of gold and one of silver, with a caparisoned horse to Ard-Fionan; two chalices, one gold the other silver, with a church ornament to Lismore: to Cashel, he left two chalices, one gold and the other silver, four ounces of gold, and five of silver; to Imleach-Inbhair (Emly), three ounces of gold, and a missal; to Glen-da-Loch, one ounce of gold and one of silver; to Kildare, a caparisoned horse, an ounce of gold, and an altar ornament; he left to Armagh eighty ounces of gold and as many of silver; three ounces of gold to Inis-Catha, and three ounces of gold, with an altar ornament, and his blessing to the monastery of Mungarret, in the territory of Kinseallagh. This prince was desirous too of performing an act of justice before his death. He knew that Oilioll-Olum, first absolute king of Munster, in the third century, had made a regulation respecting the succession to the throne of that province, by which he had decreed, that the sceptre should belong alternately to the two branches, springing from his two sons, Eogan and Cormac-Cas. He also knew that this law had not been observed, inasmuch as the descendants of Eogan were generally kings of Cashel, with the title of kings of Munster, whilst those of Cormac-Cas were only kings of Thuomond. Cormac being desirous of appeasing the discord and troubles thereby caused in the province, sent for Lorcan, son of Lachtna, king of Thuomond, chief of the branch of Cormac-Cas, and presented him to the nobles of Siol-Eogain, as having the right to succeed him on the throne; but his wishes were not fulfilled, as Dubhlachtna, son of Maolguala, was appointed his successor.

Every thing being prepared for the conflict, the army marched through Leighlin, as far as the plains of Moyailbhe, in the district of Slieve-Mairge, which had been named as the place of meeting. Cormac again endeavoured to settle the dispute peaceably; and sent a herald to the king of Leinster, to demand the tribute that he owed him, or

hostages to secure the payment of it. The herald returned with ambassadors on the part of the king of Leinster, to seek a truce of a few months, during which time, they might come to an accommodation; but this proposal being rejected through the influence of the abbot of Inis-Catha, they determined to decide the matter by force of arms.

The Leinster troops having arrived with the monarch Flan-Sionna, and Carrol, son of Muireagein, their king, at their head, their superior numbers made such an impression on the Munster men, that part of the army would not wait the issue of a battle, but took to flight, and the rest were cut to pieces, 16th August, 918. The king of Munster, who had been always averse to this war, signalized himself particularly in the engagement, (which was commonly called the battle of Beallach-Mugna); but was killed by a fall from his horse. Carrol took a great number of prisoners, amongst whom were several persons of distinction, and in that number, the abbot of Inis-Catha, the principal promoter of this war, whom he brought in triumph to Kildare, where he remained a prisoner till the death of Carrol.

Authors are not agreed as to the death of Cormac. According to Caradocus, he was killed in a battle against the Danes. According however to a manuscript in the Cottonian library, he was killed by some cow-herds at Bearnree, near Leichlin, whilst on his knees praying, like a second Moses, for the success of his army, during their engagement with the enemy. However, it is more likely that he was killed, as stated in the annals of Ulster, and Inisfail, in the battle we have just mentioned. His body was brought to Cashel, where he was interred as he had ordered in his will, although Keating asserts, that he was buried at Discart-Diarmuda, now Castle-Dermod, in the monastery of St. Comhgoll.*

This prince was learned, and well versed in the antiquities of his country. He wrote the Psalter of Cashel, in the Scotie language, a work highly esteemed. He is celebrated by the historians of his country, not only for his learning, but likewise his piety, charity, valour, and magnificence.†

When speaking of this prince, mention should be made of the episcopal see of Cashel, of which he was a distinguished ornament. This see was erected into the metropolitan of the province of Munster, at the synod of Kells, held in 1152, by cardinal John Pa-

paro, who gave the pallium to Donat O'Lo-nargan, then bishop.

After the conversion of Aongus, son of Naodfrach, king of Cashel, the people of that territory remained for some centuries under the jurisdiction of St. Ailbe and his successors, and considered their district as forming part of the diocese of Emly, which is twelve miles from Cashel, where that saint had established his see, and which at this remote period was looked on as the metropolitan of the province.

The rest of Flan-Sionna's reign was tolerably tranquil. The princes having been reconciled, held the Danes in awe; justice was freely administered to the people, and peace restored to the church. The churches and public schools, for the instruction of youth were repaired; and the husbandman cultivated his fields in more security. The barbarians however made their appearance from time to time. In 915, they laid waste part of Munster, but were vigorously repulsed the year following by the inhabitants of that province. They were more successful in Leinster, under the command of Sitrick, where they killed Angar, son of Oiliol, king of that province, and several of the nobility. Meanwhile the Danes of Dublin pillaged the Isle of Man, and that of Anglesey, in Wales. Flanna-Sionna died this year, at Taitlon in Meath, on the eighth of the calends of June, (25th May), at the age of 68 years, of which he had reigned 37, A.D. 916.

Niall, surnamed Glundubh, son of Hugh VII., ascended the throne of Ireland, on the death of Flan-Sionna. This prince re-established the fair of Taitlon, which had not been held for some time. He afterwards marched against the Danes, who were committing devastations in Ulster, and gained a victory over them, with the loss, however, of some of his best troops. Having given them battle on the 15th September, 919, near Dublin, his army was cut to pieces and he himself found among the slain, together with Hugh Mac-Eochagain, king of Ulster, and several other princes.

Donchad or Donough II., son of Flan-Sionna, who succeeded Niall, was more fortunate than his predecessor, in his wars against the Danes.* In the first year of his reign, he gained a complete victory over these barbarians, at Kiannachta-Bregh in Meath, and fully avenged the death of his predecessor, and the princes who had fallen with him, by killing several of the principal Danes. He afterwards laid waste the country

* War. de Presul. Casseliens.

† War. ibid.

* War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 24. Grat. Luc. c. 9.

in the neighbourhood of Dublin, which belonged to the barbarians.*

In the reign of Donchad, Keallachan, son of Buadhac, ascended the throne of Cashel, after Flahertach, abbot of Inis-Catha, who had succeeded Dublachtna, notwithstanding the opposition of Kennedy, son of Lorcan, prince of Thuomond, who laid claim to that crown.† The king of Cashel signalized himself against the Danes, defeated them in several engagements, and forced them to quit his province.

The barbarians being unable to attack this prince openly, or maintain possession of their conquests, had recourse to intrigue, in order to be revenged on him. Sitrick, who was at that time chief of the Danes, sent a courier to the king of Munster, to signify his desire to make peace, and live on terms of friendship with him; at the same time, saying he would withdraw all his troops from the province, and thenceforward put an end to hostilities; in fact that he would enter into a league offensive and defensive with him, and as a pledge of his sincerity, offered him the princess of Denmark, his sister, in marriage. Some alliances had at this time already taken place between the Irish and the Danes; amongst others Sitrick having married Morling, daughter of Hugh-Mac-Eochaidh.

The king of Cashel fell into the snare, and was highly flattered by the proposals of Sitrick, particularly that respecting his sister, having heard a great deal of the beauty of that princess. He answered that he would immediately repair to Dublin to contract the marriage, and to treat about the other articles of the league.

Keallachan having given his orders, and every thing being ready for the journey, he set out for Dublin, accompanied by Dunchnan, prince of Thuomond, son of Kennedy, and escorted by a chosen body of horse. On coming within a league of the city, he perceived Danish troops concealed in the hedges, which he considered as a bad omen, and attempting to turn back, he was assailed and made prisoner, with Dunchnan, in spite of the vigorous resistance of his guards, several of whom were killed on the spot. The princes were brought to Dublin, and thence to Armagh, where they were placed in confinement and strongly guarded. Those who escaped the combat, brought back to

the province the news of the perfidy of the Danes, and the captivity of their princes.

Kennede, to whom Kellachan had confided the administration of the government during his absence, exasperated at this shameless outrage, assembled the troops of the province, and sent them, under the command of Donnogh Mac-Keefe, prince of Fearmoihe, an experienced general, with orders to punish the insolence of the barbarians, and restore the captives to liberty. At the same time he despatched a fleet under the command of Failbhe-Fionn, prince of Desmond, to cut off the enemy's retreat by sea. Never was a project better contrived, or more ably executed.

The commander of the Danish army, who was in care of the captives at Armagh, having learned through a spy, that the Munster troops were on their march to attack him, left a detachment to guard the prisoners and advanced from the city with the rest of his army, to prevent their arrival. The engagement began, and the Danes, unable to withstand the impetuosity of the Munster men, fired with the desire of vengeance, were cut to pieces. The victory, however, was not productive of the effect which Donnogh had reason to hope. The prisoners had been previously removed to Dundalk, a seaport twenty miles from Armagh, and given up to Sitrick, who embarked with them on board his fleet, which was at anchor in that port; these vessels being used as garrisons and places of retreat by the barbarians, when unable to defend themselves by land. Donnogh having spent the night after the battle at Armagh, marched the next day for Dundalk, where he expected to overtake the enemy; but his hopes vanished on discovering this manœuvre of the barbarians, who feared nothing from a land army, unprovided with a fleet. However, the aspect of affairs soon changed. The arrival of the Irish fleet, under the command of Failbhe-Fionn, disconcerted the Danes, by whom they were wholly unexpected, and their dismay was increased by the most bloody and obstinate battle that had ever been fought on these coasts. As they were determined on boarding the ships and coming to a close engagement, Failbhe-Fionn, desirous of setting his troops the example, leaped, sword in hand, into the Danish admiral's ship, on board of which was Sitrick, his brothers, Tor and Magnus, and Keallachan, king of Munster, who was tied to the mast. Followed by a small detachment, this brave man made a dreadful slaughter among the barbarians, cleared a passage to the spot where the king was, and

* Porter, Compend. Annal. Reg. Hib. sect. 4, cap. 3.

† Keat. History of Ireland, part. 2. Propug. Cathol. Verit. lib. 5, c. 14.

set him at liberty; but his strength being exhausted by the heat of the action, and by loss of blood, he was unfortunately slain. The combat did not end with the loss of this hero, but was renewed through the courage of Fionngall. Encouraging his men by his own example, they caused dreadful slaughter. Seeing, however, that the superior numbers of the enemy, animated by the valour of Sitrick, their chief, rendered his efforts useless, this skilful captain bethought of an expedient as heroic as it was bold. Meeting with Sitrick in the thick of the fight, he darted on him, and seizing him in his arms, threw himself into the sea, where both perished together. The courage of Seagda and Conall was roused to such a degree, by this example of intrepidity, that they seized in like manner on Tor and Magnus, brothers of Sitrick, and shared with them a watery grave.

The Danes having lost their commanders, and terrified by those horrid and cruel actions, began to give way, and part of their fleet having abandoned the conflict, victory declared in favour of the Irish. The consternation of Donnogh's army during this engagement, may easily be conceived, beholding their countrymen engaged with a formidable enemy, whilst they were unable to give them any assistance.

After the naval combat, and the dispersion of the enemy's fleet, Keallachan landed in Dundalk, where he was joyfully received by the people. Having rested his troops, and given orders for the care and removal of the wounded, he marched with his army towards Munster, and resumed the government of that province. When he had recruited his forces, he pursued the Danes, who remained in his territory, five hundred of whom he killed at Limerick and its neighbourhood, about the same number at Cashel, and the remainder escaped on board their ships. This prince died in peace some time afterwards, and left his crown to Feargna, son of Ailgenan, and grandson of Dungala, who was succeeded, after a reign of two years, by Mahon, son of Kennede, and brother of Eichiarium, prince of Thuomond.

Reginald, king of the Ostmans of Dublin, having died in 921, was succeeded by Godfrid, who led an army into Ulster the same year, and pillaged Armagh. He lost, however, a considerable part of his troops in an expedition into Limerick, in 924. Two years afterwards he sent a body of men into Ulster, under the command of his son Aulaf, who was twice repulsed by the inhabitants of that province, and escaped with

difficulty by the aid of a reinforcement which his father brought from Dublin.

This tyrant died in 934, loaded with ignominy for his cruelty, and was succeeded by his son Aulaf, who died suddenly in 941. The year following, the barbarians plundered Down, Clonard, Kildare, and the neighbouring country; but in 943 they were driven out of the district of Lecale, by the people of Ulster. They were again defeated, with the loss of eight hundred men, by the Ulster troops, under the command of Mortough-Mac-Neill, king of that province: after which Ireland enjoyed peace for some time, which was however interrupted by the battle of Roscrea.

The barbarians, whose only object was pillage, knew that the celebrated fair of Roscrea, in the district of Thobuir-Daron, (Tipperary), was to be held on the 29th of June, St. Peter, and St. Paul's day, and that most of the rich merchants in the kingdom repaired thither every year. Hoping to find sufficient booty to gratify their avarice, the Danes, who were quartered in and about Connaught, assembled under the command of Oilfinn, their general, and set out on their march, in order to reach Roscrea on the day appointed. The news of this march soon spread, and caused dreadful alarm. At this period the inhabitants of Ireland always went armed to defend themselves against the barbarians; and those who attended the fair of Roscrea did not fail to use the precaution on this occasion, being all provided with weapons; and though strangers to each other, having come from different parts of the kingdom, still the general welfare and the love of country were ties sufficiently strong to unite them against the barbarians. They laid aside their traffic, left the fair, and went to meet the enemy; the engagement was bloody and obstinate, but the barbarians were put to flight, having left their chief, Oilfinn, and 4000 men dead on the field of battle. The Danes of Lough-Oisles, now Lough-Corrib, in the county of Galway, were afterwards defeated by the people of Connaught. Teige, son of Cahill, king of that province, died about this time.

The Danes of Lough-Neagh, in Ulster, were also cut to pieces by Conning-Mac-Neill, who killed one thousand two hundred of them. The usual quarters of these barbarians were on the sea shore, or near some lake, that they might be within reach of their ships, which served them as places of retreat.

Notwithstanding the repeated victories which the Irish gained over the barbarians,

Scandinavia still continued to send over reinforcements, which enabled them to continue their depredations. They again pillaged Armagh and the neighbourhood of Lough-Earne and Inis-Owen, where they surprised Mortough-Mac-Neill, who however fortunately made his escape.

After a reign of twenty-five years, filled with troubles, Donchad, the monarch, died a sudden death.

Congal, son of Maolmithig, descended from Niall the Great, by Conall-Creamthine and Hugh III., surnamed Slaine, ascended the throne, A.D. 944. The mother of this prince was Mary, daughter of Kenneth, son of Ailpin, king of Scotland.*

The reign of this monarch was fatal to the Danes. After gaining a glorious victory over them, near Dublin, where 4000 lost their lives, he entered the city triumphantly, which he gave up to pillage, and put the garrison to the sword; but Blacar, brother of Aulaf, recovered the city the year following, and restored it to its former state.†

The Danes of Dublin, eager to revenge the losses they had sustained, laid waste part of Meath, A.D. 946; but they were met near Slane by the monarch, who destroyed a great number of them, those who escaped the sword having been drowned, A.D. 948. The year following he killed 1600, with Blacar their chief, who was succeeded in the command of the barbarians, by Godfrid, son of Sitrick.

About this time it was that those barbarians were converted to the Christian religion; it did not, however, immediately soften their ferocity; as, some time afterwards, they pillaged the territory of Slane, under the command of Godfrid. They set fire to the town and church, in which several lives were lost; but on their return towards Dublin, they were stripped of their booty, and cut to pieces at Muine-Breogain, by the natives, commanded by Congal. Their loss amounted to 7000 men, including Imar, one of their chiefs. The monarch survived his exploits but a short time, being killed by the Danes, at the battle of Tiguiran in Leinster.

In the reign of Congal, Brien, afterwards surnamed Boiroihme, succeeded his brother Mahon (who had been killed by robbers,) on the throne of Munster, A.D. 956. Sanguine hopes were already entertained of the valour of this prince. Since the time that he com-

manded the provincial army, under his brother Mahon, his exploits against the Danes were numerous; but on succeeding to the government of his province, he became the scourge of these barbarians. He began by chastising the assassins of his brother Mahon, and Daniel O'Faolan, prince of Desie, who had espoused their quarrel. He afterwards attacked the people of Leinster, who were supported by a considerable body of Danes, and forced them to pay him a tribute; and it is asserted that he won twenty-five battles against the Danes, the last of which was that of Clontarf, of which we shall again have occasion to speak.

Domhnall or Daniel O'Niall, son of Mortough, and grandson of Niall Glundubh the monarch, succeeded Congal, A.D. 956. His reign was very much disturbed by the incursions of the barbarians.* They pillaged the church and territory of Kildare, under the command of Amlare. They afterwards laid waste Keannanus, and part of Meath, from which they carried away considerable booty.

The monarch who was dissatisfied with the conduct of the people of Connaught in regard to him, sent an army to lay waste their province, a disaster which Feargal O'Rourke, who was at the time their king, was unable to prevent. He afterwards entered Leinster, in order to punish the people of that province for having revolted, in conjunction with their allies, the Danes. It was then that he gave battle at Kilmone, to Domhnal, son of Colegach, who was assisted by a body of Danes, under the command of Aulaf. This battle was bloody and indecisive. Amongst the slain were Ardgall, king of Ulster, Donnagan, son of Maolmuirre, prince of Orgiallach, and many other persons of distinction. The barbarians, who were sometimes the allies, and sometimes the enemies of the people of Leinster, surprised Ugaire, son of Tuathal, king of that province, and made him prisoner. This outrage was revenged by Brien, king of Munster, who put eight hundred Danes to the sword, in the isle of Inis-Catha, and made three of their chiefs prisoners. Ugaire, son of Tuathal king of Leinster, who was taken prisoner by the Danes, having been ransomed, was killed by these barbarians, at the battle of Biothlione.

Edgar, king of England, is asserted to have conquered Ireland in the time of Domhnal, monarch of the latter island.† The story of this conquest is founded on the pre-

* War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 4, 24. Grat. Luc. cap. 9. Propug. Cathol. Verit. lib. 5, cap. 14.

† Porter. Comp. Annal. Eccles. Reg. Hib. sect. 4. cap. 3, 4.

* War. Grat. Luc. Bruodin. et Porter, ibid.

† War. de Antiq. Hib. c. 4, et Propug. Cathol. Verit. lib. 5, cap. 14.

amble of a pretended charter of that prince, dated Gloucester, A.D. 964, in which he boasts of being emperor and lord of all the kings of the islands bordering on Britain. He gives thanks to the Lord for having extended his dominions, and brought under his jurisdiction all the islands in the ocean, and their ferocious kings, as far as Norway, and the greater part of Ireland, with its noble city of Dublin, &c.; but this charter, which is not mentioned by English writers, appears to have been a part of the flattery of the monks, who were powerfully protected by that prince in opposition to the secular clergy. Besides Edgar had a particular fondness for navigation, and always kept 3600 ships on sea, divided into three fleets, with which he sailed round England every year, to visit its coasts.* On his voyage he undoubtedly saw the neighbouring coasts, and had perhaps taken possession of them at sight, as possession is taken of a living in sight of the steeple; in which, most probably, consisted his conquest of Ireland.

After a reign of twenty-four years, Domhnal the monarch died at Armagh, with sentiments worthy a true Christian.

CHAPTER XIV.

MALACHI II., otherwise Maolseachlin, succeeded his father Domhnal, A.D. 980. According to some historians, he was son of Domhnal, and grandson of Donchad the monarch.† Whatever may have been his genealogy, he was a valiant and warlike prince.‡ He began his reign by attacking the Danes, and fought the memorable battle of Tara, in which they were completely defeated, with the loss of several thousand men, (according to some authors 5000), with all their chiefs; amongst others, Reginald, son of Aulaf.§ This defeat was so fatal to the Danes, that Aulaf, their chief, undertook a pilgrimage to the island of Hy the year following, (he would seem to have been a Christian;) where, having performed penance, he died with grief, and was succeeded in the command of the Danes by his son Gluniarand.

After his victory over the Danes at Tara,

Malachi marched with his victorious army into the territory of Fingal, which belonged to the barbarians, and laid the country waste. He afterwards besieged Dublin, which he took after three days, and set two thousand Irishmen at liberty, who had been prisoners, with Domhnal-Claon, king of Leinster, and Aithir-O'Neill, prince of Ulster.

The Danes were forced by these conquests to abandon all the territory they possessed, from the river Shannon to the eastern ocean, and acknowledge themselves tributary to the monarch.

Having, however, received some reinforcements from their own country, the Danes, regardless of the treaty they had entered into with Malachi, recommenced their hostilities, pillaged the churches, and laid waste the province. But the monarch attacked them with a success equal to his courage, and defeated them in two engagements, with Tomor and Carolus, their chiefs, at Glunmam. After this, however, he gave himself up to pleasure, and neglected the welfare of the nation, whilst the Danish forces continued to increase.

The name of Malachi had become formidable to the Danes. Malachi I., having surprised their chief Turgesius, rescued his country from the tyranny of these barbarians, though he afterwards allowed them to return, and settle in some maritime towns, under the pretext of carrying on trade, an act which was highly impolitic. Malachi II. signalled himself equally against the enemies of his country. He humbled them by repeated victories; but having afterwards relaxed in his exertions, he lost all the glory of his exploits, and his crown at the same time.

During the reign of Malachi, Gluniarand, son of Aulaf, and chief of the Danes of Dublin, was killed by his servant, and was succeeded by his brother Sitrick. Godfrid, son of Harald, king of the Hebrides, was killed the same year by the Dalriads. Sitrick, son of Aulaf, having been expelled from Dublin by his subjects, was recalled a short time afterwards, and sent assistance to Maolmorha-Mac-Murchuda, to make him king of Leinster, in place of Donat, who had been taken in battle, and forced to abdicate the throne. Brien, king of Munster, had declared war the same year against the Danes of Dublin, and having conquered them at the battle of Glenanenin, in which their loss amounted to 6000 men; he razed their city to the ground. They, however, rebuilt it afterwards, and gave hostages to Brien.

It had now become necessary to put a stop

* Baker, Chron. p. 11, Historical map of England, vol. 1, b. 4, pages 329, 330.

† Keating's History of Ireland.

‡ War. de Antiqu. Hib. cap. 4.

§ Grat. Luc. cap. 9. Propug. Cathol. Verit. lib. 5, cap. 15. Porter, Comp. Ann. Eccles. Reg. Hib. sect. 4. cap. 4.



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Monarchs of Ireland. Anne Dom 1044

to the progress which the Danes were making in the country, encouraged by their alliance with the people of Leinster, and the weakness of Malachi's reign. The princes of Munster and Connaught having assembled, it was decreed that Malachi should be dethroned, and the sceptre transferred to Brien, king of Munster, a prince who was capable of repressing the insolence of the barbarians. Although this decree did not emanate from a general assembly of all the provinces, the neutrality observed by those who did not join in it, seemed to give it their sanction, and Brien supplied the deficiency by a powerful army of the natives and Danes, with which he marched to Tara, and obliged Malachi to abdicate. He, however, retained the title of king of Meath, which was his patrimony. The sceptre of Ireland, which had been swayed by kings of the house of Heremon, and particularly by the descendants of Niall the Great, since the reign of that monarch, in the fourth century, was transferred in the beginning of the eleventh to the house of Heber.

Brien, surnamed Boiroidmhe, son of Kennede, and grandson of Lorcan, of the race of Heber-Fionn, having received the abdication of Malachi at Athlone, was declared monarch of the whole island, A.D. 1002. He was surnamed Boiroidmhe, from a tribute he had exacted from the people of Leinster. Having received the fealty and homage of Cahall O'Conchovair, (O'Connor), king of Connaught, and the other princes of that province, he entered Ulster with an army of 20,000 men, consisting of the tribe of the Dal-Cais, the Leinster men, and the Danes whom he had subjugated. He was honourably received at Armagh, by Mælmury or Marian, archbishop of that see, on whom he bestowed a considerable sum of money, to repair the church. During his stay at Armagh, he was visited by Hugh O'Neill, king of Ulster, and the other princes of that province, who acknowledged him as monarch.

Having settled the affairs of Ulster, Brien repaired to Tara, and like his predecessors, convened an assembly of the bishops and nobles, in which he was solemnly crowned. He afterwards enacted several laws respecting the government and public welfare, which were enforced during his reign with rigour, and all traitors severely punished. He made the Danes restore all the church property they had usurped, and rebuild the churches and monasteries they had destroyed; re-established the universities and public schools, and founded new ones, which he

liberally endowed. Lastly, by his generosity he encouraged professors of all the sciences; so that literature, which had been in a manner banished from the island by the barbarians, began to flourish anew under this monarch.

Brien, having settled the religious affairs of the state, next turned his thoughts towards the temporal government. He restored to the old proprietors the possessions of which they had been stripped by the Danes; raised fortresses in every direction, in which he placed garrisons for the public safety; repaired the roads; built causeways throughout the whole kingdom, and bridges over the rivers and deep marshes, which had been before impassable.

The Irish had not yet adopted the use of surnames. The people added to the names of the lords, people of rank, and even to those of their kings, arbitrary distinctions, derived from their virtues, vices, colour, complexion or any military exploit; which custom prevailed also in other countries.

To prevent the confusion which these popular names might create in families, and in order that their genealogies should be more carefully preserved, it was decreed by this wise monarch, that thenceforward all the branches of the Milesian race should have particular surnames. The custom was then introduced of families taking the name of some illustrious man amongst their ancestors, to which was prefixed the article *O*, or *Mac*, to indicate the honour of their descent from him. Thus it is, that the O'Neills express their descent from Niall the Great, monarch of the island in the fourth century; the O'Briens, from Brien Boiroidmhe; the Mac-Cartys, from Carthach, &c. In the Irish language, the article *o* is equivalent to the French article, *de*, and not to *le*, as has been asserted by ill-informed writers; and *Mac* signifies the son of some one.

It would appear that the Irish are now ashamed of these additions, which at once characterize their noble extraction, and the antiquity of their names. We see some O'Neills, O'Briens, O'Connors, Mac-Cartys, Magennises, and many others, suppress them; which can only arise from ignorance, littleness of mind, or a foolish desire of conforming to English taste, as they must be introduced in the Irish pronunciation of these names, and as in all countries, the gentleman can be distinguished from the plebeian, by some peculiarity in his name. They may be accused of the same indifference with respect to their language, which bespeaks an ancient people, and of which they affect to be igno-

rant, to adopt a jargon introduced amongst them by foreigners.

The assembly of Tara having terminated, Brien left Meath, and repaired to Kean-Coradh, near Killaloe, on the banks of the Shannon, where he generally held his court, and there enjoyed, for some time, the sweets of peace. He was distinguished as well for the greatness of his mind, as for his military exploits: "*Princeps ob animi virtutes celeberrimus.*" The great concourse of princes and nobles of the kingdom who attended his court, added much to its brilliancy. Peace was at length interrupted by Maolmorha-Mac-Murchad, king of Leinster, who visited the court of Brien for the purpose of seeing his sister, the queen; but having received an insult from Morrough, eldest son of the monarch, he departed suddenly for his province, without taking leave of any one, determined to revenge the affront he had received; and in order to carry his resolution into effect, he formed an alliance with Sitrick, king of the Danes of Dublin. They both then sent an express to the king of Denmark, to request his succour against the monarch. The king, wishing to profit by the rupture, and hoping to recover the possessions of his predecessors in the island, sent 12,000 men, headed by his sons Charles Crot and Andrew, who landed in Dublin, with a further force of Norwegians from the Hebrides, to the number of 4000. These auxiliaries, together with the Leinster troops and the Danes of Dublin, formed a considerable army.

The monarch alarmed at these movements, determined to prepare for the consequences. He assembled all the Munster troops, and his allies, the king of Connaught, Malachi prince of Meath, and their followers, who composed an army of about 30,000 men the chief command of whom he gave to his son Morrough. This, however, did not prevent him from assisting in person, though 88 years of age. Every thing being ready for the campaign, the army began their march towards Dublin, where the enemy awaited them in the plain of "*Cluon-Tarbh*" (Clontarf), two miles from the city. The centre of the army was headed by the monarch and Thadeus O'Kelly, prince of Connaught; the right by Murrough, and the left by Malachi, king of Meath.* The orders being given, the battle commenced at eight o'clock in the morning, and did not terminate till five in the afternoon. Malachi, who commanded the left wing, retired with his troops in the beginning of the action, and remained a

passive spectator hoping for the defeat of Brien, who had deprived him of his crown some time before.

This battle, which took place on Good Friday, 23d April, 1014, though desperate and sanguinary, was glorious to the monarch, who gained a complete victory over the enemy. The loss, however, was considerable on both sides. According to some writers, that of the enemy amounted to 11,000 men killed upon the spot; and according to others, 13,000, including Moelmordha, king of Leinster, with the two sons of the king of Denmark, and several chiefs of the army. The loss of the royal army amounted to 7000. The monarch was killed by a retreating band of Danes, commanded by Bruadar, chief of the Danish fleet: "*Ipsa parasceve Paschæ feria,*" says Marianus Scotus, "*nono kalendas Maii, manibus et mente in Deum intentus, necatur.*" These, however, were pursued by a detachment and put to the sword. Morrough O'Brien, the general, Turlough, his son, and many persons of distinction likewise fell victims to their love of country. The bodies of the monarch and of his son Murrough, or Murchard, were deposited in the town of Swords, six miles from Dublin, from whence they were removed to Armagh, by order of Mælmury, archbishop of that see, and interred in the Metropolitan Church. Some however say that they were buried at Kilmainham, near Dublin, with the bodies of Thadeus O'Kelly and other lords; whilst others affirm that they were brought to Cashel.

After this celebrated battle of Clontarf, Sitrick, king of the Danes of Dublin, having taken refuge, with the remains of his army, in that city, Donnough, or Denis O'Brien, took the command of the royal forces; and having expressed his gratitude to the Connaught troops, dismissed them, and marched with those of his own province towards Cashel. A dispute however which arose upon their march between the two tribes of which his forces were composed, proved nearly fatal to him and his army. The inhabitants of southern Munster being desirous of enforcing the will of Oilíoll-Ólun, who had decreed that the crown of the province should belong alternately to the two branches, formed by the descendants of his two sons, proposed that Donnough should resign the command, and yield the sceptre of the province to their chief, whose turn it was to reign. Donnough firmly replied, that his father and uncle had already made them feel the extent of their power, and that he was not inclined to renounce a right which he

* Ogyg. part 3, cap. 93.

held from his father. He therefore gave orders to the tribe of Dalcaiss, who were his subjects as hereditary king of Thuomond, to prepare to defend his cause; and in order to be more unincumbered, he resolved to remove the wounded, with a detachment to preserve them from injury. They however requested to be placed with their companions in line of battle, with sabres in their hands, and stakes to support them, in order to share the glory with them, and shed the last drop of their blood in the service of their prince. The enemy were so intimidated by this determination, that they renounced their claims; and Donnough having arrived at Cashel, with the Dalcaiss, was declared king of Munster.

Malachi II., who had been dethroned twelve years before by Brien Boiromhe, resumed the government of the whole island, on the death of this prince, A.D. 1014, and reigned nine years afterwards as monarch.

Ireland was not the only country in Europe in which the Normans had rendered themselves formidable at this time. After laying waste France, they massacred the clergy, both secular and regular, pillaged and burned their churches and monasteries, and practised every species of cruelty for the space of about seventy years, when they finally made a settlement in the country.* Charles the Simple, who saw that, far from being able to expel, he was powerless even to resist them, resolved, by the advice of his nobles, to enter into a treaty with them. By this treaty, which was concluded at St. Clair, on the river Epte, the king ceded to Rollo, (who, from a private individual in Denmark, became the chief of those robbers, and was named Robert at his baptism), the whole of that district since called Normandy, as a tenure from the crown, and Brittany as an *arrière-fief*, and gave him his daughter Gisle in marriage.†

In England, the Danes continued their devastations, from the beginning of the ninth, to the end of the tenth century, and became so formidable, that whilst the owner laboured in his field, they held command of his house, occupying themselves only in debauching his wife or daughters, and consuming the fruits of his labour. They were there called, more through fear than from respect, Lord-Danes.‡

Ethelred, who was at this period king of England, finding no other expedient to rid

himself of so formidable an enemy, sent secret orders to every town in his kingdom, to massacre all the Danes on an appointed day; the 13th of November, the festival of St. Bricius, in the year 1002. Those orders were every where executed with such rigour, that the Danes, at Oxford, having taken refuge in the church of St. Frideswide, as a sanctuary, the people set fire to it, regardless of the sanctity of the place, and all that were within perished in the flames.

The news of this massacre having reached Denmark, Sweyne, king of that country, stimulated by a desire of revenge, and thirsting for plunder, set sail with a powerful fleet for England, where he committed dreadful devastations. Ethelred assembled a powerful army, under the command of Earl Edrick, to check the progress of the barbarians; but was betrayed by the earl, though his son-in-law, and favourite, and created by him, duke of Mercia.

The year following the Danes besieged Canterbury, where they killed Alphegus, the archbishop, and nine hundred monks. They spared but a tenth part of the people, and put the remainder to the sword, so that, according to the calculation made of this massacre, there perished 43,200 persons.

Sweyne again returned with a considerable reinforcement, and reduced the north of England to subjection. He then marched towards London, and made himself master of the rest of the kingdom; so that the unfortunate Ethelred having first sent his queen Emma to her brother the duke of Normandy, with his sons Edward and Alfred; soon afterwards followed them himself, and left Sweyne absolute master of England.

It might be expected that the death of the tyrant, which happened soon afterwards, would put an end to the usurpation. On the first intelligence of it Ethelred returned to his kingdom; but he found Canute, son of the deceased, already in possession of part of his states; so that he was under the necessity of fighting, not only against the Danes, but also against his own subjects, who had acknowledged the usurper. His efforts were however crowned with success, and Canute was obliged to withdraw to Denmark. He had not renounced his claims, notwithstanding, and returned some time afterwards with fresh forces, and gained a complete victory over the English.

In the mean time the illness and subsequent death of king Ethelred, enabled Canute to dispute the sovereignty with Edmund, surnamed Ironside, his son and successor, when, after several battles, the two princes agreed

* Fleury, Hist. Eccles. lib. 54.

† Baker. Chron. Life of William the Conqueror, page 20,

‡ Baker, Chron. England, page 13, et seq.

to decide the quarrel by single combat, in presence of both armies. Canute having been wounded, he represented to his rival the folly of exposing their lives for an empty title, and that it would be better to share the kingdom between them, and live together like brothers. Edmund consented to the proposal, but was assassinated some time afterwards, whereby Canute became sole king of England, and was solemnly crowned at London, by Elstane, archbishop of Canterbury, after which he married Emma, widow of king Ethelred, by whom he had a son, called Hardicanute.

On the death of Canute he was succeeded by his eldest son Harold, and the latter by Hardicanute; so that the sceptre of England was swayed successively by three Danish kings, without opposition, and was only restored to the English race, for want of heirs in the house of Denmark.

The Irish we have seen, opposed the efforts of the Normans, for more than two hundred years, without yielding a single province to them, or acknowledging one of their tyrants as king. At length they completely routed them, at the celebrated battle of Clontarf; but like a hydra, it was difficult to annihilate them, so inexhaustible were their resources.

In the reign of Malachi II., the Danes of Dublin, and those who escaped the battle of Clontarf, still endeavouring to continue their depredations, the monarch sent for O'Neill, prince of Ulster, with his troops, and marched direct to Dublin; and having defeated a considerable detachment of Danes at Fodvay, he took the city and gave it up to plunder. He subsequently gained a complete victory over them at Athnilacham. He also banished Donnough-Mac-Giolla Phardruig (Fitzpatrick) for having assassinated Donagan, king of Leinster, with the lords of his suite, in the castle of Teige O'Ryan, prince of Ondrona. Some time afterwards, Bran, son of Maolmordha, king of Leinster, was taken prisoner by Sitrick, chief of the Danes of Dublin, who caused his eyes to be put out; which outrage was revenged by Ugaire, son of Dauling, who succeeded Bran, at the battle of Delgne, in which 6000 Danes were killed upon the spot. About this time, Sitrick, chief of the Danes of Waterford, was killed by the people of Ossory, and Reginald O'Hivar succeeded him.

Malachi governed his kingdom with great wisdom, and established several fine institutions. In the neighbourhood of Dublin he built a celebrated monastery, dedicated to the blessed Virgin; he repaired several

churches which had been destroyed by the barbarians, and having granted pensions for the support of three hundred poor orphans, in various towns of the kingdom, he died at an advanced age, the 2nd of Sept. A.D. 1022.

We have now come to the period at which the decline of the Irish monarchy commenced. The historians of the country speak of no supreme or absolute monarch of the whole island, after Malachi II. The title was assumed occasionally by some of the provincial kings, who were acknowledged as such by their vassals only, and supported by some of the neighbouring princes, without the general suffrages of the states. Their authority was wavering and much more restricted than that of their predecessors. They were called, in the language of the country *Righe-Gofra-Sabhrach*, which signifies "kings with opposition." At one time the Hy-Nialls, claimed the supreme government of the island, in virtue of having possessed it for many ages; at others, the O'Briens aspired to it, as heirs of Brien Boiroidmhe. The Hy-Brunes of Connaught laid claim to it also, and the kings of Leinster acted a part, which did them no honour. They frequently formed alliances with the Danes, contrary to the general welfare of the country, and the nation at length became a prey to the fury of the English, by means of that unhappy race. Although the ancient constitution of the state had been weakened and enervated by these divisions, it nevertheless existed for a century and a half in this sort of anarchy.

Donnough, otherwise Donat or Denis, son of the celebrated Brien-Boiroidmhe, and king of Munster, was obeyed as monarch by a considerable part of the island, but was unable to reduce the rest to obedience.* This prince was very powerful, and from his great prudence, worthy of occupying the throne. He forced the people of Meath, Leinster, Ossory and Connaught, to give him hostages; punished the inhabitants of Connaught for the sacrilege they had committed, by pillaging the church of Clonfert, and enacted wise laws against robbery and other abuses which had crept in among the people. He prohibited travelling, fairs, and hunting on Sundays, and to give more weight to his laws, he caused them to be confirmed in an assembly of the bishops and nobles of his province which was convened for that purpose. Donnough's second queen, was Driella, daughter of the celebrated earl Godwin of England, who with his brother Harold took

* Keat. Hist. of Irl. pt. 2, Graf. Luc. c. 9, et Bruod. Prop. Cath. Verit. lib. 4, c. 16.

refuge in Ireland; the latter having been banished by king Edward the Confessor, whom he afterwards succeeded on the throne of England.* By this princess the monarch had a son, called Donald. Harold being desirous of returning to his own country, Donnough granted him a body of troops as an escort, who, entering the Severn with thirty vessels, in conjunction with Griffith, king of south Wales, laid waste the country, which induced the nobles, who dreaded a civil war, to effect a reconciliation between him and his prince.†

The conversion of the Danes or Normans, of which we have already spoken, having been so sudden, and policy having had some share in it, it could not, at first, have been very solid; but they now began to give proofs of a stronger faith.

Sitrick, chief of the Normans of Dublin, having undertaken a pilgrimage to Rome, died on his journey, A.D. 1035, and left the government of Dublin to his son Aulave, who, like his father, being desirous of going to Rome, was assassinated in England, A.D. 1035. He was succeeded by his son Sitrick.

These foreigners left monuments of their piety in the foundations they made. Burghard, a Norwegian lord, had already founded the priory of St. Stephen at Leighlin, in the district of Carlow.

The priory of the Holy Trinity, since called Christ's Church, in Dublin, was founded in 1038, for secular canons, by Sitrick, chief of the Danes of Dublin.‡ This priory was afterwards made a cathedral church.

Dublin, the capital of Ireland, is also the metropolitan see of Leinster. By following the memoirs of the Danes, and styling Donat or Dunare, who flourished in the eleventh century, the first bishop of this see, Ware deducts considerably from its antiquity. It is certainly improbable that St. Patrick, who had appointed bishops and priests to the other churches which he founded in the island, had left without a pastor the church of Dublin, at the time a rich and commercial city, where he had experienced so much gratitude from the inhabitants, who had agreed to pay to him and his successors in the see of Armagh, three ounces of gold annually. Jocelin, who, in the life of St. Patrick, calls Dublin a noble city, "In urbem nobilem quæ vocatur Dublinia,"§ is

reproved by Usher, who accuses him of inconsistency, since in another place he calls it "pagus," which signifies a village.*

The absence of records or registers, more ancient than the eleventh century, is a negative argument, and cannot be considered as a proof. It is very probable that they were burned or suppressed by the pagan Danes, who were frequently masters of the city, and that their descendants who became Christians, and were tolerated from commercial reasons, had begun their records with the first of their own countrymen who were appointed bishops of Dublin, which took place in the eleventh century.

Ware in his treatise on prelates, agrees that historians mention Wiro, Rumold, Sedulius, and one Cormac, who had filled the see of Dublin before Donat.† On this head, Colgan quotes an English martyrology, Menardus, Molanus, Meyerus, Sanderus, Ferrarius, the annals of the four masters, and the martyrology of Taulaught, which he calls Tamlactense, from an ancient monastery of that name, three miles from Dublin, where it was written by St. Ængus or Ængussius, of the noble race of the Dal-Arads of Ulster, and by Saint Moebruan, in the eighth century.‡

Although it may be reasonably supposed that several prelates had governed this church from the time of St. Patrick, to that of the Danes, a space of about four hundred years, still as most of them are unknown to us, we shall only speak of those mentioned by the above writers.

According to Colgan, Livinus was bishop of Dublin, and he also says that he suffered martyrdom in 633.§ Meyerus calls him archbishop of Scotia, that is, of Ireland, and says that he was son of Theagnio and Agalmia, people of rank in that country;|| that having preached the gospel and converted a considerable number of persons, he was assassinated on the 12th of November, 633, at Hesca, in the low countries, by two brothers, called Walbert and Meinzo, and that his life had been written by Boniface, archbishop of Mentz.¶ Masseus in his chronicle, and Molanus in the lives of the saints of

* "He seems to forget what he had before stated, that it was not a village, but the capital of the kingdom, and a very noble city."—Usher, c. 17, p. 681.

† Trias Thaum. note 69, in 6, Vit. St. Pat.

‡ Act. Sanct. Hib. ad 11, Mart. Vit. S. Ængus, et 29. Vit. S. Fularth.

§ Trias. Thaum. note 69, in 6, Vit. St. Pat.

|| Meyerus in Annal Flandriæ.

¶ Sander. de Script. Flandriæ.

* Baker, Chron. of Engl. Life of William the Conqueror, page 21.

† Baker, ibid. Reign of Edward, page 18.

‡ War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 26.

§ Vit. S. Patric cap. 71.

Flanders, give nearly the same account; Bale also makes mention of his writings. His relics were removed to Ghent in 1007, and deposited in the church of St. Bavo.

St. Wiro, who was born in Ireland of distinguished parents,* from whom he received an education suited to his birth, made so rapid a progress in virtue and the sciences, that he was nominated bishop, and being obliged by the people to accept that charge, he went to Rome, to receive his consecration from the pope. On his return he governed his diocese for some time in a most edifying manner, and acquired a high reputation of sanctity; but being desirous of devoting his life to God in solitude, he resigned his bishopric, and went to France, where he was honourably received by Pepin, duke of the French, who assigned him a place adapted for retirement and contemplation, called *Mons-Petri*, thought by Molanus to be the same as Ruremond.† Our saint caused an oratory to be built in it, dedicated to the blessed Virgin, which was called the monastery of St. Peter, and having lived to an advanced age, he died on the eighth of May, 650, in his oratory, where he was interred.

Some writers place St. Desibod among the bishops of Dublin.‡ He was born in Ireland, of a noble family, and celebrated for his talent and profound erudition. At the age of thirty years he was ordained priest, and nominated bishop some time afterwards. The insolence of the people having disgusted him with his bishopric, which he had held for ten years, he resigned it in 675. He afterwards left his native country, accompanied by some pious men, amongst others, by Gisualdus, Clement, and Sallust; and having preached the gospel for the space of seven years, in different parts of Germany, he settled, with the consent of the proprietors, on a lofty mountain covered with wood, where he led a solitary life. Having acquired the reputation of great sanctity, he was joined by several monks of the order of St. Benedict, and founded a monastery on this mountain, which was called after him, *Mont-Disibod*, now Disenberg, in the lower Palatinate. He led a penitential and mortified life in this retreat for the space of thirty-seven years, and died there on the 8th of July, aged 81 years, but the year of his death is not known. His life was written by Hildigardis, a nun of Disenberg, under the abbess Juttha, and

published by Surius, for the eighth of July. Dempster mentions having seen a treatise composed by Disibod, entitled "*De Monachorum profectu in solitudine agentium liber 1.*"*

Molanus makes mention of Gualafar, as bishop of Dublin, without entering into any detail of his life, except that he baptized his successor Rumold.

The life of St. Rumold, bishop of Dublin, and afterwards of Malines in Brabant, was written by Theodorick, abbot of St. Tron, and published by Surius, for the 1st July. The other writers who speak of him, are Molanus, several martyrologists, and the legends of some breviaries.

According to these authors, Rumold was son and heir of David, an Irish prince. He was baptised by Gualafar, bishop of Dublin, who also undertook his education. The desire of perfection made him give up the succession to his father, and having been nominated to the bishopric of Dublin, he some time afterwards set out for Rome, preaching the gospel of Jesus Christ every where as he passed. On his arrival in Rome, he went to the holy father, who received him kindly, and did justice to his merit. After a short stay in that city, he took leave of his holiness, and intending to return through France, went to Malines, where he was honourably received by count Ado and the countess his wife, who prevailed on him to settle in that district, for which purpose they granted to him a spot called *Ulmus*, from its being covered with elm trees, to found a monastery. Some time afterwards Malines being made a bishopric, he was nominated the first bishop. He was at length assassinated by two wretches, who attacked him, the one with the design of robbing him, thinking he had money, and the other in revenge for a reprimand he had received from the holy prelate, for the shameful life he led. The better to conceal their crime, they threw his body into a river, whence it was taken by count Ado, and honourably interred in the church of St. Stephen. A splendid church was afterwards built in honour of him, bearing his name, which is now the metropolitan church of the Low countries, and the relics of the saint were deposited there in a beautiful silver shrine. Alexander IV., transferred the festival of St. Rumold to the 1st of July, on account of that of St. John occurring on the 24th June, the day he suffered martyrdom, which festival is annually celebrated in the diocese of

* Surius ad 8 Maii.

† Indiculus Sancti Belgii sub Wirone.

‡ Martyrol. Ang. ad 8 Julii.

* Hist. Eccles. Scot. lib. 4, No. 373.

Malines, as it had been in Dublin, before the Reformation.

According to Colgan, following the martyrologies of Taulaught, Marianus Gorman, and Donnegan, Sedulius, in the Scotie language *Siedhuil*, was bishop of Dublin in the eighth century.* The first of these authors mentions several of the name of Sedulius, illustrious both for their piety and learning; namely, Coelius-Sedulius, in the fifth century, so celebrated in antiquity for his virtue and profound erudition, and who was ranked among the Latin fathers; Sedulius-Scotus, a bishop, who assisted at the council held at Rome, in 721, under Gregory II.; Sedulius, abbot of Linnduachuil in Ulster, in the eighth century; Sedulius, bishop of Dublin, mentioned above; Sedulius, abbot of Kinnlocha; Sedulius, abbot and bishop of Roscommon, in the beginning of the ninth century; Sedulius, son of Feradach, abbot of Kildare; Sedulius, called of the desert of Kieran, who died in 855. In the time of Colgan, there were several families of the name of Siedhuil (Shiel perhaps) who applied themselves to the study of natural science and of medicine, apparently having the genius of the great Sedulius.

All that is known of Sedulius, bishop of Dublin, is, that he was son of Luaith; that from his virtues he was appointed bishop of Dublin; and that after his death, which took place on the eve of the ides of February, 785, from his high reputation of sanctity and virtue, he was placed among the number of the saints.

Cormac, another bishop of Dublin, is known only by name.

Donnough O'Brien's reign was rather peaceful. The princes of the other provinces were satisfied with governing their own subjects, without disputing with him the supreme authority; but being suspected of having been accessory to the death of Thadeus, his eldest brother, he was dethroned by the nobles of the kingdom, and reduced to the rank of a private individual, which induced him to undertake a pilgrimage to Rome, according to the habit of those ancient times, where he spent the remainder of his life in St. Stephen's monastery, and died at the age of 88 years, having presented the crown of Ireland to the pope.

About this time was founded the abbey of Inis-Phadruig, that is St. Patrick's island, on the coast of the territory of Dublin, where it is said Saint Patrick landed on returning

from Ulster.* This abbey, which Ware calls only a priory, was founded for regular canons of the order of St. Augustin, by Sitrick-Mac-Murchard, a Danish lord, and its privileges transferred, in 1220, to Holme-Patrick, by Henry Loundres, then archbishop of Dublin.

The disagreement amongst antiquarians respecting this period, renders the succession of the monarchs of Ireland obscure and confused. Keating asserts that Donnough reigned fifty years: others say only twelve. Ware does not mention him in his catalogue of monarchs. He speaks of an interregnum of twenty years, after the death of Malachi, during which time the affairs of government were transacted under the regency of Cuan O'Leochain, a learned antiquary, and Corcran, a clerk, and head of the anchorites of Ireland, who died in the odour of sanctity at Lismore, A.D. 1042.

Ware affirms that after this interregnum, Dermot, or Dermotius, son of Moelnamo, king of Leinster, assumed the supreme government of Ireland. He was of the race of Cahire-More, and descended in the seventeenth degree from Eana-Kinseallach. He was son-in-law of Donnough O'Brien, having married his daughter the princess Dervorgal.† Some say that he was son of that princess, and consequently grandson of Donnough; but, however this be, he disapproved highly of Donnough's conduct towards his brother Thadeus. He took Turlough or Terdelach, son of the latter, under his protection, considering him as the legitimate heir to the crown of Munster, and constituted himself his guardian. He carried on a successful war against the people of Munster, in order to secure Turlough's right to the crown of that province; plundered the city of Waterford in 1037; burned Glannusen in 1042, having taken four hundred prisoners, and killed one hundred men on the spot. He laid waste also the district of Desie, in 1048, from whence he carried off considerable booty, and some prisoners. He plundered Limerick and Inis-Catha in 1058, and gave battle to Donnough near Mount-Crot, in which the whole army of the latter was defeated. He afterwards received hostages in 1063, from the princes and lords of Munster, and gave them up to the young prince under his protection, who reigned over Munster and a great part of Ireland, after Donnough's abdication.

* War. de Antiq. Hib. c. 26. Allemd. Hist. Monast. d'Irland, p. 4.

† War. de Antiq. Hib. c. 4. Grat. Luc. c. 9. Ogyg. part 3, c. 94.

* Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Sedul. ad 12 Feb. p. 315.

Murchad, son of Donough O'Brien, beheld with regret the sceptre in the hands of his cousin Terdelach, and endeavoured to enforce his claims; for which purpose he stirred up a revolt of that prince's subjects against him. It was, however, soon quelled by the appearance of Dermot, who marched thither with an army in 1065, obliged his subjects to return to their allegiance, and banished Murchad from the province; so that the king of Leinster was at once both arbitrator of the crown of Munster, and protector of the persecuted prince. He was the most powerful prince in Ireland at the time, and obliged Aid, or Hugh O'Conchobhar (O'Connor), king of Connaught, to do him homage. He placed Meath under contribution, and carried away some prisoners; laid waste the territory of Fingal and Dublin, as far as Abhin (Allin), and defeated the Danes near the city, by which victory he became their king. But Providence, which sets bounds to all human greatness, permitted him to be killed at the battle of Adhbha, the 7th of the ides of February, 1072, by Conochor O'Moclachlin, king of Meath. Caradocus-Lhancarvanensis, says, he was the best and most worthy prince that ever reigned in Ireland: "*Dermitium dignissimum et optimum principem qui unquam in Hibernia regnavit;*" of which his conduct towards Terdelach O'Brien is a proof.

His proximity of blood and relationship seemed to authorise Murchad to claim his protection, but he considered the justice of Terdelach's cause a much more powerful incentive.

The conquest of England by William the Conqueror, duke of Normandy, happened about this time, that is, in 1066. England had been governed by Saxon princes, from the end of the fifth, to the beginning of the eleventh century, when the Danes made themselves masters of the country, after which it was ruled by three Danish kings in succession, namely, Canute, Harold, and Hardicanute; but the latter dying without issue, the crown returned to the Saxon line, in person of Edward, surnamed the Confessor.* Edward died before he could place Edgar-Atheling on the throne, who was grandson of his brother, Edmund Ironside, and legitimate heir to the crown. Harold, son of the celebrated Earl Godwin, seized this opportunity, and ingratiated himself so much into the favour of the people, that he was proclaimed king, in opposition to the legitimate heir, whom he amused with the empty title of Earl of Oxford.

* Baker's Chron. Engl. page 15, et seq.

William the bastard, duke of Normandy, since surnamed the Conqueror, founded his claims to the crown of England, on a promise which Edward the Confessor, (whose mother, Emma, was sister to the duke of Normandy), had given him in his youth, to make him his heir; and on an oath which Harold had taken to aid him in his enterprise upon England, after Edward's death; but finding that he had been forgotten by the one, and was betrayed by the other, he sent an ambassador to remind Harold of his oath, and demand that crown, to which he had a right, in virtue of Edward's promise. Harold replied, that the barons and nobles, with one accord, had adjudged the crown to him, and that he would not surrender it without their concurrence. The duke of Normandy, little satisfied with this answer, considered his chance of obtaining justice by force of arms. Circumstances favoured this undertaking; an insurrection which had been raised in the north of England, by Toustayne, the king's brother, abetted by Harold-Harfager, king of Norway, obliged Harold to leave the southern part of his kingdom unguarded, and go to quell the rebellion in the north, where he, however, gained a complete victory over the enemy at Stamford; his brother Toustayne, who had headed the rebels, with the king of Norway, being amongst the slain.

The duke of Normandy did not lose sight of his object. By means of his wife, who was daughter of Baldwin, Count of Flanders, then guardian of Philip I., he obtained succour from France.* The Counts of Poitou, Anjou, Maine, and Boulogne, also furnished him with troops. In order to strengthen his cause by the apostolical authority, Pope Alexander II. sent him a consecrated banner and a golden ring. Every thing being prepared, and his Norman subjects, who had at first expressed a reluctance in the undertaking, having taken up arms, William embarked with his army at Saint Valery, about the end of September, on board a fleet of 300 sail, and landed in a short time at Pevensey, in Sussex, whilst Harold was still occupied in the north.

Having landed his army, William gave orders to his fleet to return to Normandy, in order that his troops should have no hope but in their valour: "*aut vincendum aut moriendum.*" Camden says, that he caused it to be burned. After some days he advanced along the coast as far as Hastings, where he entrenched himself, waiting the approach of the enemy.

* Du Verdier, Abridgment of the History of England.

Harold, surprised by the intelligence of the Norman invasion, returned to London, where he made a short stay to recruit his army, which had suffered considerable losses at the battle of Stamford; after which he set out on his march towards Sussex, and encamped seven miles from Hastings, where their army was posted. The preparations which the duke of Normandy saw the king of England making, and which plainly indicated his desire of coming to a battle, humbled his pride, and made him uneasy as to the blood about to be shed, in a cause which he himself, perhaps, did not consider a very just one; as well as for the uncertainty of a battle in an enemy's country, the loss of which would be irretrievable. Before the action commenced, he sent a monk to Harold with proposals, leaving him the choice either of resigning the crown to him, as his claims were the best founded, or holding it in fealty from the dukes of Normandy, if he were unwilling to give it up; lastly, if he chose, to decide the matter by single combat, or refer it to the decision of the pope. Harold refused to accede to any of the proposals, and said he would leave it to the God of armies to decide the next day. The night previous to the battle was spent in a very different manner by both armies. As the day following was the king of England's birth day, his troops passed the night in feasting, whilst those of the duke of Normandy spent it in prayer. The day after, which was Saturday, 14th October, the two armies engaged at day break, and the battle, which was particularly obstinate, lasted until night.

It may be here observed, that circumstances rather than the valour of the troops, decide the fate of battles, and that the vanquished often deserve laurels as well as the victors. These circumstances sometimes consist of inequality of numbers; sometimes in the choice of ground, or in discipline and superiority of arms; and generally in the skill of the commander. The number and valour of the troops were nearly equal at the battle of Hastings, and Harold did not yield in bravery to William. The Normans having discharged their arrows on the English, who were unacquainted with the use of them, galled and surprised them a little; but soon afterwards recovering from this first panic, they rallied, and attacked the Normans with so much impetuosity, that they made them give ground, without, however, putting them to flight. The battle lasted a long time with equal success, both sides performing prodigies of valour; but the fortune of the day was at length determined by a stratagem of

William. He pretended to give way, which, as he expected, drawing the English from their ranks, who pursued him in disorder into a defile, he made a dreadful slaughter of them. Harold having rallied his flying troops, was slain in making a last effort, together with his brothers; and the rest of the army saved themselves by flight. By this victory the duke of Normandy became master of all England; the conquest being so rapid, that he might have said with Cæsar, "*Veni, vidi, vici*," He lost 6000 men in the action; the English 60,000. After resting and refreshing his troops, William marched towards London, and received the submission of the bishops and the lords of England. He reigned as a tyrant, granting to those who abetted him in his usurpation, lands and lordships, without any other right save the problematical one of conquest, and afterwards created them lords, by which new title they ranked above the old nobility.

Terdelach O'Brien, king of Munster, and of the greater part of Ireland, was son of Thadeus, and grandson of Brien-Boiroimhe. He proved himself worthy of his illustrious ancestors. He enacted wise laws, and governed his subjects with justice,* to which Lanfrancus, archbishop of Canterbury, bears testimony, in his letter to this prince, wherein he styles him the friend of peace and justice,† and alleges that it was an instance of God's mercy towards Ireland, to have given her such a prince for a king.‡

William II., surnamed Rufus, king of England, obtained leave from Terdelach to cut wood in the forests of Ireland, for the palace of Westminster, which he was then building.

In the latter part of his life, the king of Ireland was confined to his bed by lingering illness, the pain of which he supported with truly Christian patience, till his death, which took place on the eve of the ides of July, at Keancora, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, and fourteenth of his reign.

Morthoug, or Moriartach O'Brien, succeeded his father Terdelach, A.D. 1089. This prince's mother, according to Keating (the

* Keat. Hist. of Irel. War. de Antiq. Hib. c. 4. Grat. Luc. c. 9.

† Ogyg. part. 3, c. 94. Bruodin. Propug. lib. 5, c. 16.

‡ "God displays no greater mercy on earth, than when he advances the lovers of peace and justice to the government of souls or bodies. The careful investigator readily discovers what has been conferred on the people of Ireland, when the Almighty hath given to your excellency the right of royal power over that land."—Usher's *Syllogisms*, epist. 27.

only writer, I believe, who has mentioned her), was Kealrach, daughter of Vi-Eine. According to the same author, she had another son, (apparently by a former marriage), called Roger O'Connor, father of Terdelach O'Connor, who succeeded Moriortach O'Brien.* Moriortach is acknowledged king of Ireland by the annals of Inis-Fail, Donegal, and by the writer who has continued those of Tigernach. Usher, in his collection, quotes an epistle of St. Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, to *Muriardach, the glorious king of Ireland*, in which he extols this prince highly, for his justice and love of peace. His authority was also acknowledged by the inhabitants of the Hebrides and the Isle of Man, who sent ambassadors to him, to request that a king of his family might rule them during the minority of Olanus, son of Godred.†

It appears, however, that this prince had a competitor in the supreme government of Ireland. Domnald-Maglochluin, son of Ardal, of the race of Niall of the nine hostages, by Domnald, brother of the monarch Niall-Glundubb, disputed with him the title of monarch, as appears by the hostilities carried on by them against each other, and the steps taken by the archbishops of Armagh to allay them.

Moriortach was equally watchful for the interests of the church and state. Having been solemnly crowned at Tara, he convened an assembly of the lords and bishops of the province, at Cashel, where, in their presence, he gave that city, which had been till that time the usual residence of the kings of Munster, with the lands and lordships appertaining to it, as a donation to the see.

About this time, viz. in the year 1100, the priory of Dungevin, in the district of Arachty-Cahan, now the county of Derry, was founded by the noble family of the O'Cabans, lords of that country.‡

With the consent of Pope Paschal II., the monarch assembled a national council in 1110 or 1112. This council was composed of fifty bishops, three hundred priests, and about three thousand of an inferior order of clergy, besides the monarch, who was present, and several princes and lords of the

kingdom.* The heads of the clergy were, Milerus, or Mælmurius O'Dunan, archbishop of Munster; Kellach-Mac-Hugue, vicar of St. Celsus; the primate, who was ill at the time; and Gillaspec or Gilbert, bishop of Limerick, and president of the council, as apostolical legate.

The records of the country mention three different councils as held in Ireland about this time, which however are perhaps but the same council, spoken of by different names. Some call it the council of Bath-Breassail, others Fiad-Mac-Cengus, that is the land or wood of Cengus, which is the same as others call Usneach, where there is a hill of that name, in the district of Kinal-Fiacha, (Westmeath.) Canons and wise regulations were made in this council, respecting the spiritual and temporal administration: the bishoprics were reduced to a limited number, namely twenty-four, with the two archbishoprics: twelve in the northern division of the island, called Leath-Con, and twelve in the southern, or Leath-Mogha. By this division there were two sees in Meath, namely, Damliag and Cluainjoraird. The two archbishoprics were Armagh and Cashel. The limits of the bishoprics were decided upon, and the jurisdiction of each bishop was confined to his own diocese; suffragans were allotted to each archbishop, and the ecclesiastical immunities and exemptions established.

We may fix at this time, that is in 1120, the re-establishment of the abbey of Bangor, by St. Malachi, which had been several times destroyed by the Danes.†

Moriortach O'Brien was not less assiduous in the temporal government of the state, and in defending the country against the common enemy. He defeated the Danes of Dublin three times, banished Godfrid their chief, and had himself proclaimed their king.

A ridiculous and incredible anecdote respecting Murchard king of Ireland is given in the chronicle of the kings of the Isle of Man. The author says, that Magnus, king of Norway, sent a pair of his shoes to Murchard, with orders to carry them on his shoulders on the birth-day of the Lord, as an acknowledgment of his submission to the kings of Norway, and that the king of Ireland had obeyed his orders, lest he should draw upon himself so formidable an enemy.‡ According to the annals of the country, the king of Ireland caused the ears of the commissioners of Magnus to be cut off, and sent

* Keat. Hist. of Irl. part 2, War. de Antiq. c. 4, Grat. Luc. c. 9, Ogyg. part 3, c. 94.

† "All the chief men of the islands, as soon as the death of Lagmannas was heard of, sent ambassadors to Murchard O'Brien, king of Ireland, to send some energetic man of the royal line to rule over them until Olanus should be of age."—*Camd. Chron.* p. 840.

‡ Allemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irl. p. 98.

* War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 26.

† War. de Antiq. Hib. c. 26.

‡ Chron. Reg. Man. apud Camb. Brit. 841.

§ Bruod. Propug. lib. 5. cap. 16. page 933.

them back with the intelligence; which account is more probable, as will be seen by the sequel; for Magnus being exasperated, resolved to take revenge for the insult he had received in the person of his ministers, and formed the wild project of subjugating Ireland. For this purpose, he embarked with a large body of troops, and arriving in the north of Ireland, commenced hostilities; but being surrounded by the Irish militia, he and all his suite were killed, and the tyrant was interred at Down-Patrick. Those who had remained on board the fleet, having learned the unhappy fate of their chief, returned to Norway, and gave up for ever their claims on Ireland.

Moriertach O'Brien, says Malmesbury, an English cotemporary author, formed so strict a friendship with Henry I., king of England, that he did nothing without first consulting him. He made alliances also with foreign princes; and gave one of his daughters in marriage to Arnulph de Montgomery, eldest son of the earl of Arundel, in England, and another to Sicard, son of Magnus, king of Norway.

This pious prince, convinced that human grandeur is but transient, withdrew to Lisamore, where he took minor orders, and employed the remainder of his life in preparing for eternity. He died the sixth of the ides of March, 1120. His body was removed to Killaloe, and interred in the cathedral of that city. Some time before his death, he undertook a pilgrimage to Armagh; which gave rise to Keating's belief that he died there. This prince was the last king of Ireland of his race. From him, and consequently from Brien Boiroidmhe, are descended the illustrious houses of the O'Briens, of which the present head is Charles O'Brien, Earl of Thomond, heretofore called Lord Clare, Marshal of France, knight of the orders of the most Christian king, and colonel of the Irish regiment of Clare, in the service of his Majesty.

CHAPTER XV.

DOMNALD-MAGLOCHLUIN survived his rival Moriortach. Some annalists have placed him in the catalogue of monarchs, amongst others, Gillamaddud, an ancient writer, and O'Du-vegan, in which they are followed by O'Clery, Colgan, and others, the first of whom says, that he was united with Moriortach in the supreme government. He exacted hostages from the inhabitants of Connaught, Meath,

and other districts; carried on a war against the Danes of Fingal, and put their country under contribution. Moriortach was, however, better known to foreigners, particularly the English. He had established an intercourse with the latter, by treaties and marriages; signed the postulata of the bishops of Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick, who went over for consecration by the archbishop of Canterbury, contrary to the discipline of the church of Ireland, and also kept up a correspondence by letter, with the prelates of Canterbury. This intercourse with the English, no doubt influenced, Domhnal-More O'Brien, king of Limerick, in making prompt submission to Henry II., some time afterwards. However this may be, the people were much harassed by the wars of these princes; and the efforts which the bishops and nobles made to appease their quarrels, prove that their authority was equal, and that one was acknowledged monarch in the north, and the other in the south.

Domnald was a generous prince, charitable to the poor, and liberal to the rich. Feeling his end to be approaching, he withdrew to the abbey of Columb-Kill, in Doire, (Derry) where he died in 1121, on the fourth of the ides of February, aged 73 years.*

The abbey of Erinach, or Carrig, in Dalaradie, at present the county of Down, was founded in 1127 for Benedictines, dedicated to the blessed Virgin, by Magnellus-Mac-Kenleffe, and afterwards removed to Inis.

Although it is alleged by some authors, that there was at this time an interregnum of some years, and though Ware, who speaks of it comes to no conclusion upon the subject, it is certain that Turlough-More-O'Connor, otherwise Terdelach O'Connor, son of Roderick king of Connaught, succeeded the two last princes, in the supreme government of the island. He was of the race of Heremon, and descended in the twenty-third degree from Eocha XII., surnamed Moyveagon, monarch of the island, in the fourth century.

The two sons of that monarch, Brian and Fiachar, had formed two powerful tribes in Connaught, called after them the Hy-Brunes

* "Domnaldus, grandson of Lochlannus son of Ardganus, king of Ireland, and the handsomest of his countrymen. His birth was noble, his disposition ingenuous, and he was most successful in his undertakings. The poor received many gifts from him, and the great were liberally rewarded. He retired to the abbey of Columb-Kill, where he died in the 73rd year of his age, and 27th of his reign." —*Act. Sanct. Hib. ad 27, March. cap. 4. p. 773.*

and the Hy-Fiachras, of Tir-Fiachra, and Tir-Amalgaid, or Tirawly. From these two tribes were descended all the kings that governed this province, from the fourth to the twelfth century, but principally from the former, of which the O'Connors Don were the chiefs. This tribe was also called Clan-Murray or Siol-Murray, from Muredach-Mullethan, one of their chiefs, and king of Connaught in the seventh century.

Terdelach O'Connor, being the most powerful prince of Ireland, at the time the throne became vacant, caused himself to be proclaimed monarch by his own adherents, and a considerable part of the island. He entered Munster twice with an army, to force the people of that province to pay him homage. At first he was repulsed with the loss of a great number of his best troops, including O'Flaherty, prince of Iar-Connaught, and many other lords of distinction, but he was more successful in his second expedition, having defeated the Munster forces at the battle of Moinmor, in which he slaughtered great numbers of them, and put the remainder to flight, with their commander, Terdelach O'Brien, son of Murgan, king of that province.* After this victory the province submitted to him, and he divided it between Terdelach O'Brien, and Dermot Mac-Carthy; giving to the former the northern part, including Thuomond and Limerick; and to the latter, the district of Cork, and the remainder of the southern part. Having received hostages from these princes, he marched towards the north, where he quelled some troubles, occasioned by the revolt of the northern Hy-Nialls, who had not yet acknowledged his sovereignty, and received the homage of the O'Neills, O'Donnells, and other princes and lords of the province. On his return from Ulster, he re-established the games at Tailton, which had been interrupted during a long time. These games, which had been instituted for the exercise of the youth, consisted in races on foot and on horseback, in wrestling, in gladiatorial tournaments, leaping, throwing the stone and javelin, and every species of military evolutions. Emulation was excited by the applause and prizes which awaited the victor. This monarch likewise caused the high roads to be repaired, and bridges built, two over the Shannon, one at Athlone, the other at Athrochta, and that of Dunleoghe, over the river Suck. Lastly, he had money coined at Cluon-Mac-Noisk.

* Bruodin, Propug. Cathol. Verit. lib. 5, cap. 16, page 934.

Terdelach was not less remarkable for his religion and piety, than for the wisdom of his government. He founded a priory at Tuam in 1140, dedicated to St. John the Baptist, which he liberally endowed with land; he also granted a large tract of land to the abbey of Roscommon, in order to increase its revenues. In his will he bequeathed to different churches, sixty-five ounces of gold, sixty marks of silver, all his furniture, including his vessels of gold and silver, precious stones, and other jewels.*

This prince was inflexible in punishing crime. His son Roderick having been guilty of some misdemeanour, he caused him to be loaded with irons, and it was only at the frequent solicitations of the archbishops of Armagh and Cashel, and the heads of the clergy of his kingdom, that he restored him to his liberty, after a year's confinement.

The annals of Ireland fix the foundation of several religious houses in this reign, namely, the monastery of St. Finbarry, at Cork, first founded by that saint, and rebuilt and dedicated to St. John the Baptist, in the year 1134, for regular canons, by Cormac-Mac-Carthy, king of Munster, or at least of that part of the province called Desmond.†

The priory of St. John the Baptist, founded at Down, in 1138, by St. Malachi and Morgair.‡

A monastery of Benedictines in Dublin, first founded in the tenth century by the Danes, dedicated to the blessed Virgin, and afterwards changed to Bernardines, of the order of Citeaux, in 1139.

St. Mell, or Mellifont, in the district of Louth, was a celebrated abbey of the order of Citeaux, under the invocation of our Lady.§ It was a branch of the abbey of Clairvaux, whence St. Bernard had monks sent thither, and nominated as first abbot the blessed Christian O'Conarchy, a native of Ireland, and a disciple of the abbey of Clairvaux, who was afterwards bishop of Lismore, and apostolical legate, having been as St. Bernard observes, the first abbot of Citeaux in Ireland. This abbey was parent of most of the other houses of the order of Citeaux in Ireland, the first monks having been taken from it. It is said to have been perfectly similar to the house of Clairvaux, both in the situation and construction of the building, and was so extensive, that by way of pre-

* War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 26. Gratianus Lucius, c. 9. Ogygia, part 3. cap. 94.

† War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 26.

‡ War. ibidem.

§ Idem. ibid. Allemand's Hist. Monast. d'Irland, page 167.

eminence it was called *Monisther-Mor*, that is, the great monastery. Our Lady of Mellifont was founded long before the arrival of the English in Ireland, namely, in 1140, by Donat O'Caruel, prince of Ergallie, according to Jungelinus. Ware fixes the foundation of it in 1142.* There are others who ascribe the foundation of this house to St. Malachi, bishop of Down; it is, however, certain that this prince contributed with the holy prelate towards the building of it.

At Bectiffe, on the river Boyne, in east Meath, there is an abbey entitled our Lady of Beatitude, a branch of Mellifont, founded in 1146 by Murchard O'Melaghlin, prince, or according to the style of those times, king of Meath. The chronologists of the order of Citeaux are at variance respecting the time of the foundation of this abbey. Some fix it in 1148, others in 1151.†

In the town of Louth there was a monastery for regular canons, founded in 1148, by Donat O'Caruel, prince of Ergallie, and by Edan O'Kelly, bishop of Clogher.‡

The abbey of Baltinglass, *De Valle Salutis*, on the river Slaney, in the territory of Wicklow, was founded and endowed for monks of the order of Citeaux, in 1148 or 1151, by Dermot Mac-Murrough, king of Leinster.§

At Boyle, a borough situated on the river Bouel, in the county of Roscommon, there was a celebrated abbey, called after our Lady, and a branch of Mellifont, the first abbot of which was Peter O'Mordha.¶ This abbey was first founded at Grellechdine, in 1148, afterwards transferred to Dromconaid, from thence to Buin-Finng, and lastly to Boyle, in 1161.¶

Dermot Mac-Murrough, king of Leinster, founded an abbey in Dublin, called after the blessed Mary of Hoggis, for regular canons of St. Augustin, of the peculiar congregation of Arouaise, an abbey in the diocese of Arras, which was head of that congregation, but is no longer in existence.**

The latter part of Terdelach O'Connor's reign was not so fortunate. Moriartach-Maglochluin, (son of Niall, and grandson of Loughlin, from whom he had taken his surname,) prince of the northern Hy-Nialls, having become powerful proved a formidable rival to him; and frequently carried on a

successful warfare against him. He weakened his power considerably, without annihilating it: and the death of Terdelach at length opened to him a way to the throne. Bruodine fixes the death of Terdelach in 1144, Keating in 1150, Gratianus Lucius and O'Flaherty in 1156, and Ware in 1157, at the age of sixty-eight years. However this be, he was interred at the altar of St. Kiaran, in the cathedral of Cluan-Mac-Noisk, of which he had been a benefactor.

Moriartach being now without a rival, assumed the reins of the supreme government. He was a warlike prince, and an able politician. He reduced all the provinces by his arms and exacted hostages from them; made wise regulations for the spiritual and temporal government, as appears by the frequent assemblies which were held under his reign; was the steady protector of the clergy, whom he made arbitrators of the most important of his affairs; and may be considered to have been the most absolute of those who assumed the title of monarch since the reign of Malachi II. It would have been fortunate for Ireland, says a modern author, had Moriartach enacted a law in favour of the house of the Hy-Nialls, securing their succession to the crown;* which would have put an end to the factions caused by the usurpation of the provincial kings, that hastened the downfall of the nation.

The most remarkable event that occurred in the reign of this monarch, was the national council of Kells. The Roman church always attentive to the necessities of the provincial churches, was not forgetful of the steps which St. Malachi had taken to obtain the pallium from Pope Innocent II.; nor was she ignorant of the commission which the saint had received for that purpose, from the clergy of Ireland, at the synod of Holm-Patrick. It was in consequence of this that Pope Eugene III. sent John Paparo, a priest and cardinal, with the title of "St. Laurence in Damasus," to Ireland, in 1152, as legate, with four palliums for the four archbishops of Armagh, Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam. The legate assembled a council, at which he presided, with Christian O'Conarchy, bishop of Lismore, and apostolical legate after the death of St. Malachi. Authors do not agree respecting the place in which this council was held. Some say that it was in the abbey of Mellifont; and others, (which is the most general opinion,) that it was at Kenanus, by corruption Kells, an ancient city in Meath. This assembly, which was held in the month

* Lib. de Notif. Abbatia Ord. Cister.

† War. ibid. Allemand, ibid, page 177.

‡ War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 26.

§ War. ibid. Allem. Hist. Monast. d'Irland.

¶ War. ibid. Allemand, ibid.

** War. ibid. Allemand, ibid.

¶ War. ibid. Allemand, ibid, page 341.

* Dissertation on the Ancient History of Ireland, page 35.

of March, was numerous and brilliantly attended.* The bishops present at this council were :

Giolla-Christ, (Christian) O'Conarchy, bishop of Lismore, and legate.

Giolla-Mac-Liah (Gelasius) primate of Ireland.

Domnald O'Lonorgain, archbishop of Munster, that is of Cashel.

Eda or Hugh O'Hossin, archbishop of Connaught, that is of Tuam.

Greri, or Gregory, archbishop of Dublin.

Giolla-na-Næmh, bishop of Glendaloch.

Dungol O'Cellaid, bishop of Leighlin.

Tuistius, bishop of Waterford.

Domnald O'Fogertaic, bishop of Ossory.

Find-Mac-Tiarcaín, bishop of Kildare.

Giolla-Ancomdeh, (Deicola) O'Ardmail, bishop of Emly.

Giolla-Eda O'Mugin (or O'Heyn) bishop of Cork.

Mac-Ronan, or Maol-Breanuín O'Ruanain, bishop of Kerry, that is, Ardfert.

Torgesius, bishop of Limerick.

Muirchertach O'Melider, bishop of Cluain-Mac-Noisk.

Mæliosa O'Conochtain, bishop of Oirthir-Conacht, that is, of Roscommon.

O'Radán, bishop of Luigni, that is, of Achonry.

Macraith O'Morain, bishop of Conmacne, (Ardagh.)

Ethru O'Miadachain, bishop of Clunairard, that is, Clonard.

Tuathal O'Connachtaig, bishop of Huambruai, or Enaghdone.

Muirideach O'Cobthaig, bishop of Keneal-Eogain, now Derry.

Mælpadruic O'Beanain, bishop of Dailairaid, that is, Connor.

Mæliosa-Mac-Inleircuir, bishop of Ul-lagh, that is, Down.

In this council the bishoprics of Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam, were made metropolitans; which privilege had been granted to Armagh in the beginning; and the cardinal legate conferred on the four the palliums, with which he had been entrusted by the pope. To each of these metropolitans was assigned a limited number of suffragans; regulations were made against simony and usury, and the payment of tithe decreed by the apostolical authority, as appears by an act, taken from the book of Cluain-Ednach, an ancient monastery in the diocese of Leighlin, in the district of Leix, now the parish of Clonenagh, near Mountrath.†

* Keating's History, lib. 2. War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 16.

† "A grand synod was held in the spring of A.D.

In 1157, the primate convened a synod, in the abbey of Mellifont, composed of seventeen bishops, besides the legate, who presided, and the primate, by whom it was convened. This synod seems to have been a prorogation of that of Kells. It is probable that Keating, and the other writers who place the latter in 1157, confound one with the other. This synod was honoured by the presence of Moriartach-Maglochluin, the monarch, Eochaid, king of Ulidia, Tiernan O'Rourke, prince of Brefny, and O'Caruel, prince of Ergall, were also present. The principal object of this assembly was to excommunicate and dethrone Dunchad O'Melaghlin, king of Meath, and place his brother Dermot on the throne in his stead. It is not well known what crime he had committed which drew upon him so heavy a malediction; but it is mentioned in some records in the following terms: "This accursed atheist was excommunicated for having dishonoured the Comarb or primate, the staff of Jesus, and all the clergy." The church of this abbey was solemnly consecrated during this synod, and received considerable donations from the princes. The monarch gave one hundred and forty oxen, sixty ounces of gold, and a tract of land near Drogheda, called Finnabhuaire-Naningeán; O'Carroll gave sixty ounces of gold; and the wife of Tiernan O'Rourke, daughter of O'Melaghlin, prince of Meath, sixty ounces of gold, a golden chalice for the grand altar, and ornaments for the other nine altars of the church.

This prelate, so zealous and indefatigable when God's glory and his neighbour's salvation were in question, convened a synod at Brighthaig, in the district of Leogaire, in Meath, in 1158, composed of twenty-five bishops, at which Christian O'Conarchy, bishop of Lismore, and legate, presided. The bishops of Connaught, when on their way thither, were met by a band of soldiers, who killed two of their attendants, and forced them to return into their province. Regula-

1157. The Lord John, Cardinal priest of St. Laurence, presided over twenty-two bishops, and five coadjutors, besides as many abbots and priors of the apostles Peter and Paul, and of the blessed Eugene; Simony and all manner of usury were suppressed and condemned, and tithes commanded to be paid by apostolical authority. Four palliums were given to the four archbishops of Ireland, namely, those of Dublin, Tuam, Cashel, and Armagh. The Archbishop of Armagh was given precedence over the others, as was fitting. The cardinal John, immediately after the council terminated, set out upon his journey, and crossed the seas on the 24th of March."

tions were made in this synod, respecting the reformation of morals, and re-establishment of ecclesiastical discipline. They made a cathedral of the abbey of Derry, of which Flathbert, then abbot, was first bishop. He was also appointed by the synod prefect general of all the abbeys of Ireland.*

There were several monasteries for both sexes founded in this reign, as set forth in the following account :—

The abbey of Shroule was founded in 1150, for monks of the order of St. Bernard, by O'Ferral, chief of the noble tribe of the O'Ferralls of Anal, now the county of Longford.† Jungelinus says, that it was not founded till the year 1200, and that it was a branch of Mellifont.

In the city of Athlone there was the abbey of St. Peter, or of Innocents.‡ Ware says that this abbey had two titles, that of St. Peter, and St. Benedict. Some allege that this house was of the order of St. Benedict; others on the contrary maintain, that it belonged to that of Citeaux. Jungelinus calls this abbey of Athlone, *Benedictio Dei*, and says, that it was founded about the year 1150, in honour of St. Peter and St. Benedict, and that it was situated in that part of the city which was in the county of Roscommon.

The abbey of Nenay, in the county of Limerick, otherwise called *De Magio*, having been built on the river Magia, was endowed in 1148, by an O'Brien, king of Limerick, for monks of the order of Citeaux, and dedicated to the blessed Virgin.§ This abbey was a branch of Mellifont, and gave rise in its turn to several others. Jungelinus says it was founded in 1151. This house was called Na-Maigge monastery, in the Irish language.

* "A synod was convened by the Irish clergy, at Brighthaig, in the district of Leogaire; at which the legate being present, 25 bishops assembled, to examine into church discipline and morals. At this synod it was decreed by a general council, that the cathedral church should be conferred, in the manner of the other bishoprics, upon the Comarb, successor of St. Columb-Kill, Flethbertus O'Brolchan, and the supremacy of all the abbeys of the kingdom. The bishops of Connaught, however, were not present. On their journey to the synod, after leaving the church of Cluan-Mac-Nols, they were robbed on the way, and two of their party killed, at Cluanias, by the emissaries of Diermitius O'Melaghlin, king of Meath; the others returned home."—*Hibernian Annals in Colgan, 28th March. Life of St. Gelasius.*

† War. de Antiq. Hib. c. 26. Allemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irlande, page 180.

‡ Wareus, ibid. Allemand, ibid. page 190.

§ War. ibid. Allemand, ibid. page 184.

O'Dorney, near the town of Ardfert, in the county of Kerry, otherwise called the abbey of Kyrie-Eleison, of the order of Citeaux, and a branch of the abbey of Nenay, was founded in 1154.* Christian, who was one of the most celebrated bishops of Lismore, and apostolical legate in Ireland, was interred in this abbey in 1186.

The abbey called our Lady of Greenwood, or St. Patrick of Greenwood. *De Viridi Ligno*, in the city of Newry, in the county of Down, was founded by Moriartach-Maglochluin, monarch of Ireland, in 1153, for monks of the order of Citeaux.† Ware says, that some incorrectly attribute the foundation of this house to St. Malachi, who died some years before.

The abbey of Ferns, under the invocation of the blessed Virgin, in the county of Wexford, was founded in 1158, for regular canons of the order of St. Augustin, by Dermot Mac-Morrough, king of Leinster.‡

The priory of the canonesses of Killehin, or *Bello Portu*, a fine harbour, on the river Suir, in the district of Kilkenny, nearly opposite to Waterford, was founded in 1151, by Dermot Mac-Morrough, king of Leinster.§ This priory was dependant on the abbey of Hoggis, in Dublin, of which we have already spoken. ¶ This king also founded a monastery for canonesses, nuns of the abbey of Hoggis, at Athaddy, in the district of Carlow.

At Clonard, in Meath, there was a nunnery of the order of St. Augustin, which was endowed by O'Melaghlin, prince of Meath, and confirmed in its possessions by pope Celestine III., in 1195.

The monastery of Termon-Fechin, in Louth, was founded in the same century, (the date is not precisely known), by the noble family of the Mac-Mahons of Monaghan or Uriel, for nuns of the order of St. Augustin.|| This foundation was confirmed in 1195, by Pope Celestine III.

Gelasius, primate of Ireland, also convened in this reign, in the year 1162, a synod of twenty-six bishops, at Cleonad, in the diocese of Kildare; in which, amongst other things, it was enacted, that no one but a pupil of the University of Armagh should be admitted as professor of theology in a public school.¶ In the succeeding reign this prelate

* War. ibid. Allemand, ibid. page 183.

† Idem. page 194.

‡ Wareus, ibid.

§ Wareus, ibid. Allemand, ibid. page 342.

|| Wareus, ibid. Allemand, ibid. page 349.

¶ Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Gelas. ad 28 Mart. c. 15, et seq.

convoked another synod at Athboy, in Meath, composed of the clergy and princes of Leth-Cuin, at which Roderick O'Connor, king of Connaught, and monarch of Ireland, attended. The object of all these assemblies was the spiritual government of the church, and also the tranquillity of the state.

It is said that in this reign, in the year 1155, Pope Adrian IV. issued the celebrated bull, by which this pontiff transferred the sovereignty of Ireland to Henry II., king of England. The tenor of it is here given, in order that an opinion may be formed of it.

"Adrian, bishop and servant of the servants of God, to his most dear son in Christ, the illustrious king of England, greeting, health, and apostolical benediction."

"Thy greatness, as is becoming a Catholic prince, is laudably and successfully employed in thought and intention, to propagate a glorious name upon earth, and lay up in heaven the rewards of a happy eternity, by extending the boundaries of the church, and making known to nations which are uninstructed, and still ignorant of the Christian faith, its truths and doctrine, by rooting up the seeds of vice from the land of the Lord: and to perform this more efficaciously, thou seekest the counsel and protection of the apostolical see, in which undertaking, the more exalted thy design will be, united with prudence, the more propitious, we trust, will be thy progress, under a benign Providence, since a happy issue and end are always the result of what has been undertaken from an ardour of faith, and a love of religion.

It is not indeed to be doubted, that the kingdom of Ireland, and every island upon which Christ the sun of justice hath shone, and which has received the principles of the Christian faith, belong of right to St. Peter, and to the holy Roman church, (which thy majesty likewise admits), from whence we the more fully implant in them the seed of faith, that seed which is acceptable to God, and to which we, after a minute investigation, consider that a conformity should be required by us the more rigidly. Thou, dearest son in Christ, hast likewise signified to us, that for the purpose of subjecting the people of Ireland to laws, and eradicating vice from amongst them, thou art desirous of entering that island; and also of paying for each house an annual tribute of one penny to St. Peter; and of preserving the privileges of its churches, pure and undefiled. We, therefore, with approving and favorable views commend thy pious and laudable desire, and

to aid thy undertaking, we give to thy petition our grateful and willing consent, that for the extending the boundaries of the church, the restraining the prevalence of vice, the improvement of morals, the implanting of virtue, and propagation of the Christian religion, thou enter that island, and pursue those things which shall tend to the honour of God and salvation of his people; and that they may receive thee with honour, and revere thee as their lord: the privilege of their churches continuing pure and unrestrained, and the annual tribute of one penny from each house remaining secure to St. Peter, and the holy Roman Church. If thou therefore deem what thou hast projected in mind, possible to be completed, study to instil good morals into that people, and act so that thou thyself, and such persons as thou wilt judge competent from their faith, words, and actions, be instrumental in advancing the honour of the Irish church, propagate and promote religion, and the faith of Christ, to advance thereby the honour of God, and salvation of souls, that thou mayest merit an everlasting reward of happiness hereafter, and establish on earth a name of glory, which shall last for ages to come. Given at Rome, &c. &c. &c."

The above was an edict pronounced against Ireland, by which the rights of men, and the most sacred laws are violated, under the specious pretext of religion and the reformation of morals.* The Irish were no longer to possess a country. That people, who had never bent under a foreign yoke, "*nunquam externæ subjacuit ditioni*," were condemned to lose their liberty, without even being heard.† But can the vicar of Jesus Christ be accused of so glaring an act of injustice? Can he be thought capable of having dictated a bull which overthrew an entire nation, which dispossessed so many ancient proprietors of their patrimonies, caused so much blood to be shed, and at length tended to the destruction of religion in the island. It is a thing not to be conceived.

In truth, were we to consider the circumstances and motives of the bull, it has all the appearance of a fictitious one, under the borrowed name of Adrian IV.‡ Baronius quotes it, without giving any date of year or day, which would make it appear suspicious; it remained unpublished for seventeen years; it is said that it was fabricated in 1155, and not made public till 1172, which Nicholas

* Cambrens. Evers. cap. 22.

† Nubrigens. de Rebus Anglic. lib. 2, cap. 16.

‡ Propug. Cathol. Verit. lib. 5, cap. 17.

Trivet ascribes to the opposition it met with from Henry's mother. He adds, that the king, having assembled his parliament at Winton, about the festival of St. Michael, proposed the conquest of Ireland to his lords; but that as it was displeasing to the empress, his mother, he deferred the execution of it to another period.*

The bull gains but little authentication from the authority of John of Salisbury, afterwards bishop of Chartres, in his treatise, "*de nugis curialibus*." This writer is made to say, at the end of the last chapter of his fourth book, that "Pope Adrian had granted Ireland, to king Henry, at his request, it being the patrimony of his holiness by hereditary right, inasmuch, as all the islands belonged to the Roman Church, by the concession of the Emperor Constantine the Great." But this nonsense is considered by the learned, as having been added to the chapter by a strange hand; since the author, in speaking particularly in the sixth and eighth books of his visit to the holy father, at Benevento, where he remained with him for three months, states most minutely the various conversations which he had with his holiness, without making any mention of the bull in question; though it was a matter of particular importance, and that was naturally the fit time to have mentioned it. Pierre de Blois, a zealous panegyrist of this prelate, who published his praises in various epistles, makes no mention of it either.

It is well known that king Henry, who found creatures sufficiently devoted to him, to revenge his quarrel with the holy prelate of Canterbury, did not want for venal writers, to add to, and retrench from the writings of the times, in order to give an appearance of authenticity to a document so necessary for the justification of his conduct. Besides, it appears that Salisbury had gone to Italy of his own accord and through curiosity, to visit his countryman Adrian, and not with any commission from the king of England; whilst the bull, according to Mathew of Westminster, was obtained by a solemn embassy, which Henry had sent to the pope. In my opinion, however, this circumstance appears to be another fable added to the former; as he is the first who mentions this embassy, and that two centuries afterwards. The silence too of Nubrigensis, an English cotemporary author, respecting this embassy, and the bull which it is affirmed was granted, is an argument, which, though negative, deserves some attention. This author, who was so zealous for

the glory of Henry II., and his nation, commences his narrative by saying that the English had entered Ireland in a warlike manner, and that their forces increasing every day, they subjugated a considerable part of it.* He makes no mention of a bull granted by any pope; and I consider it highly improbable, that he would have forgotten to speak of a circumstance so necessary to give an appearance of justice to the unprecedented conduct of his nation. However this be, it may be affirmed that no pope, either before or after Adrian IV., ever punished a nation so severely without cause. We have seen instances of popes making use of their spiritual authority, in opposition to crowned heads; we have known them to excommunicate emperors and kings, and place their states under an interdict, for crimes of heresy or other causes; but we here behold innocent Ireland given up to tyrants, without having been summoned before any tribunal, or convicted of any crime.

If we consider the bull as the work of Adrian IV., it opens to our consideration two very important matters. The first is the real or supposed right of the popes to dispose of crowns and kingdoms; the second regards the reason why the bull was granted, that is, the true or false statement, which Henry had made to the Pope, of the real state of religion in Ireland on which the concession of the bull is founded. In the former, we do not call in question the spiritual power of St. Peter's successor; he is acknowledged by every Catholic Christian as the vicar of Jesus Christ on earth, and the visible head of his church; it is only necessary to know whether his power extends equally over spiritual and temporal matters; or rather, to speak in accordance with the schools, whether he received a twofold power from God. I shall enter into no argument on this subject, which belongs more properly to theology than history, and which has already been so frequently discussed. The digression would be of no value to my object, particularly as the bull only mentions islands; though I see no reason why an island or a kingdom in the ocean should belong to the holy see, as affirmed in the bull, any more than the kingdoms on the continent, unless it be advanced that he holds the sovereignty of all the islands from the liberality of the emperor Constantine the

* "At this time the English made a descent upon Ireland in a warlike manner, and their numbers having increased, they became masters of no inconsiderable portion of it by force of arms."—*Nubrigius, de Rebus. Anglic.* b. 2. c. 26.

* Usser. *Epist. Hib. Syllog. Epist.* 46.

Great; to which I answer, that Ireland, which had never obeyed the Romans, could not be of that number;* consequently, this claim on Ireland is unfounded, and therefore the concession of it unjust. It might more reasonably be made with reference to Great Britain, which was under the dominion of the Romans, both before and after the reign of Constantine; yet the kings of England have never been understood to hold their sovereignty from the holy see.

The supposed jurisdiction of the popes over the kingdom of Ireland acquires no great weight from the authority of Sanderus,† who says that the Irish, on receiving the holy gospel, had submitted, with all they possessed, to the empire of the popes, and acknowledged no other supreme princes but the sovereign pontiffs, till the time of the English.

It would appear that this writer had not consulted the Psalter of Cashel, or the other records of Ireland, to which alone we should refer in matters concerning the country. We discover in those records that there was an uninterrupted succession of monarchs in this island, from Irial, till the time of St. Patrick, and from that apostle till the arrival of the English, without any mention of the temporal jurisdiction of the popes. Ranulphus Higden, an English Benedictine monk, and an historiographer of the fourteenth century, expressly mentions, in his book entitled "Polychronicon," the number of kings who had reigned in this island, from the time of St. Patrick to the invasion of the English. He says, that from the time of St. Patrick till the reign of Feidlim, and the time of Turgesius, chief of the Danes, Ireland was governed by thirty-three kings for the space of 400 years; and that from that period to the reign of Roderick, the last monarch of the island, there were seventeen kings.‡ The royalty and succession of the monarchs of Ireland were acknowledged by the English at the end of the eleventh and

beginning of the twelfth century, some years before the bull was forged. The letters of the archbishops of Canterbury to the kings of Ireland have been preserved; namely, that of Lanfrancus to Terdelach, "illustrious king of Ireland," and that of Anselm to the glorious Moriortach.* William Rufus, king of England, sent to ask permission from Terdelach, monarch of Ireland, to cut wood in the forests of his kingdom, for the building of Westminster abbey, and Henry I., in his letter to Radulphus, archbishop of Canterbury, which is the forty first of the epistles quoted by Usher, seems to pay particular regard to the recommendation of the king of Ireland, in favour of Gregory, who was to be consecrated bishop.†

Sanderus errs grossly in the same book, not only against historical truth, but also against chronology. He says, that Henry II., with his followers, that is, Robert Fitzstephen, and the Earl of Chepstow, having become masters of some places in the island by conquest, the bishops, some of the princes, and a great part of the people, supplicated pope Adrian to grant to Henry the sovereignty of Ireland, in order to put an end to the seditions and abuses, which were springing up on account of the number of their petty kings.

Adrian IV. was elected on the 3d of December, 1154, and held the holy see for four years, eight months, and twenty-nine days; he therefore died 1st September, 1159. According to the most correct authors of both nations, the first English adventurer who landed in Ireland, under title of ally of the king of Leinster, was Robert Fitzstephen. His arrival in the island is fixed in the year 1169. Some time afterwards he was followed by Richard of Chepstow, and in 1172 by Henry II. We should therefore place this supposed address of the clergy and people of Ireland to Adrian IV., at least twelve years

* "The Irish nation, from the first period of their arrival, and from the reign of the first Heremon to the times of Gurmundis and Turgesius, (when her peace was disturbed,) and again from their death to our own times—continued free and undisturbed by any foreign nation."—*G. Cambrensis, Topography of Ireland*, cap. 31.

† De Schism. Anglican. lib. 1, page 163.

‡ "From the arrival of St. Patrick to the time king Feidlim thirty three kings reigned in Ireland, during 400 years. But in the time of Feidlime, the Norwegians, under the command of Turgesius, seized upon the island. From the time of Turgesius, to the last monarch, Roderick king of Connaught, 17 kings ruled in Ireland.

* "Lanfrancus a sinner, and the unworthy bishop of the holy church of Dover, to the illustrious Terdelvacus, king of Ireland, blessing with respect and prayers."—*Usher, Epist. Hib. Syllog. Epist.* 27.

† "To Muriardachus, by the grace of God glorious king of Ireland, Anselm servant of the church of Canterbury, greeting health, salvation &c., to the king and his lieutenant."—*Ibid. Epist.* 35.

‡ "Henry king of England to Radulphus archbishop of Canterbury greeting health," &c.

"The king of Ireland hath informed me by his letter, and the Burgesses of Dublin, that they have chosen this Gregory to be bishop, and that they send him to thee to be consecrated. Whence I command thee to pay regard to their petition, and consecrate him without delay, witness Radulphus our Chancellor at Windsor."—*Usher, Epist.* 41.

after the death of that pope, which does not agree with the calculations of Sanderus.

I here subjoin another bull, which English authors mention to have been given by Alexander III., confirming that of Adrian, and apparently of the same fabric.*

Were we to compare this bull and the preceding one, with the treatise on "Ireland Conquered," composed at the same time by Giraldus Cambrensis, we should discover great similarity of style between them; and if they are not by the same writer, they appear at least to have been composed to maintain each other mutually, and thereby acquire a degree of credit among the public.

Giraldus Cambrensis gives the motives for this bull.† "In the year of our Lord 1172," says he, "Christian, bishop of Lismore, and legate of the holy see; Donat, archbishop of Cashel; Laurence, archbishop of Dublin, and Catholicus, archbishop of Tuam, with their suffragans, and a great number of abbots, archdeacons, priors, deans, and other prelates of the church of Ireland, held a council in the city of Cashel, by order of king Henry, in which, after a strict investigation into the degeneracy of morals in that country, an address was prepared, sealed with the seal of the legate, to be sent to the court of Rome, in compliance with which, Alexander, who was then pope, granted the sovereignty of Ireland to Henry, on condition that he would propagate there the faith, and ecclesiastical discipline, according to the rites of the English church."

I shall here confine myself to a few observations on the council of Cashel, and the manner in which the court of Rome was disposed towards the king of England. I shall in its proper place refute the imputation of irreligion and degeneracy of morals, with which Ireland is branded.

There is no mention made of any English bishops or doctors having assisted at this

council of Cashel. It was entirely composed of Irish prelates, namely, the archbishops of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, with their suffragans, and a great number of prelates of inferior rank, who formed three parts of the church of Ireland. St. Gelasius, the primate, is not included. It was to these fathers that Henry confided the work of reforming their countrymen; and he had no need to bring other preachers among them.

How can we reconcile the great degeneracy supposed to have taken place in the religion and morals of the Irish people, with the zeal which the fathers of this council displayed for the reformation of both?

Will it not be admitted that Henry II. himself was convinced that these ecclesiastics were sufficiently enlightened and sufficiently zealous to effect a reformation without the aid or co-operation of any foreign doctors? Can it be imagined that their zeal was a species of fever which seized them at the moment of their assembling at Cashel, and which immediately afterwards became extinct? Should we not suppose that each of them preached and taught in his own church; that the flocks listened to the voice of their shepherds, amongst a people who were submissive to their ecclesiastics, whom they held in the highest veneration? Religion is improved by preaching, and the bishops and other pastors in Ireland, were masters of that course, without any extraordinary mission from the pope or a foreign king. It is therefore improbable that the fathers of this council, supposing them free, would have forged chains for themselves, under the specious pretext of the propagation of the faith, or that they would have submitted, by a public act, to a foreign yoke, to the prejudice of their legitimate princes. It was not in their power to act in such a manner.

The bull of Alexander III. must appear a paradox to all those who strictly investigate the morals of Henry, and his behaviour to the court of Rome. A bad Christian makes a bad apostle. What was Henry II.? A man who in private life forgot the essential duties of religion, and frequently those of nature; a superstitious man, who, under the veil of religion, joined the most holy practices to the most flagrant vices; regardless of his word, when to promote his own interest, he broke the most solemn treaties with the king of France; he considered principle as nothing, when the sacrifice of it promised to produce him a benefit. It is well known, that without any scruple, he married Eleanor of Aquitaine, so famous for her debaucheries, and branded by her

* *Alexander, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his most dear son in Christ, the illustrious king of England, health and apostolic benediction.*

For as much as those things which are known to have been reasonably granted by our predecessors, deserve to be confirmed in lasting stability, we, adhering to the footsteps of pope Adrian, and regarding the result of our gift to you, (the annual tax of one penny from each house being secured to St. Peter and the holy Roman church) confirm and ratify the same, considering that its impurities being cleansed, that barbarous nation which bears the name of Christian, may by your grace, assume the comeliness of morality, and that a system of discipline being introduced into her heretofore unregulated church, she may, through you, effectually attain with the name the benefits of Christianity.

† *Hiber. Expug. lib. 1, cap. 34.*

divorce from Louis VII. He ungratefully confined this very woman in chains, though she had brought him one fourth of France as her marriage portion. He was a bad father, quarreled with all his children, and became engaged in wars on every side.* As a king, he tyrannized over his nobles, and took pleasure in confounding all their privileges: like his predecessors, he was the sworn enemy of the popes; he attacked their rights, persecuted their adherents, sent back their legates with contempt, encroached upon the privileges and immunities of the church, and gloried in supporting the most unjust usurpers of them; which led to the martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury. Again, his debaucheries are admitted by every historian.† No one is ignorant that he went so far as to seduce the young Alix, who had been betrothed to his son Richard, and that all the misfortunes which filled the latter part of his life with affliction, were caused by this passion, as obstinate as it was criminal and base. Behold the apostle, the reformer, whom the holy see would have chosen to convert Ireland! The witnesses we here bring forth are not to be suspected. Cambrensis himself, whose opinions I have elsewhere refuted, is the first to acknowledge the irregularities of Henry II. He who knew him so well, and who was his friend and favourite, thus speaks of his morals.‡

It cannot be supposed that his conduct towards Alexander III. would have induced him, as pope, to grant the bull attributed to him. In 1150, Henry promised obedience to Octavianus, the anti-pope, and in 1166, to Guido, his successor. Roger Hoveden, an English contemporary writer, says, that in 1164 he pronounced a harsh and wicked edict against pope Alexander, "Henricus rex fecit grave edictum, et execrabile, contra Alexandrum papam," &c. In that same year, he enacted laws, by which it was forbidden, under heavy penalties, to obey the

sovereign pontiff or his censures; which gave rise to the complaints made by the pope of him, in a letter which he wrote to Roger, the archbishop.* It is mentioned by Baronius, that in the same year, Henry had caused troubles, capable of overthrowing, not only the primate of Canterbury and the whole English church, but even the holy Catholic church, and its prelate Alexander, for whom in particular, he had laid his snares.† Westmonasteriensis says, that, in 1168 he sent an ambassador to the emperor Frederick, proposing to second him in deposing pope Alexander, who had become his adversary, by encouraging the opposition of Thomas à Becket. He adds, that he made his English subjects, both young and old, abjure their obedience to the pope ‡ In fine, he was so disrespectful to the holy see, that he dismissed, with contempt, the cardinals whom the pope had sent to him, in 1169.

These bulls have, in fact, all the appearance of forgery. They are not to be met with in any collection. It appears also, that Henry II, considered them so insufficient to strengthen his dominion in Ireland, that he solicited pope Lucius III., who succeeded Alexander, to confirm them; but that pope was too just to authorise his usurpation, and paid no regard to a considerable sum of money which the king sent to him.§

* "When the King should attend to reforming the abuses of his predecessors, he himself adds injustice to injustice, and establishes and confirms under sanction of the royal authority equally unjust institutions; under which the liberty of the church perishes, and the regulations of apostles, are so far as it lies in his power, deprived of their efficacy. The king himself, trifling with our forbearance, by the subtle acts of his ambassadors, seems to have so far hardened his mind to our admonitions, that he will not be reconciled to the archbishop," &c. &c.—*Hoveden*, p. 518, 519, cited *Grat. Luc. c. 23*.

† "Henry raised the waters to overwhelm not only the bishop of Canterbury, together with the whole English church, but the entire of the holy Catholic church, together with its pastor Alexander, against whom in particular he directed his machinations."

‡ "King Henry, whose anger was changed into hatred of the blessed Thomas, and of the pope, in consequence of his having espoused the cause of the former, sent to the emperor Frederick, requesting him to co-operate in removing Alexander from the popedom; because he had made himself obnoxious to Henry by aiding the fugitive and traitorous Thomas, who had been the archbishop of Canterbury for some time; he caused the obedience due in England to the pope to be abjured by all, from the boy of twelve years old, to aged men."—*West. Flor. Hist.* 1168.

§ Cambrensis. Evers. cap. 24.

* Baker, Chron. of England. Life of Henry II.

† Harpsfield, sæculo 12, cap. 15.

‡ "He was less given to devotion than to hunting; was an open violator of the marriage contract; a ready breaker of his promise in most things; for whenever he got into difficulties he preferred to repent rather of his word than of his deed, considering it more easily to nullify the former than the latter. He was an oppressor of the nobility; daringly audacious in his usurpations of sacred things, and in his desire to monopolize the administration of justice, he united the laws of his realm with those of the church, or rather confounded them together; and converted to the purpose of the state the revenues of the vacant churches."—*Hibernia Expugnata*, book 1, c. 45.

The misunderstanding between the sovereign pontiff and the king of England was carried to the highest pitch, by the martyrdom of the archbishop of Canterbury, which happened in 1171. Strong suspicions were entertained of the prince having contributed to that barbarous deed. He saw the storm ready to burst upon him, and being desirous to avert the blow, he sent ambassadors to Rome, who were very badly received. The pope refused to see or hear them, and all that could be obtained from his holiness was, to use the general terms of abettors, actors, and accomplices, in the excommunication he pronounced on that occasion, without naming Henry.*

Such was the state of affairs between Alexander III. and Henry II. who never ceased annoying the pope, from the time of his elevation to the holy see, in 1159, to 1172, the date of the bull. Every year he was guilty of some new act, as dishonoring to the pope, as it was injurious to the interests of the church. The massacre of St. Thomas of Canterbury, which happened in the year above mentioned, alarmed all Europe, and angered the pope to such a degree against Henry, that he was on the point of making use of the spiritual weapons of the church against him. Can we believe that under these circumstances, the pope would have publicly loaded the man with benefits, whom he had tacitly excommunicated? It is quite impossible to imagine, that in order to bring a foreign people back to their obedience to the holy see, his holiness would have committed the undertaking to a prince who had already banished that obedience from his own states.

In order to judge of the motives upon which the bulls of Adrian IV. and Alexander III. were founded, the state of the church of Ireland, at this time, should be examined into.

Ireland was, from its conversion to the Christian religion, in the beginning of the fifth, to the incursions of the Danes, in the ninth century, universally acknowledged to have been the theatre of learning, and the

seminary of virtue and sanctity; which acquired for her the glorious title of the "*Island of Saints*." But it must be allowed that, for nearly two centuries, that is, from the ninth to the beginning of the eleventh, the northern pirates had never ceased committing devastations in the island, pillaging and burning her churches and religious houses; the public schools became interrupted: ignorance spread its influence widely, and religion suffered much in its practice, without, however, becoming entirely extinct.

After the complete overthrow of those barbarians in 1014, at the battle of Clontarf, near Dublin, Ireland having recovered her freedom, the inhabitants began to rebuild their churches and public schools, and to restore religion to its primitive splendour.

From the battle of Clontarf to the reign of Henry II., and the period of the bulls in question, about a century and a half elapsed; during which time all ranks were emulous in their endeavours to re-establish good order in the government, and discipline in the churches. For these purposes, several councils were convened and held, at which the monarch and other princes of the kingdom attended, and canons and statutes were enacted for the regulation of morals, and the restoration of discipline. Cardinal Paparo was in a position to inform the holy see of the measures adopted in the council of Kells, over which he had presided.

During this interval of time, Ireland produced prelates of the highest celebrity for their virtues and doctrine, who would have been an ornament to the most flourishing churches in Europe.

In the Roman Martyrology we discover St. Celsus, St. Malachi, and St. Laurence. Gelasius, archbishop of Armagh, had led so austere a life, that Colgan does not hesitate to number him among the saints, in the treatise on his life, under the date of the twenty-seventh March.* This holy man, says Cambrensis, being exhausted by old age and fasting, took no sustenance but the milk of a white cow, which was brought in his train.

Christian, bishop of Lismore, was so eminent for his virtue, that Wion and Menard place him in their martyrology.

St. Bernard speaks highly of Malchus bishop of Lismore, in his life of Saint Malachi, in which he says that, "he was a man advanced in years, eminent in virtue, and possessed of great wisdom; that God had endowed him with such abundant grace, that

* "The pope refused either to see or hear the ambassadors whom Henry had sent to exculpate himself from the murder of Thomas of Canterbury; but the Roman court cried out, "desist, desist," as if it were impious for the pope to hear the name of Henry who had sent them. By the general advice of the council, the pope dispensed with expressly mentioning the name of the king, and the country beyond the sea; but the sentence of the interdict was maintained, and that against the bishops confirmed."—*Hoveden*, page 526.

* Act. Sanct. Hib. Hibern. Expug. lib. 1, c. 34.

he was celebrated, not only for his life and doctrine, but also for his miracles.*

St. Bernard too, speaks of St. Imar, from whom St. Malachi received his early education. He calls him "a holy man, who led a very austere life, and chastised his body with rigour. He had a cell near the church of Armagh, in which he spent his days and nights, in fasting and in prayer."†

Colgan mentions St. Imar Hua-Hedhagain, who had built at Armagh the church of the apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, and who had performed a pilgrimage to Rome, in 1134, for the benefit of his soul.

St. Bernard again says, that "Malachi had a brother called Christian, a man full of grace and virtue; he was a bishop, and though he might have been, in reputation, inferior to Malachi, he did not yield to him in the sanctity of his life, nor in his zeal for justice." "St. Christian Huamorgair," says Colgan, (following the annals of the four masters, for the year 1138,) was bishop of Clogher, and an eminent doctor in wisdom and religion. He was a lamp that shone by his preaching, and a devout servant of God, that enlightened both the people and clergy by his good works, and a faithful pastor of the church. He died the 12th June, and was interred at Armagh, in the monastery of the apostles, S.S. Peter and Paul."

Gilbert, bishop of Limerick, and apostolical legate, was celebrated for his zeal in the government of the church. He convened an assembly of the bishops and princes to oblige St. Malachi to accept of the see of Armagh.‡

Usher quotes a treatise on the ecclesiastical ritual, addressed by Gilbert of Limerick to the bishops of Ireland, and another by the same author respecting the state of the church, "de statu Ecclesiæ," about the year 1090.§ He also gives us a letter from the same Gilbert to Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, with his answer.¶ This great man, worn down with age, and no longer able to sustain its burden, resigned the powers of legate to Innocent III., which that pope conferred on St. Malachi.¶

St. Bernard mentions, in his preface to the life of St. Malachi, the abbot Congan, whom he speaks of as a reverend brother and a dear friend: "Reverendus frater et dulcis amicus meus." He speaks of Edan,

whom St. Malachi had placed instead of his brother Christian, in the bishopric of Clogher, and a young man whom he calls a second Zacheus,* who was the first lay brother in the monastery of Shrowl, where they bore testimony to his having lived in a holy manner amongst the brethren: "Testimonium habet ab omnibus, quod sancte conversetur inter fratres." This author also mentions a poor, but holy and learned man, whom St. Malachi had placed in the see of Cork, with the approbation of the people.†

According to Cambrensis, Maurice, archbishop of Cashel, was a learned and discreet man: "Vir literatus et discretus."‡

St. Malachi, St. Gelasus, St. Laurence, and the other prelates and holy persons whom I have just mentioned, except Malchus of Lismore, had all studied in Ireland, instead of being indebted to foreigners for their education. The schools, particularly those of Armagh, were already firmly re-established during the interval between the battle of Clontarf, and the arrival of the English. In the council of Cleonard, composed of twenty-six bishops, convened by St. Gelasus, it was decreed amongst other things, that none but a scholar of the university of Armagh should be admitted as a professor of theology in a public school.§ St. Bernard mentions a professor of Armagh, who was celebrated for those branches of education, which are called liberal: "Erat enim famosus in disciplinis quas dicunt liberales."¶ He says that although there were eight married men, who successively usurped the see of Armagh, they were, notwithstanding learned:¶ "Octo extiterant ante Celsum viri uxorati et absque ordinibus, literati tamen." We may suppose that those bishops who succeeded them canonically, were not less so. The sovereign pontiffs were so well convinced of the merit and erudition of the Irish bishops, that they appointed five of them, one after the other, apostolical legates, namely, Gilbert, bishop of Limerick; St. Malachi; St. Christian, bishop of Lismore; St. Laurence, archbishop of Dublin, and Mathew O'Heney, archbishop of Cashel. Henry II. himself employed no other missionaries than the prelates of Ireland, whom he had convoked at Cashel, to cultivate religion, and reform the morals of the people.

* St. Bernard. Vit. S. Malach. cap. 7.

† Ibid.

‡ Top. Hib. dist. 3, cap. 32.

§ "Regulations were made, for laymen, as well as ecclesiastics, regarding good morals and discipline."—*Life of St. Gelas*, c. 23.

¶ Vit. S. Malach. cap. 1.

¶ Idem. cap. 7.

* St. Bernard, life of St. Malachi, c. 3.

† Ibid. ‡ Ibid.

§ Epist. Hibern. Syllog. Epist. 30.

¶ Ibid. Epist. 31.

¶ "Appointing him legate for the whole of Ireland."—*Hiberniæ Epistola*, c. 2.

During this interval of time, Ireland sent several holy missionaries into foreign countries.* Raderus, an ancient author of the life of St. Marianus, and John Aventinus, speak of Murchertach, Marianus, Clement, John, Isaac, Candidus, Magnoaldus, and many others, all Scots from Ireland, who had preached and instructed the inhabitants of Ratisbon, and its environs. They first settled in the church of St. Peter, in the suburbs of the city, under the protection of the emperor, Henry IV., but their numbers having increased, they built in the city of Ratisbon, the monastery of James, which gave birth to other establishments for the Scots of Ireland, in the cities of Houitzberg in Franconia, Vienna in Austria, Ermstadt, Nuremberg, and others.†

The Chronicle of Ratisbon mentions, that Denis, abbot of the monastery of the Scots at Ratisbon, had sent to Ireland, Isaac and Gervasius, natives of that country, and of noble descent, to look for some assistance towards rebuilding their monastery, and that Conchovar O'Brien, king of Munster, and other princes, had sent them back to Germany, loaded with gold and silver, with which the abbot bought a piece of ground, and caused the house to be re-built.‡

The annals of Ireland mention, that Conchovar O'Brien, king of Munster, after having sent considerable presents to Lothaire, king of the Romans, for the expedition to the Holy Land, undertook a pilgrimage to Kildare, where he died in 1142: "Per magnæ nobilitatis, ac potentie comites cruce

signatos, et Hierosolyman petituros, ad Lotharium regem Romanorum ingentia munera misisse traditur."

Christianus, a man of noble birth and descended from the leading family of the Macartys in Ireland, on becoming abbot of the monastery of the Scots of St. James at Ratisbon, and finding that the money which his predecessor had obtained from Ireland, was already spent, and that the brothers were in great distress, was anxious to remedy their wants. He accordingly returned to Ireland, to seek the aid of Donat O'Brien, king of Munster, and the other princes of the country. The holy man, however, died on the eve of his departure, and the sum obtained was placed in the hands of the archbishop of Cashel.*

Gratianus Lucius accuses the author of the Ratisbon Chronicle of an error in chronology, or at least of having substituted one name for another. He is correct in asserting that there was then no king of Munster, much less of Ireland, called Donatus O'Brien, and that this fact of Irish history, and the alms granted to Christianus, must either refer to Donatus Macarty, (king of Desmond, according to the division of that province by Terdelach O'Connor, who was at that time the Monarch,) or to Terdelach O'Brien, who was king of Munster. However this error may have arisen, which does not affect the groundwork of the history, the same chronicle mentions, that Gregory, a native of Ireland, a man eminent for his virtues, and a regular canon of the order of St. Augustin, having been admitted into the order of St. Benedict, and received as a member of the community of Ratisbon, by Christianus, was elected abbot on the death of the latter. In the mean time, Marianus, a celebrated Irish scholar and a learned man, who was public professor of the liberal arts, in Paris, (where he had for his disciple Nicholas Breakspeare, an Englishman, afterwards pope, under the title of Adrian IV.,) was received into the house of Ratisbon. After his election, Gregory went to Rome to receive his consecration from the hands of Pope Adrian IV. The pope questioned him on several matters, and particularly about his old master Marianus. "Marianus," replied Gregory, "is well; he has renounced the world, to embrace the monastic state in our house at Ratisbon." "God be praised," said Adrian, "I have never known in the catholic church an abbot so perfect in wisdom, prudence, and other

* Act. Sanct. Hib. ad 17, Jan. Cambr. Evers. cap. 21, et 22.

† "Muricherodachus, an Irishman, and coming from the ancient Scotia, was beforehand with his countryman Marianus."—*Raderi in Bavaria*.

"At this time also, D. Mariannus Scotus, a poet, and an eminent theologian, inferior to none in his time, together with his brother philosophers John and Candidus, Clement, Murcheridacus, Magnoaldus, and Isaac, came to Germany, and then proceeded to Reginburgh."—*Annals of the Boii*.

"Ireland indeed, was, in the time of our ancestors most fertile in holy and learned men. Thence Columbanus, Chilianus, and most of those designated Scots migrated to Germany. Here the excellent Mariannus with six of his disciples arrived at Reginburgh, where they inhabited an edifice outside the walls of the city, but a great number of Gentiles coming thither, by their assistance and that of the Boii, they built a large church within the city. There by their zeal in religious observances, their chastity and rigid abstinence, as well as by writing and teaching, they attained great celebrity, and by their pious example edified not only the Boii, but also their neighbours. All were unanimous in praise of them."—*Joan. Avent. b. 5, Annals of the Boii*.

‡ Page 54 of this History.

* Chron. Ratisbonense, apud Grat. Luc. page 21, 62, et seq.

gifts of God, as my master Marianus." On his return to Ratisbon, Gregory, at the solicitation of the brothers, went to Ireland, where he received from Muriertach O'Brien, successor to Donatus, (to whom he presented a letter from Conradus, king of the Romans), the sum of money which had been deposited at Cashel, on the death of Christianus, his predecessor. With this money he purchased land and goods, at Ratisbon, and rebuilt the church and monastery.* The troubles caused in Ireland by the English, after the twelfth century, having obliged the Irish Scots to leave their house at Ratisbon, it fell into the hands of the Scotch, who were always ready to appropriate to themselves every thing desirable, particularly when connected with the name *Scot*. About this time also flourished the celebrated Marianus, known by the name of Marianus Scotus, and who was considered a chronologist of the first order. He was born in Ireland in 1028, and became a monk, or as he himself says, withdrew from the world in 1052. He left Ireland in 1056, and went to Germany, where he shut himself up for almost three years, in the abbey of St. Martin of Cologne.† From that he went to the abbey of Fulde, in which he remained ten years, and was ordained priest in 1059. Finally, he left Fulde in 1069, to go to Mentz, (Mayence), where he continued till his death, which took place in 1086, he being then fifty-eight years old. He was interred in the convent of St. Martin, or according to others, in the church of St. Peter, outside of the city.

Marianus was, undoubtedly, the most learned man of his age; an excellent historian, a distinguished arithmetician, and a profound Theologian.‡ Trithemius says, "he was very learned in the holy Scriptures, well versed in all the sciences, possessed of an acute genius, and led an exemplary life;"§ he adds, that he died with a reputation of sanctity. He left many works, and wrote an universal chronology, "*Chronicon Universale*," from the creation to the year 1083, which was continued to 1200 by Dodechin, abbot of Disibod, in the diocese of Triers. He took Cassiodorus as his guide, which he enlarged considerably. According to Bale he wrote, "*Evangelistarum concordiam*," "*De universali computo*," "*Emendationes Dionysii*," "*De magno Cyclo Paschali*," Algo-

risnum," "*Breviarium in Lucam*," "*Annotationes Scripturarum*," "*Epistolae hortatorias*."* According to others, he wrote, "*Commentaria in Psalmos*" and "*Notitia utriusque Imperii*."† It is affirmed, that there are epistles of St. Paul, written by the hand of Marianus, with commentaries, in the library of the emperor of Vienna.‡

In the interval between the overthrow of the Danes, and the time of Henry II., (the period of the production of the bulls of Adrian IV., and Alexander III.,) several churches and monasteries were established. I have already given the dates of their foundations, and the names of their founders.

We discover, at the same time, among the princes and nobles of Ireland, illustrious examples of religion and piety, by the voluntary surrender of their crowns, dignities and possessions, to follow the more freely the footsteps of Jesus Christ. The example of kings and princes has a great influence over their people. In the eleventh century, we find Donnough, son of Brien Boiroidmhe, monarch of the island, give up his kingdom, and after spending a life of penance, end his days in St. Stephen's abbey at Rome. Flahartach O'Neill, a prince highly esteemed in Ulster, renounced the world, to practice penance, and undertook a pilgrimage to Rome. Teige Mac-Lorcan, king of Kinseallagh, ended his life in an edifying manner in the monastery of Gleandaloch. Cahal-Mac-Rory O'Connery, king of Connaught, and Moriartach O'Brien, king of Munster, and joint monarch of Ireland, animated with the same spirit of religion and penance, ended their days, one at Armagh, and the other at Lismore.

After all that I have said on the state of religion in Ireland, during the hundred and fifty years which immediately preceded the reign of Henry II.; of the several councils, which had been convened, for the regulation of morals and the re-establishment of discipline; of so many saints and learned prelates, who were an honour to religion, and from among whom, Catholicus, archbishop of Tuam; Laurence, archbishop of Dublin; Constantine, bishop of Killaloe; Brictius, bishop of Limerick; Augustin, bishop of Waterford; and Felix, bishop of Lismore, were considered worthy of being called to the third general council of Lateran, in 1179. After exhibiting the many zealous missionaries who had left their country, (their

* Chron. Ratisbonense. apud Grat. Luc. page 21, 162, et seq.

† War. de Script. Hib.

‡ Sigebert. de Gemblours, de Scriptor. Eccles. page 172.

§ Catalog. Vir. Illustr.

* Script. Britan. cent. 14, n. 45.

† Joannes Vossius de Hist. Lat. lib. 2, p. 360, et 361. Dempst. Hist. Eccles. Scot. lib. 9.

‡ Lambecius, lib. 2, cap. 8, page 749.

ministry not being perhaps needed at home), to go and instruct foreign nations; after describing so many religious foundations, effected through the liberality of the faithful; and lastly, viewing the numerous examples of virtue, given by the heads of the nation; can it be supposed that the degeneracy of morals and religion were so general and inveterate, as is represented in the two bulls of Adrian and Alexander? People who rationally weigh the whole, will not be such dupes as to believe them. The priest and his flock will resemble each other, "*sicut populus, sic sacerdos.*" The Irish, says Stanihurst, possess docile and flexible dispositions; the priests have a great influence over them, and easily work upon their feelings by their exhortations.* Let us listen to the account given by Cambrensis, whose testimony cannot be suspected, respecting the clergy of Ireland, in general. "The clergy of that country," says he, "are highly to be praised for their religion; and, amongst other virtues with which they are endowed, their chastity forms a peculiar feature. Those who are intrusted with the divine service, do not leave the church; but apply themselves wholly to the reciting of psalms, prayers and reading. They are extremely temperate in their food, and never eat till towards evening, when their office is ended." I am convinced that a people, instructed by such masters, cannot deserve the shameful imputations, which have served as a pretext for the bulls above quoted. The life of St. Malachi, written by St. Bernard and that of St. Laurence, archbishop of Dublin, by an anonymous writer of the college of Eu, as related by Surius and Messingham, present to us so great a number of both sexes, who not only made profession of virtue and piety, but likewise practised religion in its highest purity, that it is impossible to believe that the contagion was universal. It affected but a few; and if a country deserve to be destroyed, and given up to a foreign power, for the faults of individuals, the most polished nations should at present fear the same fate.

The greater part of those who went to Ireland, under Henry II.; to reform the morals of the Irish, were the descendants of the Normans, who had accompanied William the Conqueror into England. Their sojourn in France had been too short to have

enabled them to divest themselves completely of the barbarous manners of their ancestors, and assume those of the polished people of that country and their removal to England did not tend to diminish their ferocity. Indeed, the tumults of war, and the hostilities which are inseparable from it, are ill calculated to polish the manners. During the four reigns which had preceded that of Henry II., they were continually under arms, either to crush the revolts of the Anglo-Saxons, or check the incursions of the Scotch, or lastly, to complete the conquest of the principality of Wales. They must therefore have acquired politeness by inspiration, to have been capable of polishing the manners of others.

Such, however, were the doctors whom Henry II. sent to Ireland, by apostolical authority (as it is pretended), to re-establish religion, and correct the morals of the people; but their conduct was more calculated to shake the true believers, than confirm them in the Christian religion. They made the Irish pay dearly for their pretended mission, and taught them the English language to their cost. Experience itself proves the futility of this pretended reformation. The first adventurers who came from England into Ireland, were people that held nothing sacred; but their children, more happy than their fathers, having been civilised by their intercourse with the natives of the latter country, whose manners they assumed, lost altogether that ferocity of disposition, which is, even to this day, the attribute of the inhabitants of Great Britain.

We shall now examine upon what basis the imputation of rudeness and barbarity of manners, which has been cast upon the Irish, is grounded. Every one is aware of the libels and dreadful calumnies which Giraldus Cambrensis published in his topography, against Ireland; his distortions of language, and the studied research for terms and words to which he resorts, in order to defame her, must be admitted. He describes the inhabitants as a cheating, passionate, traitorous people, and faithless to every engagement.

Although it be allowed by men of wisdom, that the evidence of a man who speaks ill of his enemy, is not admissible,* it is possible, notwithstanding, that the English may have found the Irish to be so disposed towards themselves. The sway of the English in Ireland was considered by the natives as a violence, an injustice, and usurpation; consequently any engagement made with them

* "The majority of the Irish are very religious: their priests are dignified, and by their wholesome admonitions, the consciences of the people, (who are docile and respectful,) are very easily worked upon."—Stanihurst. b. 1, p. 49.

* Bodin. Method. Hist. cap. 4.

was looked upon not to be binding. They did not think themselves bound by the law of nature, which forbids us either to take the goods of others, or do violence to their will. They therefore thought themselves dispensed with, from keeping their word with a people who observed no treaty made with them, and whose only rule was the law of the strongest; like a man, who, having given his purse to save his life, thinks he has a right to reclaim it when the danger is over. These are the principles which the Irish observed in their conduct towards the English, to whom they saw themselves a prey; principles which drew upon them the exaggerated attacks of Cambrensis.

That author again judges of the manners of the Irish by the supposed peculiarity of their dress;* as if the exterior appearance had any analogy with the disposition of the man. The Irish wore long garments like the Romans and other people, and the present nations of the east, who however are not, on that account, reputed barbarous.

The long hair which Cambrensis accuses them of having worn, and which he assigns as a proof of their barbarity, was worn by the Egyptians, who were notwithstanding, considered a polite people. The Lacedæmonians looked upon it as a symbol of candour; and it is well known that a considerable part of Gaul was called *Gallia Comata*, on account of the long hair by which its inhabitants were distinguished from other people. The beard was as commonly worn among the ancients as long hair; the razor not having been used among the Romans, till four centuries and a half after the foundation of their city, nor till a much later period amongst the other nations of Europe.

The Irish originally wore sandals, nearly the same as other nations; in the time of Cambrensis, they wore flat and pointed shoes without heels, tied with leather strings instead of buckles, called in their language *bragues*, which, however, appeared barbarous to a man fond of novelty. "*Juxta modernas novitates incultissima*;" without heels and buckles, a man was considered barbarous by Cambrensis. If a people are to be accounted barbarous, for not conforming in their style of dress to the taste of their neighbours, every nation may be considered barbarous; and if it be necessary to adopt new fashions, in order to be thought a polished

nation, every country is barbarous in its turn, since every age and even every year, brings about new fashions. The Irish were much attached to their own customs; they despised novelty in dress, which is indicative of the inconstancy and frivolity of mankind. Dress is not the only thing which the English discovered to be barbarous among this people; according to them, they were so even in their names. In his description of Westmeath, when speaking of the proprietors of land in that country, Camden mentions the O'Malaghlines of Clonlolan, and the Magheogbegans of Moicassel, who were lords of the country, as persons whose names, he said, had a barbarous sound.*

Names are generally conformable to the language, and the pronunciation depends on the accent of the country in which they are used. It is not surprising that a foreigner should find something harsh in the pronunciation of proper names which are not familiar to him, as several German, Bohemian, Hungarian, and other names, are to be met with every day in history, the pronunciation of which appears harsh to us; but none except an Englishman, that is, a man full of himself and despising all others, could impute barbarity to a people from the pronunciation of their names.

It is easy to discover the springs which the Englishman put in motion on this occasion. The supposed reformation of the morals of the Irish was but a pretext, which he made use of to usurp the crown of Ireland, and dispossess a numerous proprietary of the inheritance which they held from their ancestors. Charity cannot but appear suspicious, when influenced by interest. The difference of religion is not a reason for despoiling men of their properties, still less for depriving them of their politeness; and the right of conquest is but a chimerical right, authorized by no law either human or divine.

Nothing but a war founded on just grounds, that is, on some injury from those we intend to reduce, can render a conquest lawful. At the time we speak of, there was no war between the English and the Irish; and if the king of Leinster brought over the former to assist him in recovering his crown, he rewarded them amply. He could give them no right over the other provinces, not possessing any over them himself.

Henry II. got rid of all these obstacles. This ambitious prince, not content with the crown of England, the duchies of Normandy,

* "This people, uncivilized not only in their barbarous mode of dress, but likewise in their mode of wearing the hair and beards, are very uncouth, according to modern ideas, and their manners are of a barbarous turn." — *Topography*, dist. 3, cap. 10.

* Camden, p. 754.

Aquitaine, &c., which he possessed on the continent, looked upon Ireland as an object deserving his attention. It was a large island, very populous, fertile, conveniently situated, and had very often sent succour to the king of France, with whom he was frequently at war.* The king of England, finding himself unable to reduce Ireland by force of arms, had recourse to every stratagem, even to religion, to conquer this kingdom. Westmonasteriensis says, that he solicited, through a solemn embassy, the new pope Adrian (confident of obtaining it of him as he was an Englishman,) for leave to enter Ireland in a hostile manner, to subjugate it.† It is alleged, that he represented to him, that religion was almost extinct in the country; that the morals of the people were corrupted, and that it was necessary to remedy it, for the glory of Christianity. In his zeal, he offered to become an apostle for that end, on condition that his holiness would grant him the sovereignty of the island, and also promised to pay Peter's pence for every house. The pope, who was born his subject, readily granted him (as it is pretended) his request; and the liberty of an entire nation was sacrificed to the ambition of the one, through the complaisance of the other.

Like an able statesman, Henry waited a favourable opportunity to carry his project into execution. This presented itself in a civil war that broke out between the monarch and the king of Leinster, of which he took advantage to begin his mission; and although, according to the law of God, it is not by despoiling our neighbour of his property that we should convert him, still, the missionaries whom Henry II. employed were men with arms in their hands, and more intent upon converting the land to their own use, to the prejudice of the old proprietors, than gaining souls to God. We shall now resume the thread of our history, and the reign of Moriartach Maclochluin.

CHAPTER XVI.

GREAT men have sometimes great defects, and their virtues are frequently obscured by their vices. The monarch of Ireland was a pious prince, zealous in the cause of religion, and a protector of the church and its

privileges,* but his ruling passion was anger, which sometimes degenerated into madness.† Eochad, prince of Ulad or Dalriada, now the county of Antrim, was one of those who felt the effects of his passion. Being desirous to shake off the yoke, and to get free from the dominion of the monarch, this formidable enemy entered his principality, and putting all to fire and sword, forced him to seek safety by flight; whereupon, Gelasus, primate of Ireland, continually occupied in preserving peace between the princes of the country, prevailed upon Moriartach the monarch, and the other princes and nobles of Tir-Eogan, Oirgiell and Ulad, to come to Armagh, where he concluded, to all appearance, a solid peace between the monarch and the prince of Ulad, of which he was himself a guarantee, together with Dunchad O'Caruall, prince of Ergallie or Orgiell. The prince of Ulad paid homage to the monarch, gave him hostages, and was restored to his estates. This peace, however, though in appearance solid, was of short duration. The monarch, either thinking himself not sufficiently revenged, or having had some fresh motive of displeasure, caused Eochad's eyes to be taken out, and the hostages he had given him to be put to death. The prince of Ergallie, finding himself insulted, and aggrieved by the infraction of a treaty, to which he had been a guarantee, resolved to take revenge. For this purpose he collected all the forces he could muster, and being joined by the inhabitants of Ulad, Ive-Bruin, and Conmacne, his allies, he marched at the head of nine thousand armed men into Tyrone, where, at Litterluin, he unexpectedly attacked the monarch, who was sacrificed, with several of his nobles to the vengeance of an injured people. Keating and Bruodine assert that this monarch died a natural death, after a peaceful reign of eighteen years. He was the last monarch of the illustrious tribe of the Hy-Nialls, who had filled the throne of Ireland, with but little interruption, from the fourth century.

From this monarch are descended the O'Neills. They founded three principal houses in Ulster, namely, those of Tyrone, the Fews, and Claneboy. Tyrone the head of the tribe of the O'Neills, partly supported the splendour of his illustrious ancestors; and in latter times there have been heroes in this family, worthy of their forefathers. However, it was at length ruined, and buried

* Pœlidor. Virgil, lib. 13, p. 555. Baker, Chron. Engl. page 55.

† Flor. Hist. lib. 2, p. 246.

* Act. Sanct. Hib. Vit. S. Gelag. ad 27 Mart. Grat Luc. c. 9.

† Ogyg. part 3, cap. 94.

beneath its own grandeur. The present representative is Felix O'Neill, the chief of the house of the Fewa, and an officer of rank in the service of his Catholic Majesty.

Roderick, or Rory O'Connor, son of Turrough-Mor, and king of Connaught, being at the time the most powerful prince in Ireland, had but little difficulty in getting himself proclaimed supreme king of the island, after the death of Moriartach, A. D. 1166.* He overcame the opposition he met with from Donald More O'Brien, king of Limerick, and Dermod Mac-Cormac Macarty, king of Cork and Desmond, and defeated Dermod Mac-Murrough, king of Leinster, in battle. He finally received, voluntarily or by force, hostages from every prince in Ireland, and made presents to them; two things which formerly characterized the supreme authority of their princes among the Irish.†

In the first year of the reign of Roderick, the priory of All Saints, near Dublin, was founded by Dermod Mac-Murrough, king of Leinster, for regular canons of the fraternity of Arouaise. This priory was afterwards converted into a college, under the name of the holy Trinity, by queen Elizabeth.‡

About this time, some religious houses were founded by Donald, otherwise Domhnal More O'Brien, king of Limerick; in the district of Thuomond, the abbey of Clare, otherwise Kilmony, or *de forgio*, from the river Forge, by which it was watered, under the name of St. Peter and St. Paul;§ and the priory of Inis-ne-Ganach, for regular canons, in an island in the river Shannon.|| He also founded in the county of Limerick, the monasteries of St. Peter of Limerick, of the order of St. Augustin, and that of St. John Baptist, called Kil-Oën.¶ The monastery of our lady of Inis-Lanaught, in the county of Tipperary, of the order of Citeaux, otherwise called *de Surio*, situated on the river Suire, was founded, according to some, in 1159. Others say it was founded in 1184, by Donald O'Brien, king of Limerick, who endowed it, in conjunction with Malachi O'Felan, prince of Desie.**

* Keating, history of Ireland, part 2. Grat. Luc.

c. 9. Ogyg. part 3, cap. 94.

† War. de Antiq. Hib. c. 4. Bruodin. Propug. Cathol. Verit. lib. 5, c. 17. Allemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irl. page 7.

‡ War. ibid.

§ Allemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irl. page 59.

|| War. de Antiq. Hib. c. 4.

¶ War. ibid.

** Allemand, ibid, p. 188.

At Holycross, in the county of Tipperary, there was a celebrated abbey of the order of Citeaux, which enjoyed great privileges, and where a portion of the true cross is preserved.* This abbey, which was a branch of that of Nenay or Magie, was founded in 1169, by Domnald O'Brien, king of Limerick, as appears by the act of its foundation, quoted in the *Monasticon Anglicanum*, and signed by the bishop of Lismore, legate of the holy see in Ireland, the archbishop of Cashel, and the bishop of Limerick. Others say that this abbey was founded in 1181.

The abbey of Kilkenny, otherwise, "*de valle dei*," in the district of this city, was founded and dedicated to the blessed Virgin, in 1171, by Dermod O'Ryan, an Irish lord.†

The abbey of Maur, or "*de fonte vivo*," in the county of Cork, was founded for monks of the order of Citeaux, under the title of our Lady, by Dermod, son of Cormac Macartach, (Mac-Carty,) king of Cork, and Desmond.‡ The first monks who established it were from the abbey of Baltinglass.

Roderick governed the kingdom of Ireland with wisdom and moderation. He convened a synod at Athboy, in Meath, in 1167, of which we have already spoken. This synod, which was, properly speaking, an assembly of the states, was composed of St. Gelasus, archbishop of Armagh, and primate of Ireland; of St. Laurence, archbishop of Dublin; Catholicus O'Dubthay, archbishop of Tuam, and many of the inferior clergy. The princes present were, the monarch, Tighernan O'Rourke, prince of Brefne, Dunchad, prince of Orgiell; Eochaid, son of Dunsleve, prince of Ulad; Dermod O'Melachlin, prince of Tara; Asculph, son of Torall, prince of the Danes of Dublin; Dunchad O'Foelan, prince of the Desies, and several other lords; amounting in all to 1300 men. They made many wise laws and regulations, and the police was afterwards so strictly enforced throughout the island, that it might be said of it, as Bede observed of the kingdom of Northumberland, in the reign of Edwin, that a woman with a new-born infant might travel over the whole island, from one sea to the other, without fear of insult.§

This monarch, who was mindful of every thing, knowing that amusements are essen-

* War. ibid. Allemand ibid, p. 186.

† War. ibid. Allemand, ibid, p. 174.

‡ War. ibid. Allemand, ibid, p. 181.

§ Hist. Eccles. lib. 2, cap. 16.

tial for youth, re-established the games at Tailtiu, in 1168. He was also a protector of learning, and in 1169, founded a professor's chair at Armagh, in favour of strangers; finally, he watched over the administration of justice, and punished crime with severity.

The reign of Roderick O'Connor is memorable for a revolution, which forms an epoch fatal to Ireland. An invasion of the English, which, in its beginning, would not have alarmed even the petty republic of Ragusa, became, from its having been neglected at first, so serious, that the liberty of a powerful nation became its victim, and a monarchy which had lasted for more than two thousand years, was overthrown.

Politicians endeavour to account for the fall of empires. By some it is ascribed to the weakness of those rulers, who introduce a bad system in the administration of their laws, and by some to exterior causes; while others, with more reason, assign it to the will of the supreme Being, who has drawn all things out of nothing, who governs all, and sets bounds to the duration of all created objects. Besides this, however, I think we may examine the connection that exists between natural and secondary causes, which are the instruments made use of by the Divinity.

With respect to Ireland, the source of her destruction can be discovered within her own bosom. This kingdom was, from the settlement of the Milesians in the island, governed by one king, till the reign of Eocha IX., who erected the four provinces into as many kingdoms, independent of each other, some time before the Christian era; they were, however, dependant on the monarch, as those electors and princes are, who hold their states of the emperor of Germany. This was the first blow which the constitution of Ireland met with. It suffered again in the first century, by the revolt of the plebeians, and the massacre of the princes and nobles of the country by these barbarians, who seized upon the government. Towards the end of the second century, a war also, which Modha-Nuagat, king of Munster carried on against Conn, the monarch, (the result of which was the division of the island between the contending parties,) produced new disasters to the kingdom.

Notwithstanding these convulsions in the state, and the violent attacks of the Normans during two centuries, the Irish monarchy still maintained itself till the reign of Malachi II., in the beginning of the eleventh

century, when the sceptre, which had been for six or seven hundred years hereditary in the same tribe, passed into other hands. Factions increased in proportion to the number of claimants to the crown, and the government was, in consequence, rendered weak and enfeebled by them.

The fall of monarchies seldom occurs suddenly. The change takes place by degrees, and from a chain of events, which imperceptibly undermine the constitution of the state, (as sickness enervates the body), till it requires but a slight shock or stroke to complete their destruction. The Irish monarchy received this fatal blow, in the twelfth century, through the debauchery and boundless ambition of one of its princes, as we shall now discern.

Derforguill, daughter of Mortough-Mac-Floinn, prince of Meath, was married against her will to Teighernan O'Rourke, prince of Brefny.* This princess indulged a secret passion for Dermot, son of Murrough, king of Leinster, who paid his addresses to her before her marriage; and taking advantage of her husband's absence, she despatched a courier to Dermot, begging that he would come and rescue her from the engagements she had contracted with a husband whom she disliked. Dermot was possessed of too much gallantry to refuse his services to a princess, to whom he had been previously attached; he repaired on the appointed day, to the place of meeting, with a band of armed horsemen, and carried away the princess of Brefny, to his castle of Ferns in Leinster. O'Rourke, on his return, finding that the princess his wife had eloped, and feeling deeply the insult given him, had recourse to the monarch for redress. Roderick O'Connor was an upright prince, and opposed to all injustice; he heard O'Rourke's complaint with attention, and having assembled the forces of Connaught, whom those of Brefny, Orgiell, and Meath, afterwards joined, he entered Leinster, determined to revenge the insult received by the prince of Brefny.

Dermot was well aware of the march of the royal army, and also of the sentence of excommunication pronounced against him by the clergy. He summoned the nobles of his kingdom to Farna, in the territory of Kinseallagh, now Ferns, in the county of Wexford, where he held his court, in order to consult with them upon the means he should adopt to avert the storm that threatened him; but his subjects, who were indignant at the

* Stanihurst, de Reb. in Hib. Gest. lib. 2. cap. 59. et seq.

enormity of his crime, and, moreover, dissatisfied with his tyrannical government, instead of supporting him in this critical juncture of his affairs, renounced their allegiance to him, and placed themselves under the protection of the monarch, so that the unhappy prince abandoned by them, had no other resource than to embark for England. The monarch then finding no enemy to contend with, contented himself with destroying the city of Ferns, and the royal castle, whence he carried away the unfortunate Derforguill, whom he confined in the monastery of St. Bridget, at Kildare, after which he disbanded his troops and returned into his province.

Dermod, now driven from his dominions, breathed revenge against his rebellious subjects and the nation at large. Henry II., great-grandson of William the Conqueror, was then king of England. He was a prince of boundless ambition, and very powerful, and was often heard to say, during his prosperity, that the government of the whole world was hardly sufficient for a great man. Besides the kingdom of England, he possessed the duchies of Normandy and Anjou, by right of inheritance; and in virtue of his marriage with Eleanor, whom Louis VII., surnamed the younger, had divorced, he was master of Aquitaine, Poitou, Touraine, and Maine. On account of these states, he was frequently engaged in wars with France, which required his presence. Such was the situation of the affairs of Henry, when the king of Leinster went to Aquitaine, to solicit his alliance, and ask of him the succour necessary for the recovery of his throne, promising to place his kingdom under his protection. This proposal was highly flattering to Henry, and favourable to his views. He replied, however, that the state of his affairs, at that time upon the continent, would not permit his giving him any troops, but that if he would go to England, he might raise forces there, and begin the war in Ireland, till he should be able to join him; and even sent orders to his ministry, to forward the enterprise of this fugitive prince.

The king of Leinster, having taken leave of Henry, embarked for England, and on his arrival at Bristol, communicated their king's orders to the magistrates of that city, who caused them to be published.

Richard, surnamed Strongbow, "*de arcu forti*," (which signifies a strong bow), was then at Bristol. He was son of Gilbert, earl of Pembroke or Chepstow, whom Cambrensis calls earl of Strangwel. This young lord had squandered his property, and contracted

heavy debts;* and to heighten his misfortune, was in disgrace with his prince;† so that he was willing to undertake any design, to retrieve his fortune. Taking advantage therefore of this opportunity, which was, he conceived, highly favourable, he offered his services to Dermod, who received him with kindness, and made him a proposal far above what he had reason to expect; offering him his daughter, Aoiffe or Eve, in marriage, and promising to secure his succession to the throne of Leinster, after his death, on condition of his assisting to recover it; which condition was joyfully accepted by earl Richard.

Dermod having concluded his negotiation at Bristol with the earl Richard, who promised to cross over to Ireland in the spring, with a body of troops, went into Wales, where he applied to Ralph Griffin, (who was governor of that province for Henry II.) to liberate Robert Fitzstephen, a brave and experienced general who had been a state prisoner during four years, by order of the government. Dermod having obtained the pardon of Robert Fitzstephen, on condition, that he would accompany him to Ireland, and never think of returning to his own country, from which he was then for ever banished, took him into his service, with his half brother, Maurice Fitzgerald, promising to him and his posterity the city of Wexford, and the neighbouring districts. He entered into like engagements, and made similar promises to several others, whom he allured by the hope of gain, as Neubrigensis, an English cotemporary author, mentions: "*Spe lucri profusioris illecti*."‡ According to the same author, they were mostly men, who possessed nothing at home, "*Accitis ex Angliâ viris impropiâ labontibus et lucri cupidis*," and to better their condition, were desirous of leaving their own country. The king of Leinster, pleased with the reception he met with in England, returned to Ireland, where he remained concealed in his city of Ferns, waiting the arrival of his allies.

Robert Fitzstephen was not forgetful of his engagements with Dermod. Two powerful motives induced him to carry them into execution; he was an outlaw in England, whereas he recovered his liberty only on condition of leaving it immediately; and the reward which he expected in Ireland, was very flattering to a man whose only riches lay in his sword. He applied all his

* Gulielm. Neubrig. de Reb. Anglo. lib. 2, c. 26.

† Stanihurst, b. 2, c. 67.

‡ Guli. Neubrig. de Reb. Anglie. sui temporis, lib. 2. page 211, et 212.

influence to enlist volunteers for his enterprise, and raised 400 men, whose fortunes were desperate like his own. With this force he landed on the coast of Wexford in Ireland, in the month of May, A.D. 1169. Of his landing, information was despatched immediately to the king of Leinster, who lay concealed in the city of Ferns, till his arrival. Dermot overjoyed at the news, left his retreat and put himself at the head of five hundred horsemen, whom he kept in readiness to join the English captain. After the usual compliments on such occasions, they held a council of war on the plan of their campaign, the result of which was, to lay siege to Wexford, which was, at that time, inhabited by Danes. The troops being led on against this place, it surrendered to the king of Leinster; the inhabitants paid him homage, and gave him hostages and presents. In order to fulfil his promise to Fitzstephen, the king gave him that city, and a few districts in the neighbourhood, where he established a colony, amongst whom the ancient Saxon language is still preserved, with a small mixture of the Irish. This district is called the barony of Forth. Dermot, granted also to Hermon Morty (Herveus de Monte Maurisco) Fitzstephen's paternal uncle, some lands near Wexford, so that through the generosity of this prince, those adventurers were influenced to the greatest enterprises, to please him.

In the mean time, Maurice Prendergast landed in Wexford, with a fresh reinforcement, which increased the little army of the confederates, then amounting to three thousand men.

Encouraged by his first success, and finding himself able to follow up his conquest, Dermot turned his thoughts towards the people of Ossory. Donnough Mac-Giolla Phadruig (Fitzpatrick), son of Domhnal Ramhar, was hereditary prince, or according to the style of those times, king of Ossory. He was the avowed enemy of Dermot, and one of those who had abandoned him in his misfortune. He was therefore the first victim of his resentment. Dermot marched at the head of his army towards the frontiers of Ossory, spreading terror and consternation every where, as he passed, and obliged that prince to send him hostages, and agree to pay an annual tribute to the crown of Leinster.

The progress which the king of Leinster and his English allies were making, having alarmed the whole island, the princes and nobles had recourse to Roderick O'Connor, to deliberate on what was to be done to quell

a rebellion in its beginning, which, if neglected, must create confusion in the state. It was determined in the conference held for this purpose, that the provinces should supply the monarch with their quota of men, to enable him to chastise the king of Leinster, and put down the rebellion. The monarch's army being reinforced by the allied troops, he set out on his march for Leinster, and advanced towards Hy-Kinseallagh, intending to give the enemy battle. Dermot finding himself unable to keep the field against an army so superior to his own, withdrew into the inaccessible forests and marshes near Ferns with his troops, and held himself on the defensive. The monarch thus foiled in his attempt, sent a communication to Fitzstephen, chief of the English in the service of Dermot, that he should immediately depart from the country with his Englishmen; that he had espoused an unjust and dishonourable cause, and that he had no lawful claim to the possessions he had usurped in the island. It can be easily conceived that such an order must have been very disagreeable to this adventurer, who was an outlaw in his own country, where he had suffered several years imprisonment, and who had no asylum but what his good fortune procured him. Besides that he had then a real interest in Ireland. He was already lord of Wexford and its environs, which had been conferred on him by the king of the province, as a reward for his services; and this was too considerable and too gratifying to the avarice of a man who was destitute of every thing else, to give it up. He therefore declared to the monarch, that so far from being disposed to quit the island, he was determined to support the interest of his benefactor, the king of Leinster, as long as a single man remained with him. The monarch, exasperated at the stranger's haughty reply, ordered his officers to send detachments to scour the forests, and pursue the rebels; but the bishops of the province, alarmed at the idea of a war breaking out amongst them, prostrated themselves at his feet, and pointed out to him the danger of a civil war, which might prove fatal to the nation. They represented to him that peaceful measures would be the most likely to succeed with an irritated prince, who was capable of any act, and supported by a neighbouring nation, whose interest it was to increase the discord between the princes of this island. These arguments were plausible and well grounded, if they could have supposed that the king of Leinster was possessed of honour or good faith; but as this unhappy prince had given himself up to

his ambition, and afforded every reason to distrust him, it would have been good policy to employ measures of rigour, and crush the evil at its root.

Roderick, moved by the remonstrances of the bishops and clergy of Leinster, ceased hostilities, and entered into negotiation with the king of the province. A treaty of peace was concluded, and signed by both parties, on the following conditions:—1st, That Dermod should be restored to the possession of his kingdom of Leinster, with the same authority which his predecessors had enjoyed, and that he should be compensated for the losses he had sustained, during his misfortunes; 2nd, that the king of Leinster should do homage to the monarch, and promise him fidelity; 3d, that he should bind himself by oath, never to call in the English to his aid, and to afford them no longer any protection; 4th, that Robert Fitzstephen should remain in possession of Wexford, instead of the Danes, who occupied it before. In order to ratify this treaty, and remove all suspicion of bad faith on his side, Dermod gave Art-Na-Nigall or Arthur, his son, as hostage to the monarch; after which the latter, having disbanded his forces, returned into Connaught.

It would now seem that Ireland was about to enjoy a lasting peace; that civil war was put down, and that the English, after losing the protection of the king of Leinster, had nothing more to hope for in the Island. The result however proved otherwise. The treaty concluded between the monarch and Dermod, was the fruit of the policy, as well as the perfidy of the English, who had drawn the prince of Leinster into it. They wanted to escape the danger of being destroyed by the superiority of the royal army, and gain time till the succours which they expected would arrive; those adventurers being less actuated by their pretended motives of re-establishing religion, reforming the morals of the Irish, and defending an oppressed prince, than that of making their fortunes at the expense of justice itself, as they proved. The treaty was scarcely concluded between the belligerent princes, when Maurice Fitzgerald, half brother to Fitzstephen, landed in Wexford with a considerable reinforcement of Englishmen, which raised the courage of the rebels to a high pitch.

On the first intelligence of the arrival of Maurice Fitzgerald, Dermod repaired to Wexford, where he held a council with Fitzstephen, Morty, Prendergast, Barry, Meiler, Fitzgerald, and other English chiefs, who prevailed on him to break his treaty with the

monarch, by inspiring him with the extravagant idea of aspiring to the universal monarchy of the island, and promising to send to England for sufficient forces for that enterprise. Dermod either did not perceive the danger of introducing into the country a number of foreigners, capable of reducing it, (as happened to the ancient Britons, whose country was invaded by their treacherous allies, the Saxons); or his unbounded ambition led him to sacrifice his country's freedom to that passion.

The king of Leinster, finding himself supported by the English, in conjunction with some of his subjects, whom fear brought back to their allegiance, marched at the head of his army towards Dublin, the neighbourhood of which he laid waste, particularly that part of it called Fingal. His intention was, to revenge on the Danes of that city the insults which himself and his father had received from them, and levy contributions to defray the expenses of the war; so he laid siege to the city, with Maurice Fitzgerald, who commanded under him. Asculph, son of Torcall, at that time commander of the place, alarmed at the danger which threatened the city, assembled the principal inhabitants, to deliberate upon what measures they should adopt. It was concluded that a quick submission was necessary to avert the storm; in consequence of which they sent deputies to the king of Leinster, with large sums of gold and silver. Asculph paid him homage in the name of the city, and sent hostages, as pledges of his obedience. Robert Fitzstephen had no share in this expedition, being busily employed in building and fortifying the port of Karraick, near Wexford.

Such was the state of the affairs of the king of Leinster, when Richard Strongbow landed in Ireland. This English nobleman had not forgotten the promises he had given to Dermod, of furnishing him with troops, nor the hope the latter held out to him, of making him his son-in-law, and successor to his throne—things highly flattering to a man possessed of nothing himself, and whose estate had been confiscated in England. Resolved, however, to act in a becoming way towards his king, Henry II., he went to him and asked permission to leave the kingdom, and seek his fortune elsewhere. The king, who was already dissatisfied with him, granted him his request in an ironical and repulsive manner, as if he never wished to hear of him.* Richard, desirous to take advan-

* Stanishurst, de Reb. in Hib. Gest. lib. 2, p. 94.

stage of this doubtful leave, made the necessary preparations for his expedition to Ireland; but before he should go himself, he despatched Raymond le Gros, who, according to Stanihurst, was son of William Fitzgerald, and nephew to Maurice, or, according to others, brother of the latter, with a small body of troops, to reconnoitre the country, and facilitate the descent which he meditated; and at the same time to inform the king of Leinster of his intentions. Raymond landed on the first of May, 1170, in a small harbour called Dun-Domhnail, four miles from Waterford, and formed an entrenchment for the protection of his troops.

The Danes of Waterford, hearing of the arrival of a body of English troops, who had encamped in their neighbourhood, assembled a force, which was joined by the vassals of Malachi O'Faolan, lord of Desie, to the number of 200 men, without discipline and badly armed, intending to dislodge those strangers. Raymond would not wait for the enemy in his entrenchments, but sallied forth with his troops to meet them in the plain. The action began with vigour, and the English were driven back to their entrenchments; but excited by despair, which frequently rouses to action, ("*Una salus victis nullam sperare salutem*,") they turned on this undisciplined army, who were pursuing them in disorder, and made a dreadful slaughter of them. This victory of the English, though inferior in numbers, was owing to their discipline, and a number of archers, who discharged their arrows against an enemy unaccustomed to that manner of fighting: "*Britannici sagittarii, miserandum in modum, inermes sauciarunt*." The sequel of this victory was highly disgraceful to the conquerors, who massacred seventy prisoners, of the first citizens of Waterford. A council of war was held after the battle, on the manner in which they should be treated. Raymond, who possessed a noble mind, was in favour of clemency, but Herveus de Monte Maurisco, who had, by chance, been present at the battle, having come that morning to pay a visit to Raymond, harangued the soldiers with such effect, that he instigated them to commit the act of cruelty, of which the prisoners were the victims. This barbarous conduct of that cruel man, is disapproved of by Stanihurst himself, (who is in other respects a true Englishman,) and he says that his memory was detested; he also adds, that no person is so insolent or devoid of pity, as a man of low birth who is raised above his level.*

* "I consider and command, that an enemy, not

Earl Richard, surnamed Strongbow, whom we left in England, having all things ready for his voyage, sailed from Milford harbour, in the month of August of the same year, with 1200 chosen men, and landed near Waterford on the 24th of the same month, St. Bartholomew's day. He was soon joined by the king of Leinster, and the English, whom he had already in his service. After the usual congratulations, they held a council of war, in which it was determined to besiege Waterford. When the troops were refreshed, they marched towards the city, which, according to the custom of the times, was poorly fortified, and laid siege to it. There was a great disproportion between the besieged and the besiegers. The place was defended by those citizens who had escaped the late defeat; while it was attacked by an army, superior both in numbers and discipline, and commanded by skilful leaders, so that, notwithstanding an obstinate defence which lasted for some days, the city was taken by assault, and the garrison put to the sword. Malachi O'Faolan, prince of Desie, was made prisoner, and only escaped from the rage of the soldiery, through the interference of the king of Leinster. After such barbarous acts, may it not be affirmed with truth, that those adventurers came over, rather to destroy the inhabitants than to reform their morals?

The taking of Waterford, was so pleasing to the king of Leinster, that he testified his gratitude to earl Richard, by renewing the treaty of alliance he had already made with him in England; for which purpose he sent for his daughter Aoife or Eve, to come to Waterford. The marriage was celebrated with great pomp between her and the earl, and the king declared them heirs to his crown.

A first success generally leads to new enterprises. The king of Leinster was a violent and vindictive prince, and always considered himself at liberty to violate the most solemn treaties, when passion or interest required it. The Danes of Dublin were the continual objects of his hatred and revenge. The treaty he had concluded with them, the preceding year, and the presents he received from them, did not prevent him laying siege a second time to their city, with all his

only while fighting, but even conquered and bound, should be put to death.' From that time Hervey was loaded with weighty and lasting disgrace and infamy, nor could one be found whom this carnage of the citizens did not disgust. But none is so insolent and merciless as a man raised from the dregs of the people."—*Stanihurst*, book 2, p. 103.

forces. Asculph, the commander, finding himself unable to support a siege, deputed, with the consent of the principal inhabitants, Laurence O'Toole, their archbishop, a man of high reputation for sanctity, to negotiate a peace with the king. While this holy prelate was deliberating on peaceful measures with the king in his camp, Raymond le Gros, Maurice Fitzgerald, and Milo Cogan, followed by their troops, entered the city by a breach, on the 21st of September, and made themselves masters of it, sword in hand, sparing neither sex nor age,* thus carrying on the war more like assassins than regular troops; violating the rights of men; and disregarding the principle, by which all hostilities should cease, when a town offers to capitulate. Such were the fancied masters of refinement, who came to civilize the Irish people!

Dermot, well pleased with this conquest, left a garrison in the city, the command of which he gave to Milo Cogan, after which he turned his arms against O'Rourke, prince of Brefny, to punish him for a crime, which he himself had committed; according to the proverb which says, that, "the injured are generally punished, instead of the aggressors." The violation of the wife of the prince of Brefny, was revenged on his vassals, by the violator himself.

The monarch of Ireland beheld tranquilly, during a whole year, the progress which the king of Leinster was making, without taking any measures to check the course of his victories; but finding him to approach his own borders, and knowing that such an enemy when so near him must be dangerous, he became alarmed. The season, however, being too far advanced to take the field, he sent an officer to reproach him for the perfidy, with which he had broken the solemn treaty concluded between them in the preceding year, and to complain, that, (contrary to its faith and tenor, which he had pledged himself upon oath to observe), he obdurately persisted in introducing robbers into the country and thereby disturbed the public peace. The same officer had orders to tell him, that if he persisted in his course of warfare, means would be found to constrain him to abandon it, and that the head of his son Arthur, who was held as hostage, should answer for it. Something more efficacious than threats was however necessary to be adopted towards a man blinded by his passions, and hereft of every sentiment characteristic of the man of honour. Dermot's reply to the monarch was

worthy of his character; he said that he was quite regardless of his son's fate, but that if any thing happened him, he would take revenge, both on the monarch and his whole race; and that his design was, to make himself master of the kingdom, before he laid down his arms. It is alleged by Stanihurst, that Roderick, exasperated at this haughty reply, caused prince Arthur to be beheaded; but in this he is contradicted by Keating and others, who say, that he confined himself to threats only, without carrying them into execution.

The severity of the weather having put an end to hostilities, and the king of Leinster's troops being withdrawn into winter quarters, Dermot repaired to Ferns, where he died of sickness, in the month of May following, A.D. 1171. He was a man of extraordinary height, strong, robust, and warlike, whose principle was to make himself more the object of fear than of love, and who had lived too long for the good of his country. This monster, whose memory must be abhorred by all true Irishmen, after having founded several religious houses, sacrificed the country to his revenge, and caused her to submit to a yoke, which she has never since been able to shake off. After the death of the king of Leinster, his father-in-law, earl Richard endeavoured to get himself declared heir to the throne of Dermot, as he was in truth the heir of his tyranny. He led his troops to the frontiers of Munster, where they committed great devastation; but was checked in his progress by the monarch, Roderick O'Connor, who gained several advantages over him, particularly at the battle of Durlus or Thurles in Upper Ormond, where 1700 English were killed upon the spot.*

Henry II., who was at that time in Aquitaine, being busily occupied with his continental affairs, and hearing of the success of Richard and his other subjects in Ireland, conceived strong suspicions of the fidelity of the earl, with whom he was already displeased.† He began to look upon him as an intriguing character, desirous of usurping a kingdom, which he himself had long wished to unite to his other states.‡ He therefore published an edict, by which he prohibited all intercourse with Ireland, and forbade his subjects to transport either men or provisions from England to Ireland, under the penalty of being severely punished. He ordained by

* Stanihurst, de Reb. in Hib. Gest. lib. 3, p. 106.

* Cambrens. Evers. cap. 9, page 89.

† Guliel. Neubrig. de Reb. Anglic. c. 26. Stanihurst, de Reb. in Hib. Gest. lib. 3.

‡ Keat. Hist. of Ireland.

the same edict, that all his subjects then in Ireland, should repair on a certain day to England, under pain of being considered traitors and rebels to their king. The earl Richard was soon apprised of the proclamation, which disconcerted him considerably, being altogether opposed to his design. Although master of Dublin, Wexford, Waterford, and other places on the coast, he was unable to retain possession of them, without the assistance of England, of which he saw himself thus deprived by the edict. In order to avert the danger consequent on resisting the king's commands, he assembled the heads of the English colony, who determined on sending Raymond le Gros (Fitzgerald), to represent to his Majesty, that it was by his permission Richard and the other Englishmen had crossed over to Ireland, to support the cause of Dermot, king of Leinster; that they did not consider themselves less his subjects there, and that they acted altogether in his name.

Raymond being entrusted by the assembly with this avowal of their fidelity, set out for Aquitaine, where Henry II., still was, who gave him an audience; after which the king returned to England, and appointed him to be the bearer of a letter to Richard, wherein he commanded the latter to return immediately to England, and render an account of his conduct.

About this time, Asculph, chief of the Danes of Dublin, who had escaped with his fleet from the last siege, returned with sixty vessels and a great number of troops, with the intention of besieging it, and encamped before the eastern Gate, called Dame's-Gate. The attack was so brisk, that the English, finding themselves unable to resist the superior force of the Danes, had recourse to stratagem. Milo Cogan, who was then governor of the city, sent out, by the southern gate, called St. Paul's, a body of cavalry, under the command of his brother, Richard Cogan, to attack the enemy in *re-re*. The Danes, struck with consternation, thinking it to be a fresh reinforcement that had come to the assistance of the city, took to flight: the slaughter was immense, and the loss of the Danes considerable; their chief, Asculph, was led captive into the city, and beheaded, contrary to the laws of war.

Dublin was attacked, soon afterwards, by the monarch himself, with as little success as the Danes. The art of besieging was then quite unknown to the Irish, who never made use of fortifications. They were accustomed to fight only in the open field, and present their bodies to the enemy, unpro-

tected by walls, or any defence, except their valour and their arms; consequently, they were unacquainted with the use of battering rams, and such machinery employed by other nations, to destroy fortified places.

In order to secure more firmly the conquest of the city, Roderick O'Connor and Laurence, the archbishop, wrote to Gottred, king of the Isle of Man, to request of him, in virtue of the ancient alliance existing between him and Ireland, to send a fleet to block up the harbour of Dublin, and cut off all communication between the garrison and England, (which was already interrupted by the proclamation of Henry II.); whilst on his part, he would take care to close every avenue by land. These plans appear to have been well laid. The city was soon surrounded by sea and land, and famine was already beginning to be felt by the garrison.

At the same time, Domnal, son of Dermot, the late king of Leinster, more anxious for the welfare of his country, than his father had been, collected a few troops, and besieged Robert Fitzstephen, in the fort which he had built at Carrick, near Wexford. The English captain, having found means to make his situation known to earl Richard, to Raymond le Gros, (who had lately returned from England), to Maurice Fitzgerald, and the other commanders of the garrison of Dublin, he sent them word, that if he did not receive succour before two or three days, he would inevitably fall into the hands of his enemy. This information and the unhappy state of their other affairs, gave them great uneasiness; but inspired them with a resolution, which succeeded to their most sanguine desire. The siege of Dublin had already lasted for two months; the besieged were much weakened, and the besiegers, fearing nothing from an enemy they intended to reduce by famine, became negligent, and too confident of their security, of which the latter found means to take advantage. The besieged, having determined to attack the besiegers, sallied forth at the break of day, forced the sentinels to give way, and falling, sword in hand, on their enemies, who were still in bed and asleep, killed a great number of them, and put the rest to flight.* This victory enabled the English of Dublin to send assistance to Fitzstephen, who was besieged in the fort of Carrick; but the detach-

* "They fly on a sudden, armed, out of the city, and fall, sword in hand, on a foe, unprepared and half sleeping. It cannot cause surprise, if lethargy should have seized on numbers of the besieged, when none were upon guard, and none could foresee that so few would sally out against an army."—*Stan. p. 117.*

ment commanded by Strongbow for this purpose, having been harassed by the Leinster people in the defiles of Idrome in the county of Carlow, arrived too late. The fort of Carrick had been already taken by prince Domnal, part of the garrison put to the sword, and the rest (amongst whom were Robert Fitzstephen and William Notton,) made prisoners of war, and brought to the island of Beg Erin, at a short distance from Wexford.

Richard Strongbow, coerced by the orders he had just received from his master, Henry II., embarked immediately for England, leaving his affairs in Ireland in a very bad state. He was presented to the king at Neweham, near Gloucester, where the prince was collecting an army for his expedition to Ireland, and was very badly received by him. The king upbraided him bitterly with the robberies and devastations he had committed in Ireland, inasmuch, as, not content with the honourable conditions which were granted him by the king of Leinster, he had acted the tyrant, by usurping the properties of others. It might be imagined that this was the language of a man of honour, who would be incapable of committing an unjust act himself; yet it would be difficult to decide, which of the two was the more worthy character. After the king had given vent to his anger and reproaches against the earl, he was at length appeased by the submission of this nobleman, and a promise that he made him of putting Dublin, and the other places he held in Ireland, into his power. In the mean time, O'Rourke, prince of Brefny, attacked the English who were in Dublin. He attempted to besiege the city, and having drawn Milo Cogan, the governor, and his garrison outside of the fortifications, a bloody battle was fought between them, which produced no other effect than the loss of many lives. The son of O'Rourke, having signalized himself by his valour in the thick of the battle, was mortally wounded, with several of his followers, who sold their lives dearly to the English, of whom also a great number fell on the field of battle.*

Everything being ready for the expedition to Ireland, Henry set sail from Milford, in the month of October, 1172, in the forty-first year of his age, and seventeenth of his reign, with a formidable and well provided army. He landed safely at Waterford, on St. Luke's day, where he established his head quarters. The news of his arrival be-

ing spread, his English subjects who had settled in Dublin, Wexford, Waterford, &c., came to pay him homage and renew their oath of allegiance; and their example was soon followed by some of the princes of the country, who had the baseness to submit to a foreign yoke, instead of uniting together to preserve their liberty. Dermot More Mac-Carthaig (Mac-Carty,) king of Cork, was the first among these proselytes. He presented himself before the king of England at Waterford, and paid him homage.

After a conference with his English subjects, on the measures to be adopted for the reduction of the island, Henry II. collected his forces and marched to Lismore, where, having staid two days, he set out for Cashel, and was met upon his march, on the river Suire, by Domnald O'Brien, king of Thumond and Limerick, who made a similar submission to that of the king of Cork, and their examples were followed by the other princes of Munster. Henry sent detachments to Limerick and Cork, to secure the possession of those cities; after which, returning to Waterford, he there received the homage of Domnald More Mac-Giolla-Phadraig (Fitz-Patrick) prince of Ossory, and Malachi O'Foelan, lord of Desie. He treated those princes honourably, made them magnificent presents, and promised to secure to them their possessions and dignities.* On the interference of the English, the king restored his liberty to Robert Fitzstephen, whom he had sometime before committed to prison, on account of the complaints which had been made to him, of the tyranny of this officer over the inhabitants of the country. The conditions, however, on which he obtained his freedom, were dishonourable to the king, and strongly marked his insatiable thirst for the riches of others. Fitzstephen was obliged to give to him the town and county of Wexford, which he held from the liberality of the king of Leinster.

Robert Fitz-Bernard being appointed to the government of Waterford, Henry II. proceeded on his route to Dublin, where his government was acknowledged by several princes of Leinster, amongst whom was Morrough Mac-Flóinn, prince of Meath. The king, as an able politician, treated all these princes with politeness, and loaded them with presents, which blinded them to such a degree, that they could not perceive

* "Henry received the princes, on their arrival, with great honour; he promised not only to take care of their safety, but to advance them in dignity; and loaded them besides with magnificent presents."

* Stan. de Reb. in Hib. Gest. lib. 3, cap. 123.

—Stan. de Reb. in Hib. Gest. 125.

the chains which he was preparing for them. He likewise promised to maintain them in the possession of their estates and dignities; but he was too perfidious to keep his word with them; such has ever been the course which the English nation has observed towards Ireland.

Roderick O'Connor, finding himself almost universally deserted, was obliged to yield to the necessity of the times. Henry sent two noblemen, Hugh de Lacy and William Fitz-Aldelm, to request an interview with him, in consequence of which the two princes met on the banks of the river Shannon, where the time was spent in paying mutual compliments, and nothing was determined upon.

The monarch's army was posted in marshes and in woods, where Henry thought it imprudent to attack him; but a treaty was concluded between them some years afterwards at Windsor, during the octave of St. Michael, through the mediation of Laurence, archbishop of Dublin, and Catholicus or Codla O'Dubhay, archbishop of Tuam.* The copy of this treaty is to be found in Roger Hoveden, an English writer of the same century, under date of the year, 1175.† The conditions were, that Roderick should pay an annual tribute to the king of England, as lord of Ireland; that he should always retain the title of monarch, and that the provincial kings should be dependant on him as previously.‡

In his expedition to Ireland every thing succeeded to the wishes of Henry. In a short time he found himself master of a considerable part of the island, without shedding a single drop of blood. The Hy-Nialls of Ulster alone, namely, the O'Neills, O'Donnells, and other princes of that province, with a few in Connaught,§ (whose minds were too noble and generous to bend to him,) refused to submit to a foreign yoke, at the expense of their liberty. This revolution in Ireland, under Roderick the monarch, is very similar to that which occurred in Spain, in the beginning of the eighth century, in the reign of Roderick. The names of the princes are alike, and the causes were almost the same. Roderick, king of Spain, lost his life together with his crown, on account of his crimes; Roderick, monarch of Ireland, was dethroned for hav-

ing punished crime. In Spain, count Julian, a Spanish nobleman, not only took revenge on Roderick, his king, who had violated his daughter Cava, but sacrificed his country to his revenge, by introducing into it the Moors, by whom it was afterwards conquered. In Ireland, Dermot, king of Leinster, introduced the English, to recover a kingdom, from which he had been expelled, for a similar crime to that of Roderick of Spain, and caused his country to submit to a yoke, which it has never since been able to shake off.

The success of Henry II. was followed by much trouble and uneasiness. Having retired to Dublin, for the purpose of spending the winter there, the weather became so tempestuous, and the storms so frequent, that all communication with England was broken off, which filled him with apprehensions. The martyrdom of Thomas à Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, happened about the same time, and the first news which the king received from England on the return of fine weather, was, that pope Alexander III. had sent two cardinals to inquire into the circumstances attending the murder of that prelate, with orders to excommunicate the king, and put the country under an interdict, if he did not exculpate himself from the crime. He also learned by the same messenger, that in England his son Henry, whom he had caused to be crowned some time before, had been suspected of endeavouring to take advantage of his absence, to stir up a revolt against him, in conjunction with his brothers.

These were powerful reasons for requiring the king's presence in England, notwithstanding the design he had formed of remaining for some time in Ireland, and causing fortifications to be built, by which means it would be easy, he thought, to keep the Irish in subjection. In order, however, that his affairs in this island might not be neglected, he confided the command of the important posts to men of trust, and set sail for England during the festival of Easter.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE Irish nation has, since the 12th century, been composed of two races, namely, the ancient Irish, and the English colonists, who established themselves in Ireland after that epoch. We have in the first part of this history, given an account of the origin and settlement of the ancient Irish in the island,

* Baker, Chron. Engl. p. 56.

† War. de Archiepisc. Tuamens.

‡ Cambr. Evers. cap. 9, p. 89.

§ Not a dynasty in Leinster, nor indeed in any corner of Ireland, except Ulster, which did not submit to the sovereignty of Henry."—Stanikurst.

and it is but fitting to say something of the origin of the Anglo-Irish, who have played a prominent part in it for nearly 600 years. In doing so, we must consider them both before and since the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

The English who passed into Ireland in the twelfth century, are called the *Old English*, and sometimes Strongbowians, from Richard Strongbow, one of their chiefs. In this class, indeed, may also be placed the English who arrived there during the subsequent period, until the reign of Elizabeth; but both these must be distinguished from the swarm of English adventurers who arrived in Ireland subsequently to her reign. We must not confound them with the infamous parricides who infested that sacred island, after staining their sacrilegious hands with the blood of their king.

There was nothing culpable in the enterprise of the first English who landed in Ireland; they presented themselves there much less as enemies of the nation, than as friends and allies of Dermot, king of Leinster. This prince invited them to aid him in the recovery of his kingdom. He rewarded them liberally, and gave them the city of Waterford, with two cantreds* of land, in its environs. These first concessions were reasonable, being a recompense for the valour of their new proprietors; and had they been content with them, the Irish would have had no ground of complaint. But the success of the first settlers tempted others of the English to similar enterprises. Henry II. conducted thither, in the year following, a powerful band, whom he was desirous to enrich. Leinster, Meath, and a part of Munster, were parcelled out and sacrificed to the ambition of these strangers; and every succeeding age furnished new colonies, who went to seek their fortune in that fertile country.

It cannot be asserted that each individual in an army, or in a body, which undertakes the conquest of a country, is noble. There must be amongst them under officers and common soldiers, who cannot be presumed of illustrious birth. Doubtless the majority of those chiefs who led the English colonists into Ireland, were of noble rank. They were knights, and the younger sons of families distinguished by birth and valour, who had retained those lofty and humane sentiments which characterise men of worth, and (if we must draw a veil over the injustice of the fathers) their children, at least, merit the

highest degree of praise. They became attached to the country of their adoption; they united themselves by marriage with the natives; they adopted its language and its manners; and for some centuries past they have formed with the old inhabitants but one people, yielding to them neither in zeal for their religion, nor fidelity to their lawful princes. They have been victims as well as the former, and are comprised under the same anathema, as objects of hatred and envy to the English, who think to insult them by the taunt that they are "more Irish than the Irish themselves," "*ipseis Hibernis Hiberniores*;" and can boast of a nobility in the island for nearly 600 years, sustained by their virtue and by their generous sentiments. If they rest satisfied to confine themselves to that limit (many might aspire to higher antiquity), the period is sufficiently respectable.

The leaders of the first divisions of the force which joined the king of Leinster, were Robert Fitzstephen, Hervy de Monte Marisco, nephew of Strongbow, Maurice Prendergast, Maurice Fitzgerald, Barry, Cogan, Raimond le Gros, and some others. They were relatives or kindred, and engaged in the same cause, and became possessors of large estates in Ireland.

The first establishment of Maurice Fitzgerald, was at Wicklow, and in the country of Ofaly, county Kildare, which was granted to him by his relation, Richard Strongbow, earl of Pembroke. The family of Fitzgerald, was, according to Nichols, descended from Otho,* an Italian baron, who drew his origin from the Dukes of Tuscany. The son of Otho, named Walter, having passed into England with William the Conqueror, was appointed Baron and Constable of Windsor Castle, and became possessed of many lordships in England. Gerald, the eldest son of Walter, went, on the affairs of the king, into the principality of Wales, where he built the castle of Pembroke: he was generally called Fitz-Walter. The king gave him as a reward for his services, considerable estates in Wales, where, having fixed his residence, he married Nesta, daughter of Rees Gruffydh, prince of that country. She had been originally the concubine of king Henry I., by whom she had a son, who was called Henry. The latter was father of Meyler, and Robert Fitz-Henry, who arrived in Ireland with Richard Strongbow. Nesta was married afterwards to Stephen, constable of the castles of Cardigan and Pembroke. She had

* A cantred of land is a Breton term, which signifies a hundred villages.

* Lodge's Peerage.

by this marriage Robert Fitzstephen, of whom we have already spoken. After the death of Stephen, she became the wife of Gerald Fitz-Walter, and the mother of Maurice and William Fitzgerald.

Maurice left a numerous issue in the provinces of Leinster and Munster. John one of his descendants was created earl of Kildare in 1316, by king Edward II. Maurice, brother of John, was made, in the following reign, earl of Desmond, by Edward III. This house was sacrificed, in the reign of Elizabeth, for its attachment to religion and country, and its large estates confiscated and bestowed upon English adventurers. The house of Kildare is still in being with the rank of the premier earldom of Ireland. From these two stocks sprung a number of distinguished branches, holding large possessions and characterised by their high and generous sentiments. Of these were the Fitzgeralds of Laccagh, Allen, Blackhall, Blackwood, Ballisnannon, Rathrone, Teiroughan, Windgate, and others in Leinster. From them were also descended the knights of Kerry and Glynn; the knight Blanc, who took the name of Fitzgibbon; the Fitzgeralds of Carrigilleere, Carrigrohan, Castlemore, Moyallow, Rathgrogan, Imokilly, &c., in the county of Cork. Several of these noblemen were dispossessed of their estates, on account of their religion, in the various revolutions which happened in the country; others among them by conforming to the times, saved the patrimony left them by their fathers. William, son of Gerald Fitz-Walter by Nesta, and brother of Maurice Fitzgerald, was father of Reymond le Gros or the *Fat*, who had a great share in reducing a part of Ireland to the sway of Henry II. Reymond married Basilia, the sister of earl Strongbow.* This count gave him for a dowry the lands of Idrone, Fothard, and Glascarrig in the county of Carlow, and named him Constable of Leinster.

In an expedition which Reymond undertook against Donald O'Brien king of Limerick, Dermot M'Carty king of Cork, sent to ask his aid against his son Cormac O'Lehanagh, who rebelled against him. The cause of this rebellion of the son, was his father's weakness in having submitted to Henry II. Reymond did not hesitate; he marched against the disobedient son of M'Carty, caused him to be arrested and delivered him to his father, who ordered him to be beheaded. In reward for his services, Reymond received from M'Carty, a large district in the county

of Kerry, which formed at that time part of the kingdom of Cork. Reymond granted this territory to his eldest son Maurice: the latter became powerful, his descendants took the name of Fitzmaurice, and the district was called Clan-Maurice. Reymond, it is said, had another son named Hamon, Hamo, or Heimond, surnamed like his father, le Grosse; it is from him that the family of Grace is descended; which is a corruption of Grosse. This family has been in high repute, for some centuries, in the county of Kilkenny, where they possessed a large district named Grace's country.

The Fitz-Maurices of Kerry, were much renowned in succeeding ages, for their virtues, wealth and connections. Edmond one of the chiefs of the family was created by Henry VIII., in 1537, Baron of Odorney, and Viscount of Kilmaule. The same prince gave him, by letters patent, the spoils of several abbeys and religious houses in his district. This noble family often gave proofs of their attachment to religion: the Fitzmaurices of Lixnaw, greatly distinguished themselves in the war of the Confederates against Elizabeth, so much that, when proclaiming a general pardon to those who had borne arms against her, she made an express exception of the earl of Desmond, his brother John, Pierce Lacy, the knight of Glinn, and Thomas Fitz-Maurice, son of the late baron of Lixnaw: but Fitz-Maurice got into favor again, upon the accession of James I., to the throne.

Historians are not quite agreed respecting the origin of the noble family of the Barrys in Ireland.* According to Camden, the Barrys derive their name from an island belonging to Wales, called Barry. That island was so named from Barruch, who having lived there in the odour of sanctity, was interred it. Others say, that the name of Barry is found in a roll of Battle-Abbey,† among the number of those who had assisted the duke William in the conquest of England; from hence it is presumed, that the family of Barry, has its origin from Normandy. However this be, William de Barry was the common ancestor of different branches of that name in Ireland. He married Angareth daughter of Nesta, and sister of Robert Fitzstephen: he had by her four sons, namely, Robert, Philippe, Walter, and Girald or Girard surnamed Cambrensis, of whom we have spoken of in the first part of this history. Robert Barry accompa-

* Lodge's Peerage.

* Nichol's Rudiments of Honor. Brit. p. 837.

† Lodge's Peerage.

nied Robert Fitzstephen to Ireland; he was wounded at the siege of Wexford, and was killed afterwards at Lismore. Philippe de Barry brother of the latter, crossed into Ireland, some time afterwards, at the head of some troops, to assist his uncle Robert Fitzstephen, and Raymond le Grosse,* to keep the kingdom of Cork against the efforts of the Mac-Cartys, its ancient proprietors. Robert Fitzstephen gave him the lands of Olethan, of Muskerry, of Dunegan and Killede, where he built some castles. This donation was confirmed to William, son of Philippe, by king John. Sir David Barry, son of William, was Lord Justice of Ireland. He made war against the M'Cartys and the Fitz-Geralds of Coshbride. He increased his possessions in the county of Cork, and became Lord of Castle-Lyons, Buttevant and Barrys-court. This high family supported the splendour of their origin down to our time; their attachment to the interest of the English government, particularly under the reign of Elizabeth, has well earned its favours to them. David Barry the head of it, already Baron of Ibawne, and Viscount of Buttevant, was created earl of Barrymore in 1627, by Charles I.

The origin of the Butlers of Ireland is undoubted. The best authors give them an illustrious descent from Normandy; but the author who seems to have best fathomed the antiquity of that house, is Mr. John Butler, resident at his benefice in the county of Northampton. He makes it a younger branch of that of Clare, formerly so illustrious, so numerous, and so powerful in England. According to him, Richard, first count of Clare, had two sons. The descendants of the elder, took by degrees the surname of Clare, from the manor of that name, situate in the county of Suffolk. The posterity of the younger, after having borne for some time the name of Walter, or Fitz-Walter, took that of Butler, when the office of Grand Butler became hereditary in Ireland, and was conferred on them as a favor. They enjoyed the same office in England, and inherited the land of Baynard Castle, which was annexed to it as a perpetual fief.

When M. Nichols gives to the family of Butler a descent from the ancient counts of Brionne in Normandy; he must have been led to think, according to Oldaricus Vitalis, that the family of Clare was sprung from that of Brionne, which house of Brionne, according to the same Oldaric, is descended from the dukes of Normandy.

Mr. Carte in his life of the duke of Ormond, has left us a long dissertation upon the origin of this family, but it is more calculated to embarrass than throw light on the subject, if there were a necessity for it.

If Mr. Lodge had condescended to give in his peerage a more copious and accurate genealogy, he would have rendered an important service to this family. But our author was as modest as he was learned, and did not wish to undertake the task. He has refrained from ascending higher than the father of Hervy Walter, who was father to the first grand Butler of Ireland.

Camden says, that the name of Butler is derived from the office of honorary grand-butler of Ireland; that the Butlers are descended from a sister of Thomas à Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, and that Henry II. had heaped upon that family already so illustrious and wealthy in England, possessions and honours in Ireland, in order to allay in some degree the hatred which the murder of that holy prelate had drawn on him.

William Dugdale, king-at-arms, under Charles II., makes mention of Hubert Walter, in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk; he speaks of five sons of Hervy Walter, whom he had by Maud, daughter of Theobald de Valoines; also of the extensive influence of Hubert, one of their sons, archbishop of Canterbury, and of the lordship of Preston in Amunderness, in the county of Lancashire, which Richard I. gave to Theobald, brother of the prelate, who, according to him was very wealthy, and had founded monasteries and endowed churches. He mentions likewise, the great wealth brought him by his wife Maud, daughter of Robert Vavasour, and adds, that from one of their sons named Theobald, who first took the name from the office of grand-butler, the noble family of Butlers, since earls of Ormond, is descended.

The same author likewise mentions, that the counts of Ormond are descended by the paternal line from Hervy Walter, premier baron of England in the time of Henry II.

Whilst Richard Strongbow, earl of Pembroke, was supporting the interests of the king of Leinster, and something beyond, Theobald Walter was with Henry II. in Normandy, where he succeeded in influencing the prince to restore his favour to Thomas à Becket, archbishop of Canterbury. This holy prelate was his maternal grand-uncle, Hervy, the father of Theobald having been married to Maud, daughter of Theobald Valoines and of Matilda Becket, sister

* Ware's Antiquities of Hib. c. 27.

of the prelate. Hubert Walter, brother of Theobald, was one of the successors of his uncle Thomas à Becket, in that see.

After the martyrdom of the primate, which happened December 28, 1171, Henry II. passed over to Ireland, and was accompanied in the expedition by a great number of lords, amongst others, by Theobald Walter. He contributed to the reduction of a part of the kingdom; his services merited for him more and more the favour of the king, who rewarded him liberally, and bestowed on him large possessions besides, the hereditary office of grand butler in Ireland, a situation that his ancestors had filled in England.

Theobald was powerful in England, and one of the wealthiest of the great old feudatories of the crown, and his descendants enjoyed without interruption during 350 years, the same privileges in that kingdom; but in 1515 they were reduced to the estates and honours held by them in Ireland only. Thomas, Earl of Ormond, who died in that year, left only daughters after him, who brought their English estates to the families of St. Ledger and Bollen. Peter Butler a member of the house found means to possess himself of the estates in Ireland, as well as the titles of honour which they bore in that country, and his posterity during the two last centuries, supported the splendour of their family, from 1515 till 1717, when James, peer of the three kingdoms and duke of Ormond, having taken measures in opposition to the reigning family, was attainted, and his title and estates confiscated.

The family of Burkes, otherwise de Bourks or de Burgo, in Ireland, derives its origin from William Fitz-Adelm one of the first English who landed in Ireland under Henry II. Fitz-Adelm was descended from Serlo or Harlowen de Bourgo, son of a Norman lord named Eustace. Serlo having espoused Arlotte, mother of William the Conqueror, passed over with that prince into England. Of this marriage of Serlo with Arlotte, was born Robert earl of Cornwall, from whom descended William, who succeeded to the dignity of the earl. The latter was father to Adelm and John, who was father to Hubert de Burgo,* Chief-Justice of England and earl of Kent. He was deprived of his office, judged by his peers in full parliament and degraded, for having counselled king Henry III. to annul the grand charter, and the privileges of his subjects.

* Cox is not in accordance with Nichols respecting the descent of William Fitz-Adelm; we do not mean to reconcile them, they may be consulted by the reader.

Adelm was father to William, known under the name of William Fitz-Adelm, he went with Henry II. to Ireland, who confirmed to him by charter five military fiefs in a place called Toth, where the castle of Canice, at present Castleconnel, is situated; he then gave him large estates in Connaught, where the noble family of the Burkes, his descendants, became settled. William de Burgo, earl of Ulster and chief of that family, having been assassinated, in 1333, without leaving any male heirs to succeed to the possession of his estates in Connaught, two noblemen of his name and family, made themselves masters of all his lands in that province, and formed two powerful families distinguished by the names of Mac-William Eighter and Mac-William Oughter, a distinction which continued for a long time. These houses produced several collateral branches, which gave origin to many private families.

The sept of the Burkes was honoured with four peerages in the persons of Ulysses Burke, created Earl of Clanrickard, in 1543 by Henry VIII. Theobald Burke, (commonly called Tibbod ne Lung, that is to say, the naval, because he was conversant in naval pursuits,) who was created Viscount of Mayo in 1627, by Charles I., both which titles are still in being. There have been also two lord-barons in the family, namely Castleconnel and Brittas. These titles do not exist at present in Ireland, but are united in the person of N. Burke, captain in an Irish regiment in the service of his most Christian Majesty.

The noble family of the Lacys in Ireland, derive their origin from Normandy. Walter and Ilbert de Lacy having accompanied the duke William into England, they had a share in the conquest of that kingdom, where they were amply rewarded with donations in lands by that prince.

Hugh, grandson of Walter de Lacy, accompanied Henry II. to Ireland in 1172. The king to reward him for his services in England and Ireland, gave him for the service of fifty knights the territory of Meath, to be possessed by him and his descendants, in the manner in which it was held by Murchard O'Melachlin, the ancient proprietor of that county. He left him also all the fiefs which he had around Dublin, and all which he might acquire afterwards. He then named him governor of the city of Dublin, and Lord Justice of Ireland. Hugh employed many workmen to build castles; one among whom named Malva Miadaiah, cut off his head with the stroke of an axe, either to take

revenge for the severity which that nobleman had practised against his companions, or for the injustice done to O'Melachlin, whose patrimony he had seized. Walter left two sons named Walter and Hugh, the first inherited the lordship of Meath, and the latter was made earl of Ulster, in consequence of the disgrace of Sir John de Courcy. These two lords having left none but daughters after them, their vast estates fell into the hands of strangers.

The posterity of Ilbert de Lacy of whom we have already spoken, settled in England. The Conqueror gave to this nobleman the castle and lordship of Pontfract in the county of York, and several estates in the county of Lancaster and elsewhere, together amounting to the number of 150 lordships in England. We discover in the county of Limerick, in Ireland, some families of Lacy's, very distinguished for their virtues and attachment to the interests of religion and country, and are able to trace their genealogy to one or other of the two houses of which we have just given an account.

It was in the reign of Henry II. that the noble family of Nugent established themselves in Ireland. They are of Norman descent, Sir Gilbert de Nugent with his brothers, having accompanied in 1172, Hugh de Lacy in the expedition to Ireland.* This nobleman in gratitude for his services, gave him in marriage his sister Rosa, and the fortune he received with her was the territory of Dealma or Delvin, in the county of Westmeath, with all its dependencies, to be held by him and his descendants for ever. Gilbert divided the estate with his brothers and other relatives. From this stock numerous branches eminent for noble and generous sentiments, were produced. The chief of the family was first called to Parliament in 1486, in quality of baron of Delvin. His descendants were created peers of the realm, under the title of Earls of Westmeath, by James I.

The liberality of Hugh Lacy was not confined to the Nugents. He gave estates to the Tyrrels, the Petits, Nangles, Tuites, Missets, Husseys, Flemings, and to many others.

Sir John de Courcy of Ulster,† (part of which he had conquered), was celebrated in the twelfth century. He left a son named Milo or Miles, who was deprived of the succession by his father's disgrace and the influence of Hugh de Lacy, who was a favourite

at court.* King Henry III. wishing to indemnify Milo de Courcy, gave him the barony of Kinsale in the county of Cork, with the title of baron: this family is still in being, and enjoys a peculiar privilege granted by king John to Sir John de Courcy, and his descendants, of remaining covered in the presence of the king. Genealogists give to this family a very illustrious origin. They trace their descent in the male line from the house of Lorraine, of the race of Charlemagne, and in the female line from the house of Normandy.

The Birminghams of Ireland are of English extraction, they derive their name from the town of Birmingham in the county of Warwick, of which Peter de Birmingham was the possessor in the time of Henry II. His son William, or according to others, Robert de Birmingham his grandson, passed over to Ireland in the twelfth century with Earl Strongbow. This earl gave him considerable possessions in Ofaly, particularly the barony of Carbury in the county of Kildare.

John de Birmingham, one of the descendants of Robert, was created knight in the fourteenth century, by Roger Mortimer, at that time Lord Justice of Ireland; he was afterwards made Baron of Athenry, (in Irish Agh-na-Ry) and Earl of Louth, for having killed in battle Edward Bruce brother of the king of Scotland. The Birminghams frequently filled public offices in the state. They were invested during some time with the title of barons of Carbury. The house of Athenry is still in existence, with the title of premier baron of Ireland.

The noble family of Preston derives its origin from Robert Preston Esq., lord of the manor of Preston in Lancashire, England, in the reign of Edward III. In the year 1470 he was first created knight of the order of the garter, and in 1477 Viscount Gormanstown, in the county of Meath, and his descendants have filled with distinction, places of trust and honour.

Roche, otherwise de la Roche, or *de rupe*, i. e. of the rock, lord of Fermoy, in the county of Cork, was created, the same year, Viscount of Fermoy. This noble family is descended from Hugh de la Roche, whose ancestors had followed William the Conqueror into England. Hugh crossed afterwards, with Strongbow, into Ireland, in the twelfth century, under Henry II., where he obtained a Cantred, called to this day Roche's country, with its dependencies.

* Ware's Antiquities, Hib. cap. 27.

† Nichol's Rudiments of Honour.

* Lodge.

Ralph, son of Alexander de la Roche, one of the descendants of Hugh, married, in the fourteenth century, Elizabeth, third daughter of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hereford, to whom Nichols, in his rudiments of honour, gives a descent from Charlemagne, through a great number of kings and sovereign princes. Such is the origin of that house, which subsisted in splendour until the revolution of Cromwell; when David Roche, Viscount Fermoy, sacrificed for his loyalty to his legitimate sovereigns, Charles I. and II., an extensive estate, which still bears the name of Roche's country.

The Barnewalls are from Little Britanny, in France, where some of their ancestors were allied to dukes of that province. Having accompanied William the Conqueror to England, they passed afterwards with Henry II. to Ireland, where they became possessed of Beerhaven, and other estates, that belonged to the O'Sullivan's, in the county of Cork; but the O'Sullivan's, with others of the Irish, having conspired against them, they were all massacred, except the wife of the head of that family, who was pregnant of a male child at the time, and escaped the carnage. This murder happened about the middle of the fifteenth century, according to a letter from the inhabitants of Cork to the Duke of York, as mentioned by Campion in his history, p. 184. This letter makes mention of the Barnewalls, as the possessors of Beerhayen at that time. It also speaks of the Irish taking advantage of the disputes of some lords in the county of Cork, having fortified themselves in the country, a great part of which had fallen into their possession. The letter adds, that there remained but Roche, Courcy, and Barry, who possessed something of their patrimony. Madam Barnewell withdrew to Dublin, where she lay in of a son, who raised the family which was almost extinct. He established himself at Dromenach, in the county of Dublin, and married a rich heiress, by whom he had two sons; from the elder of whom were descended the Barnewalls of Crickston, in the county of Meath, and the Viscounts Kingsland, and from the younger the Barons of Trimblestown.

These two houses gave rise to several important branches of the name in Ireland, who sustained in splendour, the cause of religion and of their country, among the several revolutions which happened in it.

The noble family of Fleming's in Ireland,*

take their origin from Michael Fleming, a native of Flanders, whence the name is taken. He was related to Baldwin, earl of Flanders, who sent him with some troops to assist his son-in-law, William the Conqueror, in his expedition into England. After this he was sent with an army to the north of England, to oppose the incursions of the Scotch. William Rufus subsequently gave him some estates in the counties of Lancaster and Cumberland, as rewards for his services. Archibald Fleming, one of his descendants, having accompanied Earl Strongbow to Ireland, received the estate of Slane, in the county of Meath, with its dependencies. This family always supported itself with honour in the country. James Fleming, Lord Baron of Slane, was created Knight of the Garter, in 1479, and lastly, Christopher Fleming, Baron of Slane, signalized himself in the revolution, under James II., and sacrificed his fortune for the good cause.

The noble family of the Plunkets, more anciently called Plugenets, of Danish extraction, were established first in England. They came afterwards to Ireland under Henry II., and settled in the counties of Meath and Dublin. Many great men were descended from them, who were remarkable for their attachment to the orthodox faith, and loyalty to their legitimate princes; this family gave many peers to Ireland, viz., the Barons of Dunsany, of Killeen, and Louth, and the earl of Fingal.

The Dillons* hold a distinguished rank among the Irish nobility. Lodge gives to this family a very illustrious and ancient origin. He says, that they are descended from Lochan or Logan, son of Hugh Slaine, of the race of the O'Neills, and monarch of Ireland towards the end of the sixth century. Lochan having killed his cousin, Colman Kimidh, whom the monarch had united to him in the government, he was named Deloun or Dillon, which signifies brave or valiant. In order to escape from the anger of his father, enraged against him for causing the death of Colman, Lochan went into foreign countries, and entered into the service of the Duke of Aquitaine, at that time at war with the king of France, and contributed greatly, by his valour, to keep that prince in his sovereignty. The Duke, to reward the services of Lochan, gave him his only daughter in marriage, and by virtue of this alliance he became prince of Aquitaine, after the death of his father-in-law, who left

* Nichol's Rudiments of Honour.

* Lodge's Peerage.

no male children after him. The descendants of Lochan ruled for a long time in Aquitaine. In the twelfth century, this family were dispossessed, by William, prince of the house of Burgundy. Two male children of the race of Lochan, Thomas, and Henry, were still living. Henry II., king of England, having espoused Eleanor, daughter of William, and heiress of Aquitaine, thought it prudent to remove the two young pretenders to the principality; and in order to take every opportunity from them of seeking after it, had them conducted to England, where he provided for them an education suitable to their birth, and on attaining manhood, Henry received the order of knighthood.

Sir Henry Diloune, or Delion, now called Dillon, was sent to Ireland, as first gentleman and secretary to John, Earl of Mortagne, afterwards king of England. This prince gave him the territory of Corkny, which belonged to Mac-Carron, in Westmeath, with a part of Annaly. The domains of M'Geoghegan and O'Malachlin, which extended from the river Shannon, as far as Cloghanenumore, to the east of Mullingar. The family of Dillon became very numerous and renowned in the counties of Meath, Westmeath, Longford, Roscommon, Mayo, and in other districts of the kingdom.

The Dillons have filled high places in the church and state. There were two peerages in the family; Sir Robert Dillon was created Baron of Kilkenny West, in 1619, by James I., and in 1622, the same king created him Earl of Roscommon. He who ought to be his representative now, and heir to his fortune as well as title, is Brigadier in the king of France's armies. The second peerage was given in 1621, to Sir Theobald Dillon, who was created Viscount of Castillo-gillen, in the county of Mayo, by James I. This family is well known in France, where an Irish regiment bears the name of Dillon. In 1745 and 1747, two brothers of the family were successively its colonels, and shed their blood at the head of that regiment, in the battles of Fontenoy and Lawfeld, in the service of France.

The family of Nettervil is very ancient in Ireland; they have their origin from Charles, Duke of Normandy. Sir Formal Nettervil passed over into Ireland in the twelfth century. He married Phaladelphia, daughter of William Vesey, by whom he had a son named Richard, who espoused Catherine, daughter of Sir Hugh de Lacy. This family continued in splendour, until the reign of James I., who created Nicho-

las Nettervil Viscount of Louth, in the county of Meath, which house is still in being.

The family of Bedlows or Bellews, owe their descent to Normandy, as appears from the rolls of the abbey of Hastings. A nobleman of that name accompanied William the Conqueror to England, in quality of marshal of his army. His descendants afterwards proceeded to Ireland, where they established themselves, and still hold large estates. Sir John Bellew was honoured with the peerage, in 1686, by king James II., under the title of Lord Baron of Duleek, in the county of Meath. This family is still in being.

The Taffes of Ireland are originally from England; their first appearance in Ireland was at the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century. William Taffe, one of the descendants of the family, espoused warmly the cause of Queen Elizabeth against the Catholics of Ireland. He served that princess with zeal in her last campaigns in Munster, for which he was well rewarded; he received his share of the confiscations made of the Catholic properties, in that, and in the succeeding reigns.

James I., wishing to recompense the services of the father, created Sir John Taffe, his son, Baron of Ballymore, and Viscount of Coranne, in the county of Sligo, where the estates of Mac-Donough were given him. Theobald son of John, was created, in 1662, Earl of Carlingford, in the county of Louth, by Charles II. Nicholas, son of the latter, was the third Viscount, and second earl of Carlingford; he was killed at the head of his regiment, at the battle of the Boyne. Francis, his brother, was the third earl; he served with distinction during 30 years in the empire, where he was lieutenant general of cavalry, and colonel of the Royal Cuirassiers. This earl having died without issue, his nephew, Theobald, became the fourth earl of Carlingford, and the title became extinct by his death, in 1738, at Lisle, in Flanders. Lambert Taffe, brother of the earl, colonel of cuirassiers in the service of the emperor, was killed in 1702, at the famous battle of Cremona, where the French and Irish tore from Prince Eugene the city and victory, which that general enjoyed for a few hours.

The name of *le Poer*, at present Power, is an ancient one in Ireland. Sir Roger le Poer entered the country with Strongbow, in the twelfth century. He accompanied the knight Courcy to Ulster, where he shared largely in the conquest of a part of that province.

His descendants possessed Curraghmore, Cowlestown, Gortbady, and other estates in the county of Waterford. Richard le Poer, was created lord baron of Curraghmore, in 1452, by Henry II. Another Richard Poer was created, in 1673, Viscount of Desies and Earl of Tyrone, by Charles II, but the title of Tyrone afterwards passed into another family.

A descendant of Roger le Poer named Eustace, in the beginning of the 14th century, founded the illustrious house of Fitz-Eustaces created Viscounts of Baltinglass, by Henry VIII. Under the reign of Elizabeth, this family was sacrificed for their zeal in the Catholic cause. There are two families of the name still in being, viz., the Eustaces of Gammonstown, and those of Cradokstown.

Although the following families are not found in the list of Irish Peers, still there are many among them, not inferior in either nobleness of extraction, nor in those qualities which characterise good citizens.

The Welshes of Ireland, are originally from Great Britain. The Britons, says Camden, exhausted by the long war they were forced to maintain against the perfidious Saxons, were constrained to seek a country even in their own. They retired into the district that lies west of Britain, since called Wales by the Saxons, and the inhabitants Welch-men, which signifies strangers. A striking picture of the conduct of the English in Ireland, where the ancient inhabitants have been treated as strangers among them, and compelled to obtain letters of naturalization, in the country which gave them birth. Two noblemen named Welshes, went to Ireland in the reign of Henry II. One of them called Philip* was mentioned by Ware, as a valiant young man from the bravery he displayed in a naval engagement with the Danes of Cork: the other named David distinguished† himself particularly at the passage over the Shannon, when Raymond le Gros attempted to lay siege to Limerick.

These were the two stocks of the different families of the Welshes, (called by the Irish Brannaghs), established in Ireland. We discover them in the counties of Kilkenny, Kildare, and Dublin,‡ where the Welshes of Carrickmain were lords of Oldcourt. Their power, says Camden, equalled their nobleness in that country.

We see, at the present day, two brothers, who are offshoots of the noble family of

Walshes in Ireland, established in France, one of whom conducted Prince Edward into Scotland, in 1745, which would have earned for him the title of lord. The other has purchased the beautiful estate of Seran in Anjou, and has been honoured by the king of France, with the title of count.

The Warrens are of Norman extraction, William, Count of Warren in Normandy, being allied to the duke of that province. He was nephew to the Countess of Gunnora, great-grand-mother of that prince. He accompanied the duke in his famous expedition to England, in 1066, and distinguished himself greatly, at the battle of Hastings, which transferred the crown of England, to the conqueror. The king in consideration of the services of Count Warren, gave him estates and lordships in the counties of Norfolk and Lincoln.* He was created in the following reign Count of Surrey, and the house became powerful in England. William Count of Surry, left after him a son also named William, who inhabited his estates and titles. The latter had three sons, one named William, who succeeded him, besides Reginald and Ralph. Reginald having espoused Alice, heiress of Wirmgay, in the county of Norfolk, founded a second family of Warren.

The descendant of that family removed afterwards to Ireland, where they became very numerous and influential, as well by their virtues, as their possessions. In addition to public notoriety, this account is strengthened by topographical proofs, which are not to be despised. We discover in the maps on Ireland, places which bear their name in two different provinces. The name Warrenstown, that is, the town or borough of Warren, is found in the King's county in Leinster, and in Down in Ulster; clearly indicating the old proprietors. There was a family of the name in the county of Meath near Dunshaughlin, who possessed a large estate; but it has undergone the same lot with others, and there remains of these different branches, only Warren of Corduff, near Dublin, who still possesses a part of the family estate.

A cursory piece written by Sir James Ware, and printed under his own inspection in London, A.D. 1657, gives a very remote origin to the Whites of England and Ireland. The venerable Bede, in his ecclesiastical history of the English nation, supplied him with the materials for it.† Ware gives the

* Annal. Hib. c. 5.

† Cox. Hist. of Irel. p. 28.

‡ Camden. Brit.

* Baker's Chron. on the reign of William.

† Book 1, c. 15.

opinions of Polidore Virgil, of Speed, Camden, Florentius Wigorn, Gratzius, and others; and from drawing a comparison of all, he concludes with a great probability of truth, that White is a Saxon name, derived from Vitus, Wite or Weight, according to the different changes which have occurred to the name, since the establishment of the Vites in England, in the beginning of the fifth century.

Sir Walter Whyte, removed with his brothers into Ireland, in the time of Henry II.; his father was governor and justice of South Wales, which had then the title of a kingdom. The Whites became settled in different counties of Ireland, where they held a distinguished rank among the nobility. Camden in his description of the country, places them in the counties of Kildare, Wexford, and Down. Among the different families of the Whites, that of Lexslip ranks the highest, from their merits, wealth, and connexions.

Chance has put into my hands some very interesting and ancient documents respecting the Whites in general, but more particularly a branch of that name established in Limerick, before the revolution fomented in Ireland, by the tyrant Cromwell. These documents are legally authenticated copies, collated with their originals at Brussels.

The first is a patent of the Emperor Maximilian I., written in the Latin language, dated at Tournay, A.D. 1513. By this patent, the Emperor created Dominic White, Baron of Albis, both for himself and his descendants. The motives which induced the emperor to grant the patent, are particularised, which are the origin of the name, taken from Viti a people of Germany, (being attested by letters from Henry VIII., to the emperor;) the bravery which that nobleman displayed at the sieges of Terouene and Tournay; the goodness of his disposition, and finally the beauty of his person, a quality hereditary in that family.

The second document is a certificate of the Earl of Strafford, Viceroy of Ireland. It is dated, Dublin, 25th December, anno 1639. It is followed by another, signed by the bishop of Limerick, the mayor, and other magistrates of that city. We have already noticed the fragment of Sir James Ware, dated, London, 1657. Charles II. king of England likewise gave a diploma at Brussels, in 1658, which is in conformity with those now mentioned. The purport of all is to authenticate the origin and nobility of this ancient family.

The Wales of Ireland take their origin

from a barony of Northampton in England, of which they had been the possessors, in the time of William the Conqueror.

William Wale, son of that ancient family, went over to Ireland in the twelfth century, when Richard Strongbow was invited thither by the king of Leinster. In the second division which Strongbow made of the estates in Leinster, he gave to William Wale that of Johnstown in the county of Carlow, to reward him for the services he had rendered in the reduction of that district. This first inheritance was afterwards increased by the acquisition of other estates, viz., those of Coolnamuckie, Ballynakelly, in the Queen's county, and several others. This family was distinguished by their virtues and merited the confidence of their sovereigns, who frequently appointed them to offices of high trust in the state; but their attachment to the religion of their fathers caused them to share the same lot of many among their countrymen. Count Wale minister to the court of Spain, is descended from this noble house.*

The family of the Stacks is of considerable antiquity in Ireland. It derives its origin from the ancient Gauls. Some of the family having followed the fortunes of William the Conqueror into England, established themselves in Wales. It is asserted, that before the time of Henry II. Mac-Carty More had married a lady belonging to it, and that he brought over with her into Ireland her four brothers, to whom he offered estates in the county of Kerry. However, this may be, it is certain that the family settled in the country at a very early period, and formed several branches which possessed considerable property in the neighbourhood of Ardfert, as far as the river Smearlagh. There is still a district of the country called *Poble-Stuckagh*, that is the country of the Stacks, who were proprietors of it. This topographical proof is not to be disregarded, being a public testimony to the antiquity of the family. Its alliances too with the best families of the province, namely, the Mac-

* It is a singular feature in the character of the virtuous and renowned family of the Wales, that the author of this translation is enabled to bear testimony to the nobleness of sentiment and reputation sustained by their descendants. While residing at Versailles, immediately before the abdication of Charles X., M. de Wale, captain in the regiment of cuirassiers quartered then in that city, was very intimately known to him. His father, Count de Wale, was military commander and governor of Paris at the particular juncture of Louis Philippe gaining the throne of France; the de Wales are of the Carlist party, taking no place under L. Philippe. —P. O'Kelly.

Mahons, the Fitzgeralds, the McCarthys, the Burkes, the Fitzmaurices, and others, shew the consideration in which it was held. The Stacks met the fate of so many of their fellow-countrymen, their zeal for religion and attachment to their legitimate monarch, were crimes with them as with others. They were on these grounds deprived of their possessions, some under Elizabeth, others by the usurper Cromwell. Ponsonby, a soldier of fortune and a creature of his, obtained the estates of Stackstown and Crotto.

To establish the antiquity of the noble family of the Darcys in Ireland, it is sufficient to say, that they are descended from Sir John Darcy, Lord Justice and Viceroy in that kingdom in the fourteenth century. The first stock of that name was Norman de Arcy, who had entered England with William the bastard. The Conqueror gave him thirty-three lordships in the county of Lincoln,* the chief of which was Nocton, where he established his residence; his son Robert succeeded him, and Thomas succeeded the latter. These noblemen founded and endowed religious houses. They filled high places in the military and civil departments, and were greatly esteemed by their sovereigns. The name de Arcy was afterwards changed into that of d'Arcy; the accent was at length suppressed, and at present it is written Darcy.

John Darcy mentioned above was frequently named Lord Justice of Ireland. Edward III. to reward his services gave him by letters patent the estates of Rathwer and Kildalk, in the barony of Farbile in Ireland. His first wife was Emelina, daughter and heiress of Walter Heron. He had by her three children, John, Eleanor, and Roger; this was the stock of the house of Holderness, in England. Having become a widower, he married Joanna, daughter of Richard Burgh, Earl of Ulster, and the widow of Thomas, Earl of Kildare. He had by this marriage a son named William, from whom the Darcys of Plattin are descended, and those of Dunmow in the county of Meath, the first were dispossessed in the late revolution for their attachment to the loyalist cause.

The Darcys of Connaught were a collateral branch of the house of Plattin. Nicholas, brother to John Darcy, of Plattin, and descended in the fifth degree from John Darcy, Lord Justice of Ireland, having married the daughter and heiress of O'Duraghy, lord of Partry, in the county of Mayo, became possessed of the whole fortune of that family. This branch multi-

plied exceedingly, several other families sprung from it, viz., the Darcys of Kiltolla, of Clunuan, of Gorteen, and others in Connaught. Some other families may be introduced here, which, according to Camden, were of English descent, to wit, the Jordans, the Nangles of Castlough, and the Prendergasts of Clan-Moris.

The family of the Aylmers were established at Lyons in the county of Kildare, in Ireland at the end of the thirteenth century. It is said, that they have their origin from Aylmer, Earl of Cornwall, in the reign of Ethelred, king of England in the tenth century. However, this be, history mentions Ralph Aylmer and William his brother, to have been in possession of Lyons in the year 1300. This family multiplied themselves exceedingly, and subsequently gave out the collateral branches of the Aylmers of Ballykenan, Donadea, Dullardstown, and of Balrath. They were distinguished by their virtues and high connexions, as well as for their attachment to the Roman Catholic religion. The houses of Lyons and Balrath are still in being.

There are several families of Browns in Ireland. They are not less respected for their virtues and nobleness than for their extraction. They are of English descent, and there is in England a Viscount Montague who bears that name.

The Browns of Kenmare are established in the county of Kerry since the reign of Elizabeth. The first of that noble family who went to Ireland, was Sir Nicholas Brown of Tataridge in the county of Hertford. This family was allied to the O'Sullivan, McCarty, Fitzgeralds, Butlers, and other noblemen of that province. They received the honour of the peerage from James II., who created Valentine Brown baron of Castleross, and Viscount Kenmare, in the county of Kerry.

Some families of Browns were established in Connaught, viz., those of Neal, Westport, Elystren, and others. Some also were of the counties of Limerick and Waterford; we discover a family of the name in the county of Kildare in possession of the lordship of Castlebrown.

The noble family of the Wogans of Rathcoffey is well known in that district. They are descended from Sir John Wogan, Lord Justice of Ireland, at the close of the thirteenth century. We find also in the county of Kildare, the Husseys of Moyle-Hussey; there are also the Husseys of Oldtown, near Kilcock, and some others. Camden places in the same county, the de la

* Dugdale's Baronage of England, b. 2, p. 369.

Hides, the Boiseles, the Suttons, and others.* These last as well as the Suttons of Wexford, have their descent from Sir John Sutton, Lord Dudley, Viceroy in Ireland, in the beginning of the fifteenth century.†

The family of Devereux, in Wexford, have the same origin as the Devereuxs of England, sometime Earls of Essex. They are descended from a count d'Evreux in Normandy, who was archbishop of Rouen. The other good families of the county of Wexford, are the Sinnotts, Staffords, Cheevers, Furlongs, Fitzharris, Mastersons, Hores, Hates, Coddess, Maylers.

In the county of Kilkenny are found the Graces, Lovels, Foresters, Shortels, Blanchfields, Drilands, Comerfords. The Carews were established in the county of Carlow, the Herberts, Colbys, Moores, in the King's county. The respectable family of the Tyrrels are said to have been first of Castleknock, in the county of Dublin, and to have had the title of barons. They were transplanted afterwards into the barony of Fertullagh in the county of Westmeath, where they supported for a long time, the nobleness of their origin.‡

There are, in the county of Dublin, the Talbotts, of Malahide, who are yet in being, the Holywoods, Lutterells, Burnills, Fitzwilliams, Gouldings, Ushers, Caddels, Finglas, Sarsfields, Purcells, Blackneys, Cruces, Baths, and others.

The county of Meath, besides titled families, contains the Husseys, barons of Galtrim, Cusacks, and Garvys. In Westmeath, the Petits, Tuites, Nangles, Daltons, and other names may be discovered.

In the county of Waterford, an ancient family named Strange, is established. They are descended from Sir Thomas Strange, § a deputy in Ireland in the 15th century. This family was transplanted by Cromwell into Connaught. According to Camden, the Hurleys, Chaceys, Suppels, Purcells, all of English origin, are to be met with in the county of Limerick.

The expedition which Sir John Courcy conducted into Ulster, afforded an opportunity to some English families to establish themselves in that province. In the county of Louth, the Verdonss, Tates, Clintons, Dowdals, Gernons, Hadsors, Wottons, Brandans, Moors and Chamberlans, are to be found; and in the county of Down, the Russells, Audleys, Savages, Ridells, Man-

devills, Jordans, Stantonss, Stokes, Passelevys, Copelandss, Martels, Logans, Sandals, and the Camerars, appear to be established. Besides the families mentioned, according to Camden and Ware, the following are discovered to have been found in Ireland, in the 12th century, and afterwards, in the time of Henry VIII., when they were in possession of estates.

In Leinster, the Wolwestons, the Peppards, the Wallases, Blackss, Redmondss, Esmondss, Chettens, Tobins, Allens, Gennitts, Wades, Sweetmans, St. Logers, Grants, Archers, Rochfordss, Datons, Rothess, Waress, Purfieldss, Smithss, Cookss, Hookss, Taylors, Dens, and Archdekinnss.

In Munster, there were the Lacys, Cantillonss, Mathiasss, Nagless, Morress, Keatingss, Johnss, Pierciss, Commingss, Ricess, Moclers, Cantwells, Stapletonss, Mandevillss, Lombardss, Tallonss, Goldss, Baggottss, Bagnellss, Coppingerss, Porterss, Cosbys, Dennys, Terrys, Goughss, Stritchess, Pickettss, Dondonss, Waters, Skiddys or Squiddys, the Woulfs, of Tirry-Callane, in the county of Clare. In the county of Galway, we see the Blakes, Keerevans, Lynches, Frenchss, Bodkinnss, Martinss, Craftonss and others.

In Meath, are found the Everardss, Garlandss, Griffinnss, Biataghs, Dunganss, Ivers, Dardiss, Ledwidgess, Pallas, Allens, Deassess, Cheevers, Dowdallss, Crucess, Malpass, and others: and lastly, a family named Dromgoldss, in the county of Louth.

CHAPTER XVIII.

HENRY II., having received the submission of some of the principal lords in Ireland, established a colony of English in Leinster; and having settled governors in the important places, (as has been observed in the preceding chapter), sailed for England, during Easter, A.D. 1172.* He went afterwards to Normandy, where his son Henry, to whom he had given a share in the government some time before, rebelled like a second Absalom against his father and benefactor. The king's debaucheries were in a great degree the cause of this revolt. Eleanor, his queen, jealous of the number of concubines he supported, in violation of all conjugal fidelity, excited her son Henry, who had been crowned with Marguerite, his princess, daughter of Louis

* Dugdale's Baronage, book 2, p. 215.

† Ware's Annals.

‡ Camden's Description of Ireland.

§ Ware's Annals.

* Christophori Pembrige Annal. Hib à Camd. edit. ad calcem Britan.

VII., to lay claim to his father's throne.* This young prince was abetted in his rebellion by his brothers, Richard and Geoffroy, and supported by his father-in-law, Louis VII., and Philip Augustus, his son and successor. The consequences of this rebellion, were the invasion of his states by the neighbouring princes, and by his own subjects; the taking of Verneuil in Normandy, in the time of Louis VII., and of Mans, his native city, under Philip Augustus. So strongly was he affected by the loss of Mans, that he cried out in blasphemous imprecations, "I shall no longer love God, who has permitted that I should be deprived of a place so dear to me."

Henry II., was too busily employed on the continent, to attend to the affairs of Ireland himself. As a skilful politician, he considered it necessary to induce his English subjects, whom he had left there, to support his interests, for the sake of their own. Amongst the English chiefs, he divided the lands of those princes who had just acknowledged his dominion by a voluntary submission, violating thereby the treatise and solemn promises which he had made to maintain them in their wealth and dignities.

Notwithstanding the jealousy which the success of Richard Strongbow, and his alliance with the royal house of Leinster, excited in Henry, he granted to this nobleman, as a military tenure, the entire of the country, except Dublin and other maritime towns, with their dependencies, and the strong places, which he reserved for himself.† This donation was afterwards confirmed, by a charter granted by king John to William Marshal, earl of Pembroke, who had married Isabella, daughter and heiress of earl Richard. The copy of this charter is amongst the archives in the tower of London.

Strongbow found himself enabled, through the liberality of his prince, to be generous to his favourites, and created vassals for himself by sub-infeudations. He first gave to Raymond, who had married his sister Basilea, the lands of Fothert, Odrone, and Glascarig; to his cousin Hervey, surnamed *de Monte Marisco*, the district of Obarthy: to Maurice Prendergast the lands of Fernegenelan: to Myler Fitzhenry the district of Carbury, at present a barony in the county of Kildare: Naas, a considerable town in this country,

with its dependencies, extending to Kildare town, which gives name to the country, and which formerly belonged to Mackelan, were given to Maurice Fitzgerald, together with the town of Wicklow. This concession was confirmed after the death of Maurice Fitzgerald, to his son, by king John, the charter of which is in Bermingham tower, in Dublin.

In this distribution of the properties of the Irish, Walter Ridelesford had the district of Omorthy, in the county of Kildare, near Castledermot, given him: Vivian de Cursun received the district of Ratheny, near Dublin, (formerly the patrimony of Gilcolm): John Clahul, the lands extending from Aghavo, in Ossory, as far as Lechlin, with the office of Marshal of Leinster; and Robert Bermingham got, as his portion, O'Faly, that is, that part of the domain of O'Connor Faly, in the county of Kildare, extending towards the river Boyne. Adam of Hereford, one of his favourites, obtained extensive possessions, which are specified in an ancient registry, in the monastery of St. Thomas, Dublin; namely, a territory in the county of Kildare, near the waterfall, called the *Salmon leap*, on the river Liffey, at present the barony of Salt; the lands of Cloncoury, Kille, Houterard, and the district of Donning, with its dependencies. Adam, who never had, or would have been so rich in his own country, sent to England for his brothers John and Richard, the better to defend himself against any attempts of the ancient proprietors. With them he shared the property thus obtained, reserving to himself the territory of Salt and its dependencies.

Strongbow likewise conferred on Milo Fitzdavid the district of Overk, in Ossory. He made some other grants also; namely, the lands of Arde to Thomas Le Fleming; to Gilbert Borard, those of Ofelmith; to a certain knight,* called Reinand, fifteen military fiefs along the sea shore; and to one Robert, son of Richard, who was afterwards killed in Connaught, the barony of Norragh,

* The word knight was anciently called *Miles*. Knights, in general, had neither regiments nor even companies; they were commonly volunteers, formed into corps like our Gendarmes. It is not easy to decide what was the pay of a knight: Sir John Davis, in his historical narrative, wherein the different ranks of officers, who accompanied prince Lionel, son of Edward III., to Ireland, in the fourteenth century, are given, makes it two shillings a day. Troops were not raised in those times in the name of the king, nor by commission, as at present; but the lords had to supply forces for their prince, in time of war, either by paying a sum of money, or by a portion of land, the proceeds of which were to be applied to that purpose.

* Baker, Chron. Engl. p. 54. Abridg. Chron. of the Hist. of France, on the reign of Louis VII., and Philip Augustus.

† Stanihurst. de Reb. in Hib. Gest. lib. 3. Wareus de Antiq. Hib. cap. 27. Idem. in Annal. cap. 3.

on the river Barrow, in the county of Kildare. At length the earl having come to Ferns, gave his natural daughter in marriage to Robert De Quincy, with the district of Daffren as a dowry, and afterwards appointed him constable of Leinster. After the celebration of the nuptials, the earl departed for Kildare, whence he set out in the beginning of the year, at the head of a thousand horse and foot soldiers, to invade the possessions of O'Dempsey, in Offaly, where he pillaged and burned some villages, and carried off considerable booty to Kildare; but he had the mortification to lose Quincy, his son-in-law, and general, who was killed at the head of his troop in a defile, where he was attacked by O'Dempsey. Quincy left an only daughter, who was afterwards married to Philip, son of Maurice Prendergast.

However weak Henry II.'s claim may have been to the province of Leinster,* he had still less to the territory of Meath, which had been for many ages, the domain of the monarchs of Ireland, and in no way dependant upon Leinster. Nevertheless, by a charter, dated at Wexford, he granted this extensive territory to Hugh de Lacy, (on condition of keeping fifty knights for his service,) and to his descendants as possessed by Murchard O'Melaghlin before him. This grant was confirmed in favour of his son, Walter de Lacy, by king John, as we discover by a charter, among other registries in the tower of London; whereby he added some other fiefs, which belonged to the crown, in the territory of Fingal, near Dublin, to the grants made by his father Henry.†

To secure himself in the possession of Meath, Hugh de Lacy exercised unheard of cruelties upon the inhabitants of the country. Not content with depriving the old proprietors of their possessions, he caused a great number of them to be massacred. He afterwards penetrated into the territory of Annaly, (Longford) sword in hand, where he committed horrible devastations, and killed in a skirmish, Donald O'Ferral, prince of that country. O'Melaghlin, hereditary

prince of Meath,* overwhelmed with grief at the hostilities exercised against his native country, came to Dublin, to Lacy, to complain of the outrages perpetrated in Meath, and other districts. These two lords, unable to bring their differences to a conclusion in Dublin, agreed to meet at Tara, in Meath, and explain matters more fully, in order to bring about a reconciliation. The number of persons that were to accompany each party was fixed upon, and also the kind of arms they were to carry.

The prince of Meath inveighed loudly at their conference, against the injustice of the king of England, who, notwithstanding the promises he had given of supporting him in the possession of his wealth and dignities, had sent robbers to invade his patrimony; and who, although avaricious and sparing of his own possessions, was lavish of those of others, and enriched libertines and profligates who had consumed the property of their fathers in debauchery. However just these reproaches were, it may be readily inferred, that they were not palatable to De Lacy. He was highly offended with the rebuke, but still dissembled for the moment.

Stanihurst, who was in heart as much an Englishman as if born in London, being desirous to cast a doubt upon the honour of O'Melaghlin, dares to affirm that this prince had posted at the foot of the hill on which the conference was held, a body of armed men, ready to appear on the first signal.† He also adds, that the prince of Meath struck De Lacy with an axe, and that missing him, he killed his secretary. The same author, however, acknowledges that there was a body of English well mounted and armed, lying in ambush at a short distance from the place of meeting, to await the event; and in order to warrant such precaution, he artfully introduces a dream, that he said Griffin, brother of Raymond Le Gros, had, which portended evil to De Lacy. However, this be, O'Melaghlin was struck by Griffin with a poinard in the back, as he was mounting his horse; and was then beheaded, and his body interred with the feet upwards. This head was sent to Dublin, and thence to England, as the head of a traitor and a rebel.‡

* The right of Henry II., to the crown of Leinster, was founded upon the settlement only, which the king of this province had made of it on Richard Strongbow, in consequence of the assistance he had given him in the recovery of it, and the forced abdication which Strongbow had made in favour of Henry II.

† The military fief was a certain portion of land, producing twenty pounds a year; the county comprised about twenty military fiefs, and the barony nearly thirteen. Selden. Titul. Honor. part 2, cap. 5.

* The same as we have in another place, called Mortough Mac-Floinn, father of Derforguill, who had married O'Rourke or O'Rork.

† De Reb. in Hib. Gest. lib. 3, page 133.

‡ The English had scarcely set their foot in Ireland, when they began to treat the natives, who so justly defended their homes against them, as rebels. Such has been always since the manner in which that imperious nation had acted. This cannot

Stanihurst, who mentions O'Rourke to have been prince of Meath ascribes this catastrophe to him. The tyranny of De Lacy drew on him afterwards the execration of all good men, and merited for him a violent death in the end.

This English nobleman, eager to have his vassals, divided Meath into dynasties, which he conferred on his favourites.* To Hugh Tirrel, his friend, he gave the territory of Castleknock; and to William Petit, that of Castlebreck. He also granted to the latter, according to an ancient charter, the lands of Magherithirnan and its dependencies, except the lake and town, called Dissert. To Meiler Fitzhenry, he gave the lands of Magheran, Rathkenin, and the cantred of Athinorker; to Gilbert De l'Angle or Nangle, the land of Magherigallen; to Joceline, son of Gilbert Nangle, the town of Navan, and the lands of Ardraccan; to Robert De Lacy, those of Rathever; to Richard Tuit, and Richard De La Chappelle, he gave several districts; to Galfrid Constantine, the lands of Kilbixy and Rathmarthy, near the river Inny. A charter granted by Walter De Lacy, son of Hugh, treats more largely of this grant; according to it, it consisted of five fiefs in the Theof of Kilbixy, with a castle, and of fifteen in the district of Conemake (Conmacne) in the neighbourhood of the castle, beyond that river. To Adam De Feipo, Gilbert De Nugent, William De Misset, and Hugh De Hose, he granted extensive possessions; namely, to Adam De Feipo, the territory of Skrine, in Meath, with the fiefs of Clontorht, and Stantreff, near Dublin, as appears by the copy of the charter, which has been preserved in a registry, in the monastery of the blessed Virgin, near Dublin. To Gilbert Nugent he granted the district of Dealbna (Delvin), which had till then been the patrimony of the O'Finellans, with its towns and dependencies, except the town of Torrechelasch, belonging to the abbot of Four. Lastly, he conferred on Misset the lands of Luin; on Hose or Hussey, the whole district of Deldies, formerly belonging to Schaclin or Moelsachlin; on Adam Dullard, the lands of Dullenvarthy; on one Thomas the lands of Cramly, Timlath-Began, east of Kenlis, Lathrakalim, and Sendevonath; and on Richard Le Fleming, he bestowed the lands of Cran-don.

be wondered at, since in latter times we find that their writers look upon those troops as rebels, who supported the cause of their lawful prince, James II., against an usurper.

* War. de Antiq.

In the year 1172, died Giolla Ada O'Mugin, bishop of Cork, and previously abbot of the abbey of St. Finbar, near that city, a man distinguished for his piety. About the same period Dubhay, archbishop of Tuam, convoked a provincial council in that city. This prelate consecrated three churches at the time mentioned.*

The king of England finding himself hard pressed by his enemies in Normandy, A.D. 1173, sent in the month of April in the year following, an order to earl Strongbow, to repair immediately to him with all the forces he could collect.† Having placed garrisons in the towns and castles which were in the power of the English, the earl obeyed with alacrity, and set out with a few chosen troops for Normandy, where, Regan says, he remained for some time, as warden or governor of Gisors. The king, however, who knew that his sway in Ireland was not firmly established, desired that Strongbow should return thither as chief justice or viceroy, in order to keep his new subjects firm in their allegiance to him. The earl in obeying the king's orders, represented to him, that, as great envy prevailed amongst his countrymen, it was necessary he should have a colleague to be witness to his administration, in order to remove any suspicions which might attach to his conduct; and required therefore, that he would send Raymond Le Gros with him to Ireland. The king was much pleased by this apparent modesty, and granted his request; and as a stimulus to his zeal in his service, he gave him in perpetuity the town of Wexford and the castle of Wicklow.

On Strongbow's return to Ireland with Raymond, Hugh De Lacy gave him up the city of Dublin, where he was joyfully received. At the same time Robert Fitzbernard, Robert Fitzstephen, and Maurice Prendergast, were ordered to proceed to England, where they joined the English army, and defeated Robert Earl of Essex, who had revolted against the king. The earl was made prisoner, and brought over to the king, who was still in Normandy.

In the mean time, the Irish, convinced of the injustice and tyranny which the English exercised amongst them, began to have recourse to arms, to defend their properties, and revenge the loss of their liberty. The present they thought a favourable opportunity for their purpose. The affairs of the

* War. de Episc. Corcag. Idem de Archiep. Tuam.

† Stanihurst, *ibid*, lib. 3. War. de Annal. Hib. cap. 5.

strangers were in a bad state, and part of their army absent: the exchequer was drained by the imprudence of Strongbow, and those to whom it had been entrusted: the troops were in want of everything, and began to mutiny against Hervey De Monte Marisco, who commanded them in the absence of Raymond Le Gros. He kept his men under severe discipline, and was obnoxious to the soldiery, from his desire to restrain them in their thirst for plunder. In order to allay among the troops a discontent, which might be attended with dangerous consequences, Strongbow gave the command to Raymond, who possessed their confidence, and they then left the fortresses to go in quest of plunder. Raymond led them into the territory of Desie, belonging to the O'Faolans, and from thence to Lismore, where they laid waste the whole country. The booty was so considerable, that he was obliged to despatch part of it by sea to Waterford, under the command of Adam De Hereford, A.D. 1174.

The Danes of Cork determined to intercept this convoy, equipped thirty-five vessels and attacked the English fleet. They, however, lost the victory through the valour of Philip Walsh, who leaped, sword in hand, on board the admiral's ship, and killed Gilbert, son of Turgesius, who commanded the Danes, when the latter, finding themselves deprived of their chief, thought prudent to withdraw, and De Hereford continued his course to Waterford. In the mean time, Raymond with difficulty, marched his army thither by land, with the remainder of his spoils from the province, consisting chiefly of cattle, to the number of four thousand. He had to contend with Dermot, king of Cork and Desmond, who opposed him in his march. On his arrival at Waterford, he received intelligence of the death of his father, William Fitzgerald, which obliged him to cross over into Wales: but others say that displeasure caused his sudden departure. According to Regan, he loved Basilia, sister of earl Strongbow, who refused her to him, and also the office of constable of Leinster, during the minority of Quincy's daughter, which made him adopt that line of conduct. He retired to the castle of Carew in Wales, and determined to lead a private life.

This year was remarkable for a plague, which desolated the provinces of Munster and Connaught, and for the death of the following illustrious personages: Maurice O'Coffy, bishop of Derry, (where he was interred, in the monastery of St. Columb),

one whose memory was always held in high veneration for his eminent virtues; Celestinus or Hyned O'Ronan, bishop of Glendaleugh; and Melissa Mac-Award, bishop of Clonfert. Dunleve, prince of Ulidia, was likewise killed by his own subjects; and was succeeded in the government of his principality, by his son Roderick.

After Raymond's retirement to Wales, the army being without a chief, Strongbow appointed Hervey to the command. This general desirous of trying the success of an incursion upon Limerick, collected the troops of Waterford and Dublin, and marched towards Cashel; but being met by the monarch, Roderick O'Connor, at Durlas Hy-Ogarta, at present Thurles, in the territory of Ormond, his army was completely defeated, and seventeen hundred English left dead upon the field.* Ware ascribes the glory of this action to Donald O'Brien, king of Limerick, and calculates that the loss of the English was not so considerable. Strongbow was so much affected by the disaster, that he kept himself secluded for some time at Waterford, without seeing any one.

Animated by this success, Roderick marched at the head of his army, into Meath, which was then in possession of the English; pillaged and burned their habitations, and laid the whole country waste. Hugh Tyrrel, governor of this part of the country, in the absence of De Lacy, who was in England, finding himself unable to oppose so superior an army, led his troops towards Dublin, and destroyed the fortifications of Trim and Duleek. According to Regan, the allies of Roderick in this expedition were, beside the princes of Connaught, O'Melaghlin, prince of Meath, O'Neill, prince of Tyrone, and others.

Strongbow's alarm, while he remained secluded at Waterford, was greatly increased by the intelligence he received of the loss of Meath. The natives were rising on every side, as well as the Danes who inhabited the coasts, and he saw himself on the eve of sharing the evil fortune of his countrymen. In order to avert the danger, he consulted with his friends, and wrote to Raymond, who had withdrawn, the preceding year, into Wales, an affecting letter, in which he represented the unhappy posture of his affairs in Ireland, and entreated him to return immediately with some assistance to extricate him from his embarrassments; proposing as an inducement, to give him his sister Basilia

* Cambrens. Evers. cap. 9, page 89. Annal. c. 6, regnant. Hen. II.

in marriage, with whom he knew that he was deeply in love. It may be easily inferred that Raymond felt pleased with a proposal, that flattered both himself and his inclinations. Without loss of time, he in concert with his cousin Milo, collected thirty young men of his own family, who were desirous of making their fortunes,* and one hundred horsemen, besides three hundred foot soldiers, and with this force he embarked for Ireland. On his arrival at Waterford, finding the inhabitants ready to attack the place, he facilitated Strongbow's escape, and brought him to Wexford. After this retreat of the earl, the Danes made themselves masters of the city, and put the English to the sword, without sparing either age or sex; but being unable to force the tower of Reynald, which part of the garrison had shut themselves up in, and defended with obstinacy, the Danes, dreading the consequences of their rash enterprise, surrendered the city on unfavourable terms.

Earl Strongbow was not unmindful of his promises to Raymond; he sent to Dublin for his sister Basilia, and their marriage was celebrated with great pomp at Wexford. Raymond was immediately appointed constable of Leinster, in the room of Hervey, by whom that office had been held since the death of Quincy.

Raymond now began to collect his forces, and putting himself at their head, led them, by order of Strongbow, towards Meath. Roderick's army was already weakened, by the retreat of his allies, after the reduction of the province, so that his own troops alone remained, with whom, according to Cambrensis, he retired into Connaught, finding himself quite unable to keep the field against a general of Raymond's high military reputation. Regan, in whom more reliance can be placed than in Cambrensis,† asserts that the earl was there himself; that having attacked Roderick's rear guard, one hundred and fifty men were killed, and that having reinstated Tirrel at Trim, he returned to Dublin. However this be, it is certain that the English remained in possession of Leinster and Meath.

In the course of this year, Hervey de Monte Marisco married Nesta, cousin to Raymond, and daughter of Maurice Fitzgerald; and the earl gave his daughter Aliva in marriage to William Fitzgerald, eldest son of Maurice.

* Ireland was at that time another Peru for the English who were poor. The law which forbids us to usurp the goods of others, had no weight amongst them.

† He was a near relative of Raymond's.

In the same year, died Gelasus, archbishop of Armagh, and primate of Ireland; Eleutherus, bishop of Clogher in Meath; Melissa O'Conactain, bishop of Elphin; Patrick O'Bannan, formerly bishop of Connor, who had retired to the abbey of Hy-Collum-Kill; and Florence or Flamin O'Gorman, a celebrated professor in the university of Armagh.

We discover at this time many celebrated writers in Ireland, even before the arrival of the English. Giolla or Gilbert, bishop of Limerick, wrote some epistles, and a treatise on the state of the church, which Usher deemed worthy of being published.* Celsus or Celestinus, archbishop of Armagh, wrote an abridgment of theology, which, according to Ware, was published at Vienna. According to Bede, he wrote several letters to Malachi, and certain ordinances, which were probably those enacted in the celebrated Synod held at Usneach, in 1110 or 1112, in the reign of Moriortach O'Brien.

Malachi O'Morgain, archbishop of Armagh, wrote many epistles to St. Bernard; he gave a compilation of the general statutes, and wrote laws on celibacy; besides traditions, and the life of St. Cuthbert, which he dedicated to David, king of the Scots. A prophecy respecting the popes is ascribed to him, which was published by Arnold Wion, in his *Lignum Vitæ*.

Tundal or Tungal, a native of Cashel or Cork, in Munster, flourished about the year 1159. He had frequent visions, which he himself, or some other person for him, has described. They are quoted by Tinmouth and Vincent, and are preserved in manuscript in the library of the university at Oxford.

Congan, a Cistercian monk, lived in 1150. It is said that he wrote the life of Malachi, archbishop of Armagh, and some epistles to St. Bernard. It was at his request that this saint composed the life of Malachi, as appears by the preface, in which he styles him his reverend brother, and dear friend. It is said, that he also wrote the acts of St. Bernard.

Maurice Regan, secretary and interpreter of Dermot Mac-Mourrough, last king of Leinster, lived in 1171. He wrote with care a history of the affairs of Ireland in his time, which was put into French verse by one of his friends, and translated into English by Sir George Carew, president of Munster, in the reign of queen Elizabeth.

In this century, Concubran wrote three books on the life of St. Moninna or Modwen,

* Vet. Epist. Hib. Syllog.

a virgin. He composed also two hymns in her praise. The original of these works is in the Cottonian library, from whence Ware says he obtained the copy. There is, in the same library, another manuscript on the birth and dignity of St. Cuthbert, composed according to the ancient histories of Ireland, by Eugene, bishop of Ardmore, a suffragan of Cashel.

Mathew O'Heney, archbishop of Cashel, lived about the end of this, and perhaps in the beginning of the following century. Amongst other things, he wrote the life of St. Cuthbert, bishop of Lindisfarn, and some epistles to the popes Celestinus III., and Innocent III.

About this time, says Ware, following the English authors, by whom alone it is mentioned, Henry II., sent Nicholas, prior of Wallingford, afterwards abbot of Malmesbury, and William Fitz-Adelm to Ireland, A.D. 1175, with the bull of Alexander III., which they say was read and approved of, in an assembly of bishops at Waterford. This bull, according to them, confirmed that by which Adrian IV., had already granted to this prince the title of lord of Ireland, and other privileges.*

Strongbow being anxious to paralyse the efforts which Donald O'Brien, king of Limerick, was making in that country, sent Raymond with forces sufficient to reduce the capital in which he had taken shelter. On his way he met Donald Mac-Giolla-Phadruig, (Fitzpatrick) prince of Ossory, the avowed enemy of Donald O'Brien, who joined him in his expedition. Limerick was, at the time, open, and without fortifications; the great difficulty being in crossing the river Shannon, by which it was surrounded. This was removed by the intrepid boldness of David Walsh, a young man of Wales, and nephew to Raymond; he swam across the river, and by the goodness of his horse, surmounted the danger caused by the rapidity of the waters. This example was followed by the army, part of whom crossed by swimming also, and the remainder by a ford. When the English reached the opposite bank, they repulsed a detachment of the garrison, which had made a sally against them, and pursuing that portion of it now in disorder, made themselves masters of the city. It was then given up to pillage, and Raymond having placed a garrison in it, under the command of Meyler De St. David, returned to Wexford. Roderick O'Connor witnessed with grief the tyranny which

the English were practising in Ireland, and finding it impossible to put an end to the disorders, judged it prudent to yield to the necessity of the times by a voluntary submission to the king of England. For this purpose he sent to him as ambassadors, Catholicus, archbishop of Tuam, Concord, abbot of St. Brendan of Clonfert, and Laurence his chancellor, who were received by Henry, on the 8th of October, 1175, at Windsor, where he was holding his parliament.* The king of England, flattered by this embassy, granted peace to Roderick, with the title of tributary king, which was transmitted to some of his successors. His son is called king of Connaught, in a roll in the tower of London, dated the 6th year of the reign of John. In the fifth year of the reign of Henry III., he sent letters patent to the kings of Connaught, and of Kinel-Ean. Mathew Paris mentions, in the year 1240, the dispute between Fedlim O'Connor, and John De Burgo, and the complaints which the former made to Henry III., in presence of his court, in London;† this historian calls him king of that part of Ireland called Cunoeh, (Connaught).‡ Lastly, Henry III., granted to O'Brien, by charter, the lands of Thuomond, with the title of king. There is no charter to be found respecting Ulster, the kings of which had not as yet submitted to the English yoke.

About this time the kings of England began to nominate to the Vacant benefices, in that part of Ireland which was under their dominion. Hoveden says, that Henry III., had appointed to the bishopric of Waterford, Augustin, an Irishman by birth, and that he sent him to Ireland, with Laurence archbishop of Dublin, to be consecrated by Donatus, archbishop of Cashel. According to annalists, Flathbert O'Brolcan, bishop of Derry, Malachi or Melissa Mac-Inclericuit, and Gelasus Mac-Cormac, both successively bishops of Down, died during this year. O'Brolcan was celebrated for his learning and generosity; he resigned the episcopal see of Derry a short time before his death,

* "This was the final agreement made at Windsor, on the 8th of October, 1175, between Henry, king of England, son of the Empress Matilda, and Roderick, king of Connaught, through Catholicus, archbishop of Tuam, Concord, abbot of St. Brendan, and Laurence, chancellor of the king of Connaught, viz., that the king of England granted to the aforesaid Roderic liege king of Connaught, that he shall continue king under him so long as he shall serve him faithfully, and shall be prepared for his service, as his subject."—*Hoveden. ad. ann. 1175.*

† Hist. Anglic. page 365.

‡ Rotulus Chart. an 6, Hen. III., Memb. 2.

* Annal. Hib. cap. 7, reg. Hen. II.

and confined himself to the government of the abbey of St. Columb, having refused that of Hy.

The alliance which Hervey had formed the preceding year, with Raymond, by his marriage with his cousin Nesta, daughter of Maurice Fitzgerald, was insufficient to remove the secret jealousy he entertained of him, caused by the loss of the office of constable of Leinster, which Strongbow had given to Raymond, and the preference testified towards the latter by the troops, who are generally good judges of a general's merit; he therefore determined to injure him.* He wrote a letter to the king of England, dictated with all the art that malice could devise, A.D. 1176; in which strong suspicions were cast upon the conduct of Raymond, representing him as an intriguing and popular character, likely to corrupt his majesty's subjects in Ireland. The too credulous Henry despatched four commissioners to Ireland, in the spring; namely, Robert Poer, Osbert De Herlotera, William De Bendenges, and Adam De Gervensan, two of whom were ordered to bring Raymond to England, and the other two to remain with earl Strongbow in Ireland. When the commissioners presented their commands to Raymond, he immediately obeyed; but while they were waiting for a favourable wind to embark, news arrived that Limerick was besieged by Donald O'Brien, at the head of a powerful army, that the city was in want of provisions, and consequently that it should surrender if relief was not sent in time.

Strongbow held a council of war, to deliberate on the means of sending succour to Limerick, but finding that the troops refused to serve, if they were not commanded by Raymond, he, as well the commissioners, considered this captain's presence necessary in so critical a conjuncture; so that instead of embarking for England, Raymond resumed his command, by order of the earl. He marched, with all possible diligence towards Limerick, at the head of eighty knights, two hundred horsemen, and three hundred foot soldiers, with the troops of Murchard, prince of Kinseallagh, and Donald, prince of Ossory, who both joined him as allies. The king of Limerick, informed of the march of the English, raised the siege, and came to meet them as far as Cashel, where he fell into an ambuscade on Easter Saturday: his army was surrounded by the superior forces of the English, and routed, after a vigorous resis-

tance. The English then marched to Limerick, which they entered three days afterwards. We here discover the perfidy of the prince of Ossory, who had contributed much to the gaining of this battle: although an Irishman, he sacrificed the welfare of his country to his private hatred against Donald O'Brien; and not content with aiding the English against him, he signalised himself in the beginning of the action, by encouraging them to the combat. The English general had separate interviews with Roderick, king of Connaught, and Donald, king of Limerick. They agreed on both sides to make peace, and Raymond received hostages from them.

About this time, Dermot Mac-Carty, king of Cork and Desmond, wrote to Raymond, requesting him to send him some assistance against Cormacleiavac, his eldest son, who had rebelled against him, with a design of dethroning him. This captain marched towards Desmond, at the head of some troops, and having quelled the revolt, and reinstated Dermot in the possession of his kingdom, he returned to Limerick. This unnatural son again conspired against his father, and put him into confinement; but a violent death, by which this horrid action was punished, restored the unhappy father to his liberty. Mac-Carty, filled with gratitude for the services he had received from Raymond, conferred an extensive territory on him, in the county of Kerry, where he established his son Maurice, who became powerful by his marriage with Catherine, daughter of Miles Cogan, and gave his name to his descendants, as well as to the territory, which is called Clan-Morris.

In the beginning of June, 1176, according to Keating, the celebrated Richard Strongbow died a miserable death, in Dublin, having exercised his tyranny over the inhabitants of Leinster for the space of seven years, sparing neither the clergy, churches, or monasteries.* His sister Basilia, wife of Raymond, did not fail to give timely information to her husband of an event, which was so likely to change the aspect of their affairs. Raymond having consulted with his friends, it was determined that they should abandon Limerick, which was too distant from the centre of their possessions; that Raymond's presence was necessary in Dublin, to guard the ports and fortresses belonging to the English, and that the troops, which had been scattered in the different quarters, should be collected to secure the possession of Leinster. On leaving Limerick, Raymond gave the command of

* Stanihurst, *ibid.* lib. 4. War. Annal. Hib. cap. reg. Heu. II.

* History of Ireland, book 2.

the place to Donald O'Brien, who set fire to it immediately.*

Raymond repaired with all possible diligence to Dublin, where they waited his arrival, to attend the funeral ceremonies of Strongbow, in accordance with the last will of that nobleman. His body was interred with great pomp, by Laurence O'Tool, archbishop of the city, in the cathedral of the holy Trinity, since called Christ's Church, where his tomb is still to be seen.

The commissioners who were sent, some time before, by Henry II., to bring Raymond to England, finding the face of affairs altered by the earl's death, entrusted that general with the government of the colony, till other arrangements could be made, and set out for England to render to the king an account of his affairs in Ireland. Upon their arrival Henry immediately sent over William Fitz-Adelm, with the title of viceroy, and appointed for his colleagues, John Courcy, Robert Fitzstephen, and Milo Cogan, who had rendered him important services during the war, in which he had been engaged during two years, both in France and England.

By his marriage with Eva, daughter of Dermot, king of Leinster, Strongbow had one daughter, called Isabella, heiress of his extensive possessions in that province. Some time afterwards, this princess married William Marshal, an English lord, by whom she had five sons, and as many daughters; the sons all died without issue; the daughters were married to English noblemen, who, in virtue of their alliance, claimed extensive estates in Leinster. It was thus the race of this celebrated man became extinct, whom the English have ranked as a hero, but who in reality was an extortioner and a tyrant; it might be said of him, as the royal prophet said of the wicked man, that, having been raised above the cedars of Mount Libanus, there remained no vestige of him, but a horror for his memory.† "He carried nothing with him," says Nubrigensis, "of the spoils of the Irish, for which he had evinced such

greediness, and left to ungrateful heirs all the riches which he had amassed, at the risk of his salvation; his fall furnishes a salutary warning to posterity."*

The Irish still retained a passion for founding religious houses, even in the midst of the troubles with which their country was agitated. In the history of this period, we discover a strange mixture of cruelty and religion; at one time an inclination to mutual destruction, at another to raising monuments of religious devotion. A people stripped of their possessions, to be given away in alms; what justice! what charity! Little did these pious founders think, that their zeal would be soon made unavailing, by the impiety of their descendants. Although the account of those foundations may appear tedious to the reader, still, as they are facts which do not admit of doubt, my respect for religion, and consideration for the great number of virtuous persons that are yet in being, and interested to know the good actions of their ancestors, will not allow me to pass them over unnoticed.

Richard Strongbow, head of the English colony, was the first who gave the example to his fellow-citizens: being desirous of devoting to God, before his death, part of what he had taken from man, he founded a priory at Kilmainham, near Dublin, in 1174, so called from St. Mainan or Maignan, a bishop who lived in the seventh century. This house was magnificent, and considered one of the finest in the kingdom, before the suppression of religious houses in Ireland. It was the grand priory of the order of Templars, which was re-united in the fourteenth century with its eight commanderies, namely, Kilcloghan, in the county of Wexford; Kiltergy, in the county of Carlow; Kilsaran, county of Louth; Kilbarry, Kilure, and Crooke, county of Waterford; Clonaul, county of Tipperary, and Teach-Temple, in the county of Sligo, to the order of Malta.

The order of Malta was inconsiderable before this re-union, having but one priory, namely, that of Wexford, and nine commanderies, which were, Kilbeg, Kilheal, and Tully, in the county of Kildare; Kilmaina-Beg, and Kilmainan Wood, in east Meath; St. John the Baptist of Ardes, county of Down; Morne, or Ballinemony, county of Cork; Any, county of Limerick, and Kilenalekin, county of Galway; so that by this union there were two grand priories of the order of Malta in Ireland, and seventeen commanderies.

* This action of O'Brien, which the English have treated of as a signal perfidy, is not so atrocious as may seem at first view. It should be observed, that as it was the want of any other defender, which induced the English to confide the place to Donald; it is evident that the latter considered himself under no gratitude, for a forced mark of their confidence. Besides, O'Brien was the lawful master of the country; it therefore appears just, that he should have used the only means of recovering it from unjust usurpers, which was to destroy their settlements altogether.

† Ps. 36. ver. 38, 39.

* Nubrig. de Reb. Anglic. lib. 2.

When William Fitz-Adelm arrived in Ireland as chief justice or viceroy, Raymond went to Wexford to congratulate him, and gave up the government with which he had been entrusted by the commissioners; whereupon, the new viceroy took possession, in the name, and by order of the king, of all the places which had belonged to Strongbow.

According to Stanihurst, Fitz-Adelm was neither a foolish nor a wise man; he was hostile to the Fitzgeralds, and frequently made them feel that he was possessed of more will than power to injure them. This family was already firmly established in Leinster, and allied to the principal chiefs of the English colony. Maurice Fitzgerald died this year at Wexford, much regretted; he was the ancestor of all the noble families of that name in Ireland, by his three sons, William, Gerald, and Alexander. He was scarcely dead, when Fitz-Adelm seized upon the castle of Wicklow, which had been given him by Strongbow; and in order to give some colour to so flagrant an injustice, by way of compensation, he gave to the three brothers the little town of Ferns, where the fortresses had been the only security against the insults of the inhabitants, to which they were exposed. These brothers, wishing to render their new establishment secure, began to build a castle, which was immediately demolished by Walter Allemand, Fitz-Adelm's nephew, and a man of obscure origin, but who was become conspicuous through the influence of his uncle, who committed to him the government of Wexford.

About this time, Vivian, cardinal priest, with the title of St. Stephen in *Monte Caelio*, was sent as legate, by pope Alexander III., to visit the churches of Scotland, Ireland, and Norway. When passing through England, he was reproved by Henry II., for having entered his kingdom without permission, and was made to swear that he would not, in his capacity of legate, do anything prejudicial to his interests, whereupon, he proceeded to Scotland, from whence he set sail for the Isle of Man, on Christmas eve, where he was honourably received by Godfrey, king of that island. He remained there for a fortnight, and from thence he went to Down, in Ireland.

The castle of Slane, in Meath, was taken the same year, by assault, and destroyed by Melaghlin Mac-Loghlin, the former proprietor of that country; and Richard Le Fleming, who was then master of it, having been given up to him by De Lacey, was killed, with several of his followers.

John Courcy, a warlike, but cruel man, seeing the rapid success of his countrymen in Ireland, and the extensive estates they had become possessed of by force, resolved to try his own fortune. With this view, he turned his thoughts on Ulster, which had not been, as yet, entered by the English. He accordingly set out from Dublin, with four hundred men, in the month of January, A. D. 1177, for the county of Down, then called Ullagh, and arrived in the capital, called Down also, without meeting an enemy to oppose him.* The sight of these adventurers caused great consternation in a place not provided with means of defending itself against an enemy, who were thought too remote to be feared. The general having given his orders, the barbarians commenced to break in the doors in all directions, to force open the chests and presses, and to carry off the property of the citizens, to satisfy, says Stanihurst, their extreme indigence and poverty. Nothing was heard on all sides, but tears, groans, and lamentations, whilst the streams were dyed with the blood of the innocent inhabitants. Such was the manner in which the English carried on their warfare in Ireland—this was the mode in which they preached the gospel, and the example they gave to a people, whose morals they pretended to reform. The remonstrances of cardinal Vivian, who was at that time in Down, produced no good; in vain he entreated of their leader to put an end to his cruel proceedings, and make peace with a people who were ready to submit to the king of England, and pay him tribute. Nothing could soften the barbarous heart of De Courcy, who only sought happiness in the misfortunes of others.

Roderick, son of Dunleve, prince of the country, finding the necessity of having recourse to arms, collected ten thousand men in one week, to deliver the city of Down from the tyranny of the English. When Courcy heard of the preparations that were making against him, he left the city, and gave battle to Roderick in the open plain, where, after a severe action, he put the Irish army to flight.

There is an obvious contradiction in the account which Stanihurst gives of this affair; according to him, Courcy had nearly four hundred men, who overcame ten thousand; the disproportion, as to numbers, is at the extraordinary rate of thirty to one; still he allows that the bravery and skill in arms were equal on both sides. "The men of

* Stan. *ibid.* lib. 4. War. de Annal. Hib. cap. 9.

Ulster," he says, "are naturally warlike, and accustomed to arms; they advance boldly and fearlessly against the Britons, engage with them in fight, and prove themselves equal in valour to their enemies."* How is it then possible that four hundred men could have conquered ten thousand, who were their equals in courage and experience.

In order to support the opinion which our author entertains of the bravery of the Ulster men, we should diminish their numbers greatly, or suppose them to have been taken from the plough, and to have faced the English without arms or discipline. In truth, their having been levied, according to Ware, in a week favours this conjecture, and takes away considerably from the glory of this boasted achievement by the English. A company of grenadiers would easily put two hundred peasants, armed with sticks or pitchforks to flight. It is true that the author resorts to the divine interference, in order to affix an appearance of probability to his account; saying, that God gave the victory to Courcy. God, of course, was peculiarly interested for the success of the English! as if robbery, rapine, and the fury of a band of adventurers, are virtues that can claim the protection of heaven. A young Englishman named Roger Poer, who signalised himself in the engagement, is much praised for his courage. Malachi, bishop of Down, was made prisoner, but restored to his liberty at the solicitation of Cardinal Vivian, and reinstated in his dignities. Courcy gained some further advantages over the people of Ulster, in the month of June following; many, however, were killed and wounded on both sides; amongst the latter were Almerick De St. Laurence, and his son Nicholas.†

Courcy also made some incursions the same year into Tyrone and Dalrieda, burning and destroying all before him, and carried off considerable booty. He was extremely superstitious, and thought himself to have been designated in the prophecies of Ambrosius Merlin, as the conqueror of Ulster; when the mind is enthusiastically smitten, every thing that flatters hope being readily believed. He likewise held the prophecy of St. Columb in high veneration, in which it is said the destruction of that province had been foretold; and John Courcy persuaded

himself that the prophecy applied to him. This which was written in the Irish language, he kept with great respect about him, and concealed it while he slept under the head of his bed.

The legate, who seemed to have come to Ireland but to hasten its subjugation to the English, convened a council of bishops and abbots at Dublin; in which he endeavoured to make good Henry II.'s right to the throne of Ireland, in an eloquent discourse, and enjoined the Irish people to obey him under pain of excommunication. From thence he set out for the coast of England, where he requested a passport to continue his embassy to Scotland.

During this prelate's stay in Dublin, Fitz-Adelm founded the celebrated monastery called Thomas-Court, in that city, by orders of the king his master, for regular canons of the order of St. Victor. The king bestowed for ever on this house, the land of Donoure as an offering for the souls of Geoffry, earl of Anjou, and the empress Matilda, his father and mother, and likewise for the souls of his other ancestors, for himself and his children, as is expressed in the charter; he should have added the souls of those whom he had deprived of their lands.

About this time, says Hoveden, Henry II. with the approbation of pope Alexander III. gave his son John the title of king of Ireland, in a parliament held at Oxford. This year, says Brompton, the king obtained the pope's leave to crown whichever of his sons he thought fit, as king of Ireland, and to reduce the lords of that country under his dominion. However, in the charter granted by Henry for that purpose, and confirmed by Richard I., John Lackland is only called lord of Ireland, and earl of Mortagne, and his successors were content with that title, till the reign of Henry VIII., who was the first to assume that of king of Ireland.

The ready submission of the kings of Cork and Limerick, and the other princes of Munster, did not secure them from sharing the fate of their countrymen. By a charter given at Oxford, about the year 1177, Henry granted to Robert Fitzstephen and Milo Cogan, the kingdom of Cork and Desmond, reserving for himself the city of Cork, the cantred of the Ostmans,* and all the land lying between Waterford and the river that separates Lismore and Cork, and which now

* Stan. de Reb. in Hib. Gest. page 182.

† The barons of Howth are descended from Almerick. The land of Howth and its dependences were confirmed to his son by a charter of John, earl of Mortagne and lord of Ireland, given to S. Edmond in presence of John De Courcy, Godfrey De Constantine, Gilbert Angulo, and his brother Jordan.

* The Ostmans were the Danes or Normans who inhabited Cork and a few other maritime towns in Ireland. The cantred was a tract of land containing about one hundred villages or town lands. War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 27.

forms the county of Waterford. He also confided to them the regency and government of the city of Cork, the cantred of the Ostmans, and the other districts he had reserved for himself, making about twenty-four cantreds. Two years afterwards, Fitzstephen and Cogan divided the seven cantreds which the king had given them; Fitzstephen taking the three which adjoined the sea, and Cogan the remaining four.

It appears from the charters of king John, dated in the ninth year of his reign, that Fitzstephen had given to Philip De Barry, his nephew, and son of Philip, three cantreds in the county of Cork, namely, Olethan and its dependencies, Muscherie, Dunegan, and Killede; to Adam de Rupe (De la Roche) the cantred of Rosselhir and its dependencies, to Richard de Cogan, the cantred of Muscherie O'Millane, together with twenty-five military tenures, and lastly, some fiefs to Robert Fitzmartin, and to Henry and Maurice, brothers, (and sons of Philip,) a cantred where Dunalahoth lies.

The kingdom of Limerick shared the same fate as that of Cork. The king of England ceded it to Philip de Breus or Braos, reserving, however, for himself, the chief city, the cantred of the Ostmans, the holy island, and the power of nominating to the bishoprics and abbeyes.

After Philip de Braos, the principal personages who settled in this county were Hamo de Valois (Walsh) Philip de Wigorn, Theobald Walter, William Fitz-Adelm, and Thomas Fitz-Maurice.

All these grants of extensive estates, from Henry II., to the principal English chiefs, and the lesser fiefs which the latter bestowed on their creatures, were given on condition of military service; which consisted in a certain number of armed men, furnished by each in proportion to the extent of land which he held.

The king of England confided to Robert Puber or Le Poer, the government of the city of Waterford, and the surrounding country; to William Fitz-Adelm, that of the town of Wexford and its dependencies, and to Hugh de Lacy the government of Dublin, and all the country depending on it. He made other arrangements relative to the counties which were to be subservient to the cities of Waterford, Wexford, and Dublin.

We have now reviewed Ware's researches respecting the distribution of the lands of the Irish by Henry II. and his son John; on which head he mentions some letters patent, granted by these two princes, and also

quotes contemporary authors; namely, Regan, the secretary and interpreter of Dermot, king of Leinster, and an eye-witness to the facts which he advances; the Abbé Benedict, who wrote the life of Henry II., and Giraldus Cambrensis. Still the account he gives is very general, considering the great number of English families that settled in this country in the twelfth and succeeding centuries, who are possessed of immense landed property.

The rebellion of Conchovar and Murchard, sons of Roderick O'Connor, broke out at this time. These unnatural children, wishing to usurp their father's rule, had recourse to the enemies of their country, and applied to Milo Cogan, who had been lately appointed warden of Dublin by Fitz-Adelm, for assistance. The Englishman, who only thought of extending his power, seized the opportunity with avidity, and taking Ralph, son of Fitzstephen, as his lieutenant, crossed the river Shannon at the head of forty knights, two hundred horsemen, and three hundred archers, and entered Connaught which had been till then, unknown to the English. He advanced as far as Tuam; but as Roderick had caused the provisions in every place through which he had to pass, to be either burned or removed, he soon saw his army ready to perish, which obliged him to return. After a march of eight days, he was attacked when crossing a wood, by Roderick who killed several of his men. As usual, Cambrensis makes the loss but very trifling. Having conquered the English, Roderick turned his thoughts towards chastising his rebellious children; he condemned Murchard to perpetual imprisonment, and caused his eyes to be put out; and banished Conchovar to an island in the lake Lochcuan, from whence he was taken a year afterwards, by the faction of the O'Flahertys and other friends, who restored him to his father's favour. About this time, Hugh O'Neill, king of Tiron or Tyrone, was killed by Melachlin Mac-Loghlin, and his brother Argal.

Courcy had not abandoned his enterprise in Ulster: he marched towards Uriel at the head of his army, A.D. 1178, where he was vigorously attacked in his camp at Gliury, by Murtach O'Carwil, prince of that country, in conjunction with Roderick, prince of Ullagh (Ulidia). The action was brisk, and Courcy and his army were completely routed.*

* Stan. *ibid.* lib. 4, page 182. War. de Annal. Hib. reg. Hen. II. cap. 10.

This English general soon afterwards gave a second battle to the same princes on the frontiers of Dalaradie, near Fernia, which was altogether fatal to him. After witnessing the total defeat of his army, he escaped with much difficulty, and was obliged to walk thirty miles without any sustenance, and in continual danger of losing his life, till he arrived at the castle of Down.

William Fitz-Adelm, viceroy of Ireland, fell into disgrace, and was deprived of his office: he was succeeded by Hugh De Lacy, to whom the king gave as colleague, Robert Poer, warden of the cities of Waterford and Wexford.

When the viceroy was changed, Cogan and Fitzstephen were recalled to England, to give an account of their conduct, which had always been looked upon with suspicion by the king, as indeed had that of all the chiefs of the English colony in Ireland.

In the mean time, Robert Poer, warden of Waterford, sent troops to lay waste the district of Imureda, in the county of Wicklow, whence they returned to Wexford, loaded with booty, having assassinated Dunlaug O'Toole, lord of that country.

The English who had settled in Meath, built a castle at Kenlis, to preserve themselves against the incursions of their neighbours, the people of Ulster.

The abbey called Monasterevan, or Ross-Glass, *de Rosea Valle*, in the county of Kildare, on the river Barrow, was founded this year, and dedicated to the blessed Virgin and St. Benedict, for Cistercian monks, by Dermot O'Dempsey, lord of Clanmalire; but others say it was founded so late as 1189. This abbey was a branch of that of Baltinglass.*

Donald O'Fogarty, bishop of Ossory, died this year, and was succeeded by Felix O'Dulany, of the order of Citeaux.

Robert Fitzstephen and Milo Cogan, whom the king had recalled to England the preceding year, repaired to Waterford in the month of November, accompanied by Philip De Braos, to whom the king had granted the district of Limerick, A.D. 1179. These noblemen brought a reinforcement of Englishmen to Ireland, consisting of one hundred and ten knights, as many horsemen, and a considerable number of foot soldiers. They went from Waterford to Lismore, and from thence to Cork, where they were honourably received by John De Londres, on whom Fitz-Adelm had conferred the

government of that city. They then marched towards Limerick, intending to besiege it; but their new troops were disheartened by the difficulty of crossing the river which surrounds it, and prevailed on Philip de Braos to return to England, rather than incur the risk of a hazardous war in an enemy's country. Fitzstephen and Cogan proceeded to Cork, to watch over the safety of the English colony in that district.

The abbey of Ashro or Easrua, called also *de Samario*, for Cistercian monks, was founded in Tirconnel, near the mouth of the river Erne, by Roderick O'Cananan, an Irish lord, about this period, or according to others, five years later, by his successor Flahertach. Jungelinus mentions the abbey of Kilfothuir, in the same country, founded by O'Dogharty. The wars having subsequently forced the monks to abandon this house, it was united to the abbey of Ashro, of which it was a branch.

An abbey of Bernardines, under the title of our Lady, a branch of the abbey of Baltinglass, was also founded at this time, at Geripont or Jeripont, a small town on the river Nure, in the county of Kilkenny, by Donald Fitzpatrick, prince of Ossory.*

About the end of December in this year, Laurence, archbishop of Dublin, Catholicus, archbishop of Tuam; Constantius, bishop of Killaloe; Felix, bishop of Lismore; Augustin, bishop of Waterford, and Brice, bishop of Limerick, set out for Rome, where they attended at the third council of Lateran, convened by Alexander III. As they passed through England, Henry II. made them swear they would do nothing prejudicial to his welfare, or that of his kingdom. The pope appointed Laurence legate for Ireland, and on his return, according to the author of his life, he discharged the duties of that office. If we can believe Cambrensis, this holy prelate never returned to Ireland, having incurred the king's displeasure, by obtaining some privilege from the pope in favour of his country, which this prince looked upon as opposed to his authority.

John Courcy, who had been already created earl of Ulster by the king, though he owned but a very inconsiderable part of it, made an alliance with Godfrey, king of the Isle of Man, by marrying his daughter Afriea, A. D. 1180, in order to secure the interest of that prince.† The island being but a short distance from the coasts of Ulster, it was easy to draw resources from it.

* War. de Antiq. Hib. c. 26. Allemand, Hist. Monoast. d'Irl. page 176.

* Allemand, *ibid.* page 175.

† War. de Annal. Hib. cap. 12.

This year, according to Hoveden, Laurence, archbishop of Dublin, accompanied a son of Roderick, king of Connaught, who was sent as a hostage to Henry II., for the payment of the tribute agreed upon between his father and that king.* The holy prelate fell sick at Eu, where he died in the odour of sanctity, on the 14th November, and was interred in the church of our Lady, in that city.† His life, quoted by Surius, was accurately written, according to Baronius, by an anonymous author, of the college of Eu. The miracles which God wrought through his intercession, both before and after his death, induced pope Honorius III. to place him amongst the number of saints, in 1225, by a bull dated the eleventh of December, in the tenth year of his pontificate, a copy of which is in the collection of bulls of Laurent Cherubin. The relics of this saint were removed to Dublin, and deposited in the cathedral of the holy Trinity. Henry II. took care to send his chaplain Geoffry de Haya, and another to collect the revenues of the archbishopric, while it continued vacant.

The abbey of Chore, or *De Choro Benedicti*, called by the Irish Monaster-Ore, in the county of Cork, was founded this year for Bernardins, by the Geraldines or Fitzgeralds.‡ Jungelinus says it was founded by the Barrys; however this be, this abbey, founded under the title of our Lady, was a branch of that of Nenay, or Magio.

It was about this time that St. Patrick's crozier, called in the language of the country, *Baghal Phadruic*, that is, the staff of Patrick, and sometimes the staff of Jesus, which, according to St. Bernard, in the life of St. Malachi, was ornamented with gold and precious stones, and preserved with veneration in the church of Armagh, since the death of the apostle, was carried away, by orders of Fitz-Adelm, and placed in the cathedral of the holy Trinity, in Dublin, A.D. 1181, where it was carefully preserved till the suppression of the monasteries.

The death of Gilbert O'Caran, archbishop of Armagh; is said to have occurred about

this date, some time before which the cathedral church, the monastery of the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, two nunneries, and a great part of the city, were consumed by fire, a frequent disaster in Ireland in ancient times, on account of the prevalence of wooden buildings. It is to prevent similar accidents, which still often occur in the north of Europe, particularly in Sweden and Denmark, that privileges are granted by the governments of those countries to those who build of stone. The holy prelate of Armagh was the benefactor of the monastery of the Blessed Virgin, near Dublin. He added the village of Ballibaghall, situated in the county of Dublin, to the revenues of that house. Moelisa Mac-Carwil, bishop of Clogher, was elected to succeed him in the see of Armagh, but died on his way to Rome.

As the churches and monasteries were the only places of safety in those disturbed times, the Irish carried thither their gold, silver, and other valuable matters, as to a secure asylum; but as nothing is held sacred by the wicked, these places were often violated. The church of Ardferit, and the priory of Inis-Fallen, in lake Lene, in the county of Kerry, were pillaged this year by Milduin, son of Daniel O'Donagha, and those of his retinue, and the lives of several of the community lost.

Having settled his followers in Meath, Hugh de Lacy turned his thoughts towards defending it against its former masters; for which purpose he built strong castles in different parts of this province. This ambitious nobleman, finding himself supported by his colonists, and encouraged by his alliance with Roderick O'Connor, began to extend his views, and to think himself possessed of more power in Ireland, than the king of England.

Henry II., having been informed of the intentions of De Lacy, sent him an order to return to England; but the latter confirmed the suspicions entertained of his presumption, by refusing to obey. Cambrensis says that De Lacy was suspected of aspiring to the sovereignty, from the vast estates he had acquired, the immense wealth he had amassed for himself and his dependants, by the oppression of others, and the familiar and popular manners he had assumed towards every one.* Henry was already dissatisfied with him for having married, without his permission, the daughter of O'Connor, king of Connaught, after the death of his first wife, Rosa de Munene: and he therefore sent John, con-

* This account appears rather incredible; 'for why should the king of Connaught have sent a hostage this year to the king of England, when, according to the same Hoveden, (in the year 1175,) peace and unity had been ratified between these princes, five years previously. It is, however, well known that English writers are fond of claiming honours which they never enjoyed.

† Messingham, Florileg. Insul. Sanct. Vit. Sanct. Laurent.

‡ War. de Antiq. Hib. c. 26. Allemand, ibid. page 181.

* Hib. Expug. lib. 2, cap. 19, 20.

stable of Chester, and Richard de Pech, to Ireland, in the beginning of May, as chief justices, in room of de Lacy, who repaired to England, and removed all suspicion from the king's mind, in the short space of six weeks. Before his departure for England, he had given a plan to the English who possessed land in Leinster, to fortify this province, as he had done in Meath, which plan was executed in the ensuing summer. The castle of Fort O'Nolan was built by Raymond Le Gros, and another by his brother Griffin. A third was built at Tristile-Dermot, in the district of Omurthy, by Walter De Ridlesford; John De Clahut built a fourth at Leighlin, on the river Barrow, and a fifth was constructed at Kildroghed, by John de Hereford.

During Lacy's absence, and the administration of the justices whom Henry had sent to Ireland, Myler Fitzhenry was forced to give up the land of Carby, which he had received from Strongbow in the county of Kildare, and to be satisfied with an equivalent in the county of Lese, where he was more exposed, being surrounded by the O'Mordhas or O'Mores, a warlike people, and lords of that district; but Lacy, whose niece he had married, caused the castle of Temogho to be built for him some time afterwards.

Lacy having been restored to the king's favour, was sent back to Ireland the winter following, as chief justice, accompanied by Robert, earl of Shrewsbury, as his colleague, who was however to keep watch over his conduct. He filled the post for nearly three years, during which time he built several castles in Leinster and Meath; amongst others, that of Oboney, in the county of Lese, the government of which he confided to Robert de Bigarz; another in the district of Omurthy, near the river Barrow, of which he made Thomas Le Fleming governor; and that of Norragh for Robert Fitzrichard. The castles he caused to be built in Meath were, those of Clonard, Killair, Delvin, and that of Adam de Rupert.

The English had now usurped both the spiritual and temporal government of Ireland. Henry II., nominated John Comin, a native of England, to the archbishopric of Dublin, (vacant by the death of St. Laurence); an eloquent and learned man, according to the writers of his own country. The election took place on the sixth of September, in the monastery of Evesham, in England, by the clergy of Dublin. The candidate was ordained priest on the 12th of March following, at Velletri, in Italy, and consecrated archbishop, by pope Lucius III. Some time afterwards,

this prelate obtained a bull from the same pope, dated the thirteenth of April, (convocation 15), by which the holy father granted several privileges to the see of Dublin. It was forbidden by this bull that any archbishop or bishop should hold assemblies in the ecclesiastical province of Dublin, or take cognizance of the affairs of that diocese, without the consent of the archbishop, or a special license from the pope or his legate. The copy of this bull may be found in an old registry in the archbishop's palace of Dublin, beginning with the words, "*Crede mihi.*" This bull was the cause of warm debates between the prelates of Armagh and Dublin, respecting the primacy, which have lasted to our time; the subject of them being whether the archbishop of Armagh, as primate of Ireland, possessed the right to hold visitations in the ecclesiastical province of Dublin, or to carry the cross raised, and receive appeals there.*

In the month of May, of this year, Flahertach O'Meldory, prince of Tirconnel, indignant at the unnatural conduct of the princes of Connaught, who were still in arms against their father Roderick, entered their province, at the head of his troops, and gained a complete victory over them and their allies. Many lives were lost, amongst them those of sixteen distinguished persons, of the royal race of Connaught.

In the beginning of summer, A.D. 1182, Courcy marched at the head of his troops into Dalrieda or Route, county of Antrim, where he defeated a body of troops, commanded by Donald O'Loghlin, and pillaged the whole country.†

About this time, Hugh de Lacy founded two chapels or priories, for regular canons of the order of St. Augustin, one at Colpa, a small village on the sea shore, at the mouth of the river Boyne, below Drogheda, and the other at Duleek; one of these houses depended on the priory of Lauthon, in Monmouthshire, England, and the other on that of Lauthon, near Gloucester.

Edan O'Kelly, bishop of Clogher, died this year, and was interred in the priory of St. Mary, which he had founded for regular canons in Louth, in 1148, with the aid of Donat Mac-Carwell, king of Ergalie. This prelate was disciple of St. Malachi, by whom

* We discover in this an act of English policy; they caused the see of Dublin, situated in the English province, to be erected into a primacy, in order to cause a schism in the church of Ireland, by withdrawing from the jurisdiction of Armagh, the churches under their dominion.

† War. de Annal. cap. 14.

he was consecrated in 1140, and having filled the see of Clogher for forty-two years, he was succeeded by Malachi Mac-Carwel. Edan was the confessor of Dermot, king of Leinster; he endowed the monastery of Knock, near the town of Louth, (otherwise called St. Peter and St. Paul's Mount), which Donat caused to be built. This place was more anciently called Knock Na-Sengan, that is, the Mount of the ants. Philip Seguin and Christopher Henriques, are wrong in placing Edan among the prelates of Armagh.

About this time died also Donald O'Hul-lucan, archbishop of Cashel, who was succeeded by Maurice, called by Cambrensis a learned and discreet man, "*Vir literatus et discretus*."*

We must not omit to introduce in this place, the sharp and satirical, though indirect answer, which Maurice gave Cambrensis in presence of Gerald, the pope's legate, who was then on some mission in Ireland, in which he alludes both to the martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury, and the cruelties which the English had after that committed in Ireland. Cambrensis reproached the prelate, in his accustomed haughty manner, with the indolence of the Irish clergy, and the little care they took to instruct the people, the result of which was, a degeneracy in their morals; and as proof of what he advanced, he alleged that he had never known any in Ireland to have suffered martyrdom for the church of Jesus Christ. "It is true," replied the prelate of Cashel modestly, "that our people, who are said to be barbarous, rude, and even cruel, have always behaved with honour and respect to the clergy, and none have yet been found amongst them, impious enough to raise their hands against the saints of the Lord. But there are men now amongst us, who can make us suffer martyrdom, and Ireland, like other nations, shall henceforward have her martyrs;" which prediction has been amply verified.

Courcy being master of the episcopal city of Down, A.D. 1183, changed the constitution of the cathedral church, by substituting Benedictine monks, for the secular canons to whom it belonged till that time: those monks came, by his directions, from St. Werburgh's abbey, at Chester, and he appointed William Etleshale, a monk of their fraternity, as prior over them.† He also changed the invocation title of the church from the Holy Trinity, to that of St. Patrick, which, according to the general opinion of the times, says

an English author, was the cause of the misfortunes that afterwards befel this nobleman.

Malachi, bishop of Down, endowed this church with several tracts of land, reserving for himself the title of warden or abbot, and half of the offerings of the five grand festivals of the year; namely, Christmas, Candlemas, the festival of St. Patrick, Easter, and Pentecost.* It was much frequented, on account of its containing St. Patrick's tomb, and the transferring to it of the bodies of St. Columb and St. Bridget.

Courcy founded other houses, viz., the priory of Toberglorie, at Down, (so called from its having been built near a fountain of that name,) for the cross-bearers, of the order of St. Augustin, and the abbey of Nedrum, for Benedictines, which was connected with that of St. Bega, in Cumberland.

Whilst Courcy was acting in Ulster the parts alternately of a robber and a bigot, fresh disturbances broke out in Munster. Milo Cogan and Ranulph Fitzstephen, his son-in-law, with five knights, were killed on the road to Lismore, by a band of men under the command of a celebrated leader, called Mactire. This news having spread over the country, Dermot M'Carty, king of Desmond, and some other princes of the province, being determined to make an effort to recover their liberty, took up arms, and invested the city of Cork, where Robert Fitzstephen was. However, a reinforcement of twenty knights, with a hundred men, both horse and foot, brought by Raymond Le Gros by sea, from Wexford to Cork, together with the strength of the place, frustrated their attempt, and averted the storm which threatened the English. Richard Cogan was afterwards sent to Ireland by the king of England, with a body of troops, to replace his brother Milo.

About the end of February, Philip Barry and his brother Gerald, known by the name of Cambrensis, crossed over with a reinforcement to Ireland, both to assist their uncle Fitzstephen, and recover the estate of Oletan, which had been given them by Fitzstephen, and was usurped by his son Ralph.

Hervey, surnamed *De Monte Morisco*, (in English he was called Heremon Morty) wishing to expiate the crimes of his past life, particularly his having pillaged the churches of Inis-Catha, in concert with William Fitz-Adelm, (the revenues of which they appropriated to their own use,) founded an abbey for Bernardine monks, this year, at Don-

* Topograph. Hib. dist. 3, cap. 32.

† War. de Anal. Hib. cap. 15.

* War. de Præsul. Dunens.

brody or Dun-Broith, in the county of Wexford, near the confluence of the rivers Barrow and Suire; he afterwards became a monk in Christ's church, at Canterbury, where he was interred.*

About this time was founded, also, an abbey of Bernardine monks, on the river Nore, in that part of the Queen's county called Loise.† This abbey was called "*De Lege Dei*," or "of the law of God," and was founded by an Irish lord of the ancient and noble family of the O'Mordhas, (in English Moore), to whom the country belonged for many ages. Flatzburius fixes the foundation of this house in 1180.

Henry II., being desirous of transferring the lordship of Ireland to his son John, sent John Comin, archbishop of Dublin, in the beginning of the month of August, to prepare the minds of the people for his reception, A.D. 1184.‡ He also recalled Hugh de Lacy, in the month of September following, and granted the office of chief justice to Philip de Wigorne, who came to Ireland, accompanied by forty knights, to take possession of the government.§ The new viceroy having re-annexed to the king's domain, the privileges which Lacy had alienated, marched the Lent following, in the beginning of the month of May, with a powerful army to Armagh, where he imposed a heavy tribute on the clergy, which he made them pay by a military execution.|| He had scarcely left the city, when he was seized with an attack in his bowels, so violent that he was very near dying; which was considered a just punishment for his crimes. Hugh Tirrel was an accomplice of the viceroy, in his depredations; having retired to Down with his share of the spoils, he witnessed the fruits of his robberies, the house in which he lodged, the stables, horses, and a considerable part of the city, being destroyed by fire, the night following; by which he was so much affected, that he immediately restored all that remained of the plunder of the churches of Armagh. Lacy, his friend and benefactor, returning from England some time afterwards, he conceived an implacable hatred towards him, declared war against him, but after several battles, in which much blood was spilt, Tirrel was obliged to bend to the authority of his rival.

* Keating, Hist. of Ireland, b. 2, page 117.

† Allemand, *ibid*, page 177.

‡ West mon. Flores Hist. lib. 2, ad an. 1184.

§ Stanh. *ibid*, lib. 4. War. de Annal. Hib. cap. 16.

|| Cambrens. Top. Hib. distinc. 2, c. 50. Stan. *ibid*, lib. 4.

How edifying it is to behold the spoliators of churches and of the goods of others, founding religious establishments! This extraordinary devotion was introduced into Ireland by the English. Philip de Wigorne, viceroy of Ireland, who, a short time before, had pillaged the clergy of Armagh, founded a priory for Benedictine monks at Kilcumin, in the county of Tipperary, dedicated to St. James, and St. Philip.* It appears by the act of its foundation, the original of which has been discovered in the Cottonian library, that this English nobleman bestowed several estates which he possessed in Ireland, on the abbots of Glaston in England, on condition that they would build a house of their order at Kilcumin in Ireland, the land of which he had also given them; this priory consequently depended on the above mentioned abbey.

About this time, Arthur O'Melaghlin, chief of his tribe in Meath, was killed by the English; he was succeeded by O'Melaghlin Beg, or the little. Three English noblemen shared the same fate as O'Melaghlin; namely, Robert Barry, who was killed at Lismore; Raymond, son of Hugh, at Lechana; and Cantilon, at Idrone.

In the month of June, on Saint Barnaby's day, Henry the younger, son of Henry II., died in the castle of Martell, in Gascony, at the age of twenty-eight years; he was the cause of frequent troubles to his father during his reign. His body was brought to Rouen, and buried in the cathedral there near the grand altar.

John, earl of Mortagne, named lord of Ireland, having been created a knight at the age of twelve years, by the king, his father, at Windsor, set out in the month of April for Milford, where a fleet was waiting to convey him to Ireland, A.D. 1185.† He set sail, during the Easter, accompanied by Ralph Glanvill, chief justice of England, and his preceptor Gerald Cambrensis; and attended by four hundred knights, and some troops, amongst whom were several young men of dissipated habits, who possessed his entire confidence. As soon as they landed at Waterford, the Irish lords of the neighbourhood hastened to greet the young prince on his arrival. The manners and customs of the two people were very different; the Irish were naturally hospitable, familiar and polite towards the strangers; while the English,

* War. de Antiq. Hib. c. 26. Allemand, *ibid*, page 149.

† "John, the younger son of king Henry, was created knight by his father, and sent into Ireland." — *Ware's Annals*.

who rarely possess these qualities, received them with coldness and contempt. In consequence therefore, they on a sudden withdrew, with the determination of being revenged. The kings of Cork, Limerick, Connaught, and other princes of the country, were soon informed of what had occurred; they looked upon the whole nation to have been insulted in the persons of these noblemen, and foresaw, by the conduct of the strangers, what they might expect from them, if they became absolute masters of the country. These considerations for a time, putting an end to all domestic quarrels, they formed a general league, and took up arms indiscriminately and without leaders, throughout the several districts, against the English. Many lives were lost in this conspiracy, which was followed by no other result than that of disturbing the pleasures of the young prince, (who, together with his courtiers, spent their days and nights in debauchery), and inspiring him with a dislike for his newly acquired dignity of lord of Ireland. He resolved therefore to return to England, leaving Ireland, which he found in peace, a prey to tumult and sedition. During his stay in the country, he caused three castles to be built, one at Tibract, one at Ardfinan, and another at Lismore, to defend his subjects against the insults of their enemies. According to Hoveden, John appropriated the chief part of the money, intended for the payment of the troops, to his own purposes; the rest he squandered in a petty warfare with the Irish, and his funds being at length exhausted, he placed garrisons in all the strong places, and returned to England, leaving the government to De Lacy. The only good action attributed to this prince, during his stay in Ireland, was the foundation of the priory of St. John the Evangelist, at Waterford, for Benedictine monks. Cambrensis, his tutor, and Bertram De Verdon remained after him in Ireland, to execute, it is said, a commission which this prince had entrusted him with; but more probably to collect the fables of which Cambrensis composed his history. However this be, the prince granted them four cantreds and a half of land, in the territories of Uriel and Luva (Louth), in the neighbourhood of Dundalk, where Verdon founded, some time afterwards, the priory of St. Leonard.

The bodies of St. Malachi, St. Columb, and St. Bridget, having been discovered this year at Down, Malachi, bishop of that place, sent intelligence of it to pope Urban III.* The holy father immediately sent a

legate (probably cardinal Vivian) to Ireland, who performed the translation of the bodies of these saints, on the fifth of June.

The Irish and English carried on a continual petty warfare, in the southern parts of the island.* Four English officers, with a detachment from the garrison of Ardfinan, were put to the sword, by a body of men, under the command of Donald O'Brien, king of Limerick. Another detachment from the same garrison, having been taken in the act of plundering, near that city, shared the same fate.

When the king of England saw the ill-success of his son John in the management of his Irish affairs, he deemed it prudent to consign them to military veterans, who had been trained in the art of war, and were acquainted with the country, and he therefore gave the viceroyalty of Ireland to John Courcy, the following winter.

This skilful general made frequent incursions into the kingdoms of Cork and Connaught, with unequal success, but though he was not always victorious, his reputation rendered him very formidable.

In the mean time, O'Connor, surnamed Maonmuighe, son of Roderick, still entertained the horrible design of dethroning his father, notwithstanding a recent reconciliation between them. Having collected his vassals, and all those who were attached to his interest, he entered Connaught in a hostile manner, where he treated his father's subjects with great cruelty, but was checked in his career by the united forces of Roderick and Donald O'Brien, king of Limerick, who gave him battle. The victory of the two kings put an end to the rebellion, and a solid peace was concluded between O'Connor and his father, through the mediation of their mutual friends.

The fatigues and grief which Roderick O'Connor had undergone, having given him a disgust for governing, he abdicated the monarchy. He sent back the hostages which he had exacted from those princes who had acknowledged his sovereignty, and gave up to his son Conchovar (O'Connor) the tottering throne of Connaught. He then withdrew to the abbey of Cong, where he spent the remainder of his life, thirteen years, in preparing for eternity. He died on the 28th of November, at the age of 82 years, and left several pious legacies to the churches of Ireland, Rome, and Jerusalem. His body was removed from Cong to Cluan-Mac-Noisk, and interred in that church with

* Usser, in indice Chron. ad an 1186.

* Trias. Thaum. not. 2, 3, in Vit. 6 Sanct. Patr.

great pomp and solemnity. Thus ended, with this prince, the monarchy of Ireland, which had lasted for more than two thousand years.

Amlave O'Murid or O'Murry, who had been nominated to the archbishopric of Armagh, after Maelisa Mac-Carwel, who died on his way to Rome, soon followed his predecessor, and was succeeded by Tomultach or Thomas O'Connor. The latter had already been archbishop of Armagh, upon the death of Gilbert, which took place in 1180; but the tumults of war having caused him to resign, he ceded the archbishopric to Maelisa Mac-Carwel, in 1184, and resumed it again on the death of Amlave. He was a noble and prudent man, says the author of the annals of the monastery of the Blessed Virgin, near Dublin, and governed that diocese, the second time, for nearly sixteen years.

About this time, Dermot M'Carty, king of Desmond, having placed too much reliance on the good faith of the English, was sacrificed to their fury. He was killed, with all his retinue, by Theobald Walter, and the Englishmen of Cork, at a conference which he was holding with them for the regulation of some affairs, near that city.

John Cumin, archbishop of Dublin, assembled a provincial council, the following Lent, in the church of the Holy Trinity, Dublin, which he opened by a sermon on the sacraments of the church. Aubin O'Molloy abbot of Baltinglass, and afterwards bishop of Ferns, preached the day following, on the chastity of ecclesiastics; he inveighed in strong terms against the impurity of those who came from England and Wales, and attributed the corruption which was beginning to creep in amongst the Irish clergy to their evil example. This sermon caused a warm altercation between the abbot of Baltinglass and Giraldus Cambrensis, who was present at it. Cambrensis repaired soon afterwards to his archdeaconry in Wales, where he completed his Topography, and his history of the conquest of Ireland.

Hugh de Lacy, lord of Meath, having persecuted the Irish for a considerable time, and committed the most flagrant acts of injustice upon the inhabitants of Meath, ended his days miserably at Dermagh, now Durrogh, A.D. 1186.* The tyrant's head was cut off by a blow of an axe, which he received from a young Irish nobleman, in the disguise of a labourer, while he was superin-

tending the building of a strong castle in that place. The person who performed this deed (whom some call Malachi Maclair, and others Symmachus O'Cahargo,) fled to a neighbouring wood. The English who belonged to De Lacy's retinue, were attacked also and put to the sword. If we cannot justify this action, which was barbarous in itself, circumstances must at least extenuate its atrocity. The dead body of the English nobleman was deprived of burial by the people, for the cruelties he had committed, and kept concealed for some time; it, however, was discovered in 1195, and interred with great pomp, in the abbey of Bective, on the river Boyne, by Mathew O'Heney, archbishop of Cashel, and apostolical legate; assisted by John Cumin, archbishop of Dublin. The head of De Lacy was brought to Dublin, and buried with Rosa de Munemene, his first wife, in the abbey of Thomas Court. Lacy left two sons, Walter, the elder, lord of Meath, and Hugh, afterwards earl of Ulster.

Geofroy,* fourth son of Henry II., by his wife Eleanor, and duke of Brittany, died August 16th, 1186, and was buried in the choir of the church of Notre Dame, at Paris. He had by his wife Constantia, (who was the daughter and heiress of Conon count of Brittany,) two daughters, and a son named Arthur, who was born after his death.

Henry II., upon hearing of the tragical end of De Lacy, despatched his son John with a large army, to resume the government of Ireland; but the news of Geofroy's death at Paris having reached him, while the prince was detained at Chester, by contrary winds, orders were sent for him to return, and the command of the expedition to Ireland was given to Philip de Wigorne. Some people say, that Henry himself sailed with it.

The destruction which now threatened the country, from the continual incursions of the English, was still insufficient to unite the people in its defence, and to suppress the factions which prevailed amongst them. Donald, son of Hugue O'Loghlin, prince of the family of the O'Neills, and king of Tirven, was dethroned, and Roderick O'La-chertair was declared king in his stead. The year following, Tirconnel was invaded by the latter, who was killed, and Donald restored to the throne.

The death of Christianus O'Conarchy, the late bishop of Lismore, and apostolical legate, is said to have occurred in this year,

* War. de Annal. Hib. c. 18. Keating, Hist. of Ireland, b. 2.

* Westmonast. Flores Hist. lib. 2, ad an. 1186.

1186; he was buried in the abbey of O'Dor-ny, where he spent many years, after he had retired from the attractions of the world.

This year was also remarkable for the death of an illustrious woman, namely, Matilda, daughter of Henry I., king of England, wife of Henry IV., emperor of Germany, and the mother of Henry II. She, like her father, died at Rouen in Normandy, and was interred in the abbey of Bec. Others say, that she was buried in the abbey of Reading, in England, where the subjoined epitaph on her may be seen.*

Cardinal Octavianus and Hugue Nunant, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, were sent, in quality of legates, by Pope Urban III., at the solicitation of Henry II., to assist at the coronation of his son John, as king of Ireland. But this ceremony, says Hoveden, was dispensed with, on account of the affairs of Henry, who brought with him to Normandy these two legates, to be present at a conference which he was about to hold with Philip Augustus, concerning a peace, A. D. 1188.

The viceroy of Ireland, together with Conchovar O'Dermot, carried their hostile intentions into Connaught,† and having advanced as far as Esadar, pitched their camp there, with a design of desolating and ravaging the country of Tirconnel. The news, however, of Flahertach O'Maolduin marching with an army from that quarter, made them abandon this project; they set fire to Esadar, and returning into Connaught, met the united forces of Conchovar Maonmuighe, king of the province, and of Donald O'Brien, king of Limerick. The viceroy gave them battle, which, however, proved fatal to him; he lost the flower of his forces, besides sixteen persons of rank in his army, and the remainder were put to flight. About this time, Roderick O'Gavanan, king of Tirconnel, together with his brother, and several persons belonging to his suite, were killed near the bridge of Sligo, by Flahertach O'Maolduin.

The annals of Ulster mention a sanguinary conflict that took place in the same year, between Donald, son of Hugh O'Lochlin, king of Tyrone, and the English garrison of the castle of Moycava, or Cava-na-Cran.

* Ortu magna, viro major. sed maxima partu
Hic jacet Henrici filia, sponsa, parens.

Math. Paris, ad. an. 1196, p. 99.

“Here lies the daughter, wife, and mother of Henry; great by birth, greater by her husband, but greatest by her offspring.”—*Matheus Paris, ad an. 1196, p. 99.*

† War. de Annal. Hib. cap. 20.

The action was brisk, and the victory for a long time doubtful; but was at length gained by Donald, with the loss of his life. The body of this celebrated prince was removed to Armagh, and interred with great pomp.

Alured le Palmer, of Danish extraction, founded the priory of St. John the Baptist, of which he was the first prior,* outside of the new gate of Dublin. This house was afterwards endowed, and changed into an hospital, with accommodations for one hundred and fifty five patients, besides the chaplains, and other necessary attendants. It belonged in latter times to hermits of St. Augustin.

Courcy suppressed the abbey of Carrick, founded near the bridge of St. Finn, by Magnal Mac-Eulof, one of the kings of Ulster, and appropriated its revenues to a new house, which he founded at Inis, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, and to which he brought over Cistercian monks from the abbey of Furnes, in England. It was the policy of the English to make the monks interested in the success of their arms. One of these monks, called Jocelin, wrote the life of St. Patrick, at the request of Tomultach, O'Connor, archbishop of Armagh, Malachi, bishop of Down, and de Courcy. Martan O'Broley, a celebrated professor in the university of Armagh, died about this time; he is highly eulogised for his learning in the annals of Ulster.

The Irish princes having determined to make an effort to rescue themselves from the slavery of the English, and finding no remedy for their misfortunes but uniting under one chief, offered the sovereignty to O'Connor Maonmuighe. The princes who formed this league were, Donald O'Brien, king of Limerick, Roderick, son of Dunsleve, king of Ullagh, Donald Mac-Carthy, king of Desmond, O'Melaghlin, surnamed Beag, or the little, king of Meath, and O'Rourke, king of Brefny and Conmacne. This confederacy, however, was productive of no good result, in consequence of the accidental death of O'Connor, at Dun-Leoga, in Hy-maine, where he held his court. He left a son called Cahal-Carrach.

John Courcy, accustomed, like most of his countrymen in Ireland, to live by pillage, laid waste the neighbourhood of Ullagh, (county of Down) not sparing Armagh, A. D. 1188.† His accomplices there, were the Audleys, Gernons, Clintons, Russels, Savages, Whites, Mandevils, Jordans,

* War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 26.

† War. de Annal. Hib. cap. 21.

Stantons, and Poers, who had followed his fortune, and on whom he had bestowed estates and lordships, which did not belong to him. It is easy to be generous at the expense of others.

Whilst de Courcy was carrying on his military expeditions in Ulster, Roger Poer, a brave man, of noble family, was killed, with the garrison, in the castle of Dangisdroney, in the district of Ossory, which the Irish took by assault. They also reduced the castle of Lismore; but finding it impossible to hold out against the English, they determined to destroy it.

Murchard Mac-Carwel, king of Ergail, finding his end approaching, retired to the abbey of Mellifont, where he was buried near his father Donat, by whom it had been founded. I have now given an imperfect sketch of what passed in Ireland, from the first invasion of the English, under Henry II., to the death of that prince, which took place on the sixth of July, in his castle of Chinon, in Normandy.* His body was interred with great pomp in the monastery of Font Everard, which he had founded. He had been for some time in a declining state of health, overcome with grief and sorrow; but the list which Philip Augustus sent to him of those who had conspired against him, amongst whom was his favourite son John, was the immediate cause of his death.

The following ceremony was observed, according to Baker, at his funeral obsequies: "He was clothed in his royal robes, his crown on his head, white gloves on his hands, boots and spurs of gold on his feet, a valuable ring on his finger, the sceptre in his hand, his sword to his side, and his face uncovered."

"As they were carrying his body to the grave, his son Richard approached it with eagerness, in order to look at it, whereupon a quantity of blood issued from the nose. Although the above fact," continues our author, "was not a proof of the innocence of Richard, the torrent of tears which he shed on the occasion, was a sign that he had repented." Baker speaks of a princess of the house of Anjou, from which Henry was descended, who was suspected of being a sorceress, and who, it is said, flew through the windows of the church when it was required of her to receive the blessed Eucharist; and that it never could be discovered what became of her. This story, he says, which has been published by every writer, might have afforded to Heraclius, patriarch

of Jerusalem, (who solicited the aid of Henry against Saladin), the opportunity of foretelling many misfortunes that should befall that king, and of announcing to his children, that they would return to the devil, from whom they had gone forth. But he remarks with justice, that historians ought rather to have passed over the subject in silence.

I have already pourtrayed the morals of Henry II.; let English writers therefore draw his panegyric. A flatterer has written the following line, in itself fine, and very laudatory of the memory of that prince, and of Richard, his successor.

"Mira canam, sol occubuit, nox nulla secuta est."

John Comin, archbishop of Dublin, Aubin O'Mulloy, bishop of Ferns, and Concor, bishop of Enaghduin, assisted at the coronation of Richard, surnamed Cœur de Lion, on the third of September following, at Westminster, which was performed by Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury. His brother John, earl of Mortagne, was content with being lord of Ireland. The marriage of William Marshal with Isabella, daughter of earl Strongbow, took place about this time; by which he acquired extensive possessions in Leinster, and the title of Earl of Pembroke.

CHAPTER XIX.

As soon as Richard I., surnamed Cœur de Lion, was crowned king of England, he determined to undertake an expedition to the Holy Land, A. D. 1190, in order, it is said, to make atonement for the rebellion, which he had been guilty of against his father. He set out for Palestine, where he arrived the year following, with a numerous army, without leaving any orders relative to the government of Ireland, thinking, perhaps, that he had no right to interfere in the affairs of that island, since Henry II. had granted the sovereignty of it to his brother John. He sent a deputation, however, to pope Clement III., requesting him to appoint William de Long-Champs, bishop of Ely, legate of the British dominions, and of that part of Ireland which was subject to his brother John. It appears by the pope's rescript, quoted in the history of Matthew Paris,* that the English then owned but a

* "Richard, king of England, sent William, bishop of Ely, with a deputation to pope Clement, from whom he obtained the following rescript—

* Baker, Chron. of England, on the year 1189.

small portion of that country. We do not discover that the legate had ever been in Ireland, or made any regulations concerning it.

The O'Connors had still retained a vestige of sovereignty in Connaught. Cahal-Carrach, son of O'Connor Maonmuighe, succeeded his father; but had a formidable rival in his grand-uncle, Cahal-Crovedarg, brother to Roderick the monarch. These princes had each his party to vindicate their respective claims, and the province suffered greatly by their disunion. They even sought for partisans among the English.* William Fitz-Adelm declared in favour of Cahal-Carrach, and Crovedarg was supported by John de Courcy. After many acts of hostility on both sides, they at length came to a decisive engagement. Both armies were composed of Irish and English, who performed prodigies of valour, and the victory was long doubtful; but the troops of Cahal-Carrach beginning to give way, were at last put to flight. The prince himself and several nobles of the province, were found among the slain, and Fitz-Adelm returned to Limerick with the troops that remained. Cahal-Crovedarg then besieged a strong castle, which Fitz-Adelm had built at Mileach O'Madden, in the district of Siolamachad, to favour his retreat in case of need: the garrison which was composed of Englishmen, finding themselves unable to defend the place, and dreading military execution in case of resistance, withdrew during the night, and the victorious prince caused the castle and all its fortifications to be razed to the ground.

As an act of thanksgiving, Cahal-Crovedarg founded an abbey for Bernardine monks, in a place called Knock-Moy, in the county of Galway, where he had gained the victory, which he called *De Colle Victoriae*, or the Mount of Victory.† This house was a branch of the abbey of Boyle, of the order of Clairvaux. Jungelinus places this founda-

tion in 1190, and others so late as 1200: however, this be, Crovedarg soon afterwards finding his end approaching, assumed the monastic habit in this house, where he was interred, having governed the province as chief of the Hy-Brunes and of Clan-Murray. The descendants of this valiant prince never accepted of titles of honour from the kings of England; titles which most of the ancient Irish families then despised, and looked upon as marks of slavery. The name of O'Connor Don, which belonged to the chief of this tribe, as well as those of other chiefs of great families, was much more noble, according to the genius and manners of the nation, than the title of earl or marquis. The present chief of this illustrious house of O'Connor, is Daniel, son of Andrew O'Connor, of Ballintobber, who still retains a small portion of the vast possessions of his ancestors in Connaught.

Ware mentions the foundation of a priory at this time, under the title of Saint Mary, at Kenlis,* in the county of Kilkenny, by Galfridus, seneschal of Leinster, for regular canons of St. Augustin. But in the additions made to the *Monasticum Anglicanum* of Dugdale and Dodswort, this foundation is fixed earlier, that is in 1183, under the reign of Henry II.

At Navan, a considerable town in Meath, at the confluence of the rivers Boyne and Blackwater, there was an abbey founded for regular canons of St. Augustin, by Jocelin Nangle, (*De Angulo*), an English lord, who had settled in this country.†

In the neighbourhood of the town of Wexford, we discover the priory of Saints Peter and Paul, called Selsker, founded in this century, for regular canons of the order of St. Augustin, by the Roches, lords of Fermoy.

John Comin, archbishop of Dublin, employed himself in beautifying the churches of that city; he had the cathedral, called Christ's Church, repaired; and St. Patrick's Church, which was falling into ruins, completely rebuilt. He founded thirteen prebendaries, which number was afterwards increased to twenty-two. He also founded a nunnery in that city, for regular canonesses of St. Augustin, called *De Gratia Dei*, "of the grace of God."‡

The war between the O'Briens of Thuomond, and the M'Cartys, of Desmond, had lasted for a considerable time; and though peace was at length concluded between these

"Clement, bishop, &c., according to the commendable desire of our dearest son in the Lord, Richard, the illustrious king of England, we have by our apostolical authority, decreed that the office of legate be entrusted to thy charge, over England, Wales, including the archbishoprics of Canterbury and York, and those parts of Ireland in which John, the noble knight of Moreton, and brother of his majesty, exercises control and dominion." "Given on the fifth of June, in the 3rd year of our pontificate."—*Matthew Paris, on the year 1188*, part 108.

† Keating, Hist. of Ireland, b. 2.

† War. de Antiq. Hib. c. 26. Allemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irl. page 189.

* War. de Antiq. cap. 26.

† Allemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irl. page 32.

‡ Idem. page 341.

two septs, it was, unluckily, but of short continuance. Heaven itself seemed displeased with the discord of these people, at a period when union was so necessary for the defence of their country. Munster was visited at this time by dreadful storms and hurricanes, which destroyed several houses and churches, and caused the loss of many lives.

About this time was celebrated, in the monastery of Clairvaux in France, the festival of the translation of the relics of St. Malachi, archbishop of Armagh. They were afterwards removed to the abbey of Mellifont in Ireland, and particles of them distributed to the different houses of the Cistercian order.

Matthew O Heney, archbishop of Cashel, having been nominated legate of Ireland, by pope Celestinus III., convened a council in Dublin, A.D. 1192; but we are unacquainted with what passed in it. About this time the city suffered considerably by fire.

Whilst some of the English were occupied in building the castles of Ballinorcher and Kilbixi, in Westmeath, and that of Kilkenny, in Leinster, others of them were completely destroyed at Dunlusk O'Fogerte, by Donald O'Brien, king of Limerick; after which the English, in revenge for their losses, collected a force, and pillaged the country of Thuomond.

About the same time, an abbey of Benedictines was founded at Glascarrig, in the county of Wexford; an abbey also of the Cistercian order at Ballinamore, in Westmeath, and one in the city of Down.*

There were two priories in Eastmeath, one near the town of Trim, and the other at Kella, in the same county. Both belonged to the order of the Holy-Cross. The former was founded by a bishop of Meath, the latter by Walter de Lacy.†

Richard, king of England, whom we left in Asia, was shipwrecked in the Adriatic sea, on his return to Europe. In order to conceal his coming to England, he took the road through Germany, where he had the misfortune of falling into the hands of Leopold, marquis of Austria. This prince had not forgotten the insult he had received at the siege of Acre, from Richard, who tore down the standard he had set up on the top of a tower, and placed his own in its stead. He sold Richard to the emperor Henry VI., who detained him a prisoner for fifteen months. His brother John, lord of Ireland, wishing to take advantage of this opportunity, and, according to Ware, at the instigation of

Philip Augustus, made some attempts to usurp the crown of England;* but being doubtful of success, he only fortified some castles in England, and went to Normandy, where Philip Augustus then was, by whom he was honourably received.

Richard, having been released from his captivity, returned to England, where he was joyfully received by his subjects; and then went to Normandy, to put a stop to the progress of Philip.† His brother John followed him thither, and implored his forgiveness in the humblest manner, promising him fidelity for the future. He granted him his pardon, through the solicitation of his mother Eleanor, saying, "I wish I may forget your crime, and that you alone may preserve the remembrance of it."‡

In Ireland the O'Briens were still opposed to the M'Cartys, and in 1193, the king of Limerick consented to the building of the castle of Briginis, in the country of Thuomond, to favour the incursions of the English into Desmond. These strangers still continued their depredations; they held nothing sacred. Gilbert de Nangle pillaged the island of Inisclohran, in lake Ree, and also the abbey; whilst Africa, wife of John de Courcy, founded the abbey of our Lady of Leigh, or *De Jugo Dei*, in Ulster, in which she was afterwards interred. About this time died Derforgill, wife of Tigernach O'Rourk, whose misconduct had drawn irremediable misfortunes on her country. She has been at first confined by order of Roderick O'Connor, in the abbey of St. Bridget in Kildare, from whence she was removed to the abbey of Mellifont, where she died.

The year following was much more memorable by the death of Donald O'Brien, king of Limerick, A.D. 1194. This prince was no less pious than warlike; he founded several monasteries, and made also many efforts, though too late, to shake off the yoke of the English. His first fault was irreparable: instead of joining the other princes of Ireland, in the common cause, he had been one of the first to submit to Henry II., without making the least resistance, and thereby afforded the English an opportunity of becoming strong in the country. Although the last king of Limerick, he was succeeded in the government of that part of the island by his son Donogh Cairbreach. The eyes of his second son, Mortough, were put out by the English.

* War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 26.

† Allemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irl.

* Annal. Hib. ad an. 1193.

† Westmonast Flores. Hist. lib. 2, ad an. 1192.

‡ Walsing. Ypodig. Meust. ad an. 1193, 1194. Bak. Chron. of Engl. on the reign of Richard.

The affairs of the English in Ireland were in a very precarious state, A.D. 1195; after being defeated in several engagements, they were expelled from Limerick by Donald M'Carty. The Irish knew how to gain victories, but had not the art of turning them to advantage; the superiority of their arms was soon counterbalanced by the stratagems of war, skilfully made use of by the English, and by the succour these strangers were continually receiving from England. Philip de Wigorne landed this year, on the coasts of Munster, with a strong reinforcement which changed the aspect of their affairs. In Ulster Roderick, son of Dunleve, with a body of troops composed of both English and Irish, made incursions into Tyrone; but was repulsed and attacked in his retreat at Armagh, by Mortough O'Loughlin, prince of that district, who destroyed a considerable part of his army. This prince celebrated in the histories of the country, was killed some time afterwards, by Donough M'Bloschy O'Cahan, and his body interred with great pomp at Derry.

About this time, pope Celestine III. confirmed the foundation of a monastery for Augustin nuns, at Termonfechau, in the county of Louth, by the M'Mahons, lords of the country.*

Courcy having taken the castle of Kilsandall, placed a garrison in it, A.D. 1196, under the command of one Russell, who, to try his fortune, made some incursions with the troops of his garrison into the country of Tirconnel, from whence he carried away considerable booty; but he was attacked on the way and killed, with several of his followers, by Flahertech O'Maolduin, prince of Tirconnel.

In Munster, Donald M'Carty put the English garrison of Imacalle to the sword, and razed the castle to the ground. He treated the garrison of Kilfeacle in the same manner, and pillaged the castle. In order to put a stop to the enterprises of M'Carty, the English sent an army, composed of the garrisons of Cork and other places, against him; but did not, however, come to an engagement. A truce was concluded, and hostilities ceased for some time.

Gilbert de Nangle, a man of considerable power in Meath, put himself at the head of a body of troops, and committed dreadful devastation in the surrounding country; but finding himself threatened by Hamon de Valoines, who had succeeded Peter Pippard

as lord justice of Ireland, he laid down his arms and took to flight, after which his castles were seized, and his estates confiscated.

A serious dispute occurred, A.D. 1179, between John Comin, archbishop of Dublin, and Hamon de Valoines, and other ministers of John, lord of Ireland, who were encroaching on the privileges of his church. The prelate excommunicated them, and then went to England, where he in vain complained of the injustice of these ministers. It has since been discovered in the registries of the church of Dublin, that Hamon granted to the successor of Comin, twenty carucates or quarters of land, in compensation for the wrongs he had done it.

John de Courcy continued his tyranny in Ulster. He made the people suffer for the crime of an individual; putting several innocent persons to death, in order to be revenged for the death of his brother Jordan, who was killed by his own servant. He laid waste the country of Tirconnel, from which he carried off much booty, after having killed O'Dogherty, who became prince of that country, after the death of Flahertach O'Maolduin. The latter who was so celebrated amongst the Irish for his military exploits, and other virtues, died at Inis-Samer, on the 10th of February, after a long illness, and was buried, with pomp, at Drum-Tuama.

Hamon de Valoines, lord justice of Ireland, was at length recalled, A.D. 1198. He was succeeded by Meyler Fitzhenry, renowned in history for his exploits against the Irish.

The castle of Ard-Patrick, in Munster, was built this year by the English; and the year following, that of Astretin, in the same province.

Richard I., survived his captivity but five or six years. He was almost continually at war with Philip Augustus.* Several truces were concluded between them. Richard was at length wounded in the arm by an arrow, that was discharged by Bertram de Gordon, otherwise called Peter Basile, when he was endeavouring to enter the castle of Chalus, near Limoge, by force.† His wound having mortified through the ignorance of the surgeon who dressed it, he died after a few days. His body was interred at Fonteveraud, near the tomb of his father, and his heart brought to Rouen, in gratitude for the love which that city had always manifested towards him.‡

* Westmon. Flores. Hist. lib. 2. ad an. 1199.

† Matth. Paris. Angli. Hist. Major. Vit. Richard.

‡ Baker's Chron. of Engl. on the reign of Richard I.

* War. de Antiq. Allemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irl. page 349.

John, earl of Mortagne, lord of Ireland, who had endeavoured to usurp the throne of England during his brother's life time, did not fail to lay claim to it after his death, to the prejudice of his nephew Arthur, son of Geoffry, of Brittany, his elder brother.* Arthur took up arms, and was supported by Philip Augustus; but John made him prisoner at Mirabel in Poitou, whence he sent him, under a strong escort, to Falaise, and thence to Rouen, where he had him put to death; by which means he united the hereditary domains of his family, on the continent, with the kingdom of England.†

The English still continued their hostilities in Ireland, A.D. 1199. John de Courcy sent a body of troops, this year to Tyrone, who laid the country waste, and carried away several herds of cattle. They were not, however, so fortunate in a second enterprise. Hugh O'Neill, prince of the country, marched to meet them, and defeated them at Donoughmore. Meanwhile, the English of Munster continued to devastate the country of Desmond, from the river Shannon to the Eastern sea. About the same period, a fortified castle was built at Granard, in the district of Aumale, in the county of Longford, by Richard Tuite, to check the O'Reillys and other Irish chieftains, who were carrying on a continual warfare against the English, who had settled in that quarter.

The abbey of Comeror or Comber, in the county of Down, was founded this year, for Cistercian monks, by the Whites, who had settled in that country.‡ This abbey was inconsiderable, and was a branch of that of Blancheland, in Wales, whence its first monks came over.

King John was not less avaricious than his father: he drew money from all quarters, and it may be said that his reign was one continual tax.§ According to Hoveden, he sold to William, nephew of Philip de Braos, for four thousand marks of silver, the lands of the O'Carrols, the O'Kennedys, O'Maghers, O'Fogartys, O'Ryans, O'Hifferans, and others, which Henry his father had given to Philip de Worcester, and to Theobald Fitzwalter. But Worcester, who was then in England, returned to Ireland through Scotland, and recovered his estates by open force. Fitzwalter, with the assistance of his brother de Hubert, archbishop of Canter-

bury, compounded with de Braos for his estates, by paying five hundred marks.* Those lands were Truoheked, Eile-y-Carrol, Eile-y-Ogarthi, Orwon, Areth and Owny, Owny Hokathelan, and Owny Hiffernan. William de Braos gave up those lands to Fitzwalter, by a charter delivered at Lincoln, in presence of the king. Henry II., had already conferred on Fitzwalter the office of grand hereditary butler of Ireland, from whence is derived the name of Butler, which was afterwards taken by the descendants of that nobleman.

William Marshal, earl of Pembroke, being in danger of shipwreck, on his passage from England to Ireland, made a vow to build a religious house;† in consequence of which, he founded, A.D. 1199, the abbey called little Tinterne, in Ireland, in a village of that name, on the coast of Wexford. The abbey was so called to distinguish it from the great Tinterne, in Wales, where the Cistercian order was established, and of which it was a branch. This nobleman also founded two religious houses, one at Kilrush, in the county of Kildare, for regular canons, and the other at Wexford, for hospitallers of St. John the Baptist of Jerusalem, and St. Bridget.‡ Besides the latter house, which was the grand priory, the order of Malta had nine commanderies in Ireland, before the suppression of the Templars.

About this time, Donat, son of Donald O'Brien, king of Limerick, founded two abbeys, dedicated to the blessed Virgin; one that of Corcumroe, or *de Petra Fertili*, in the county of Clare of the Cistercian order; the other, that of Kilcoul, or *de Arvicampo*, in the county of Tipperary, a branch of the abbey of Jeripont.

We discover at the same time, the foundation of two nunneries: one at Kilcreunata, in the county of Galway, called *de Casta Sylva*, founded by Cahal O'Connor, surnamed Crowderg, for Benedictines; the other at Granary, county of Kildare, founded by Walter de Ridelesford, an English nobleman, for monks of St. Augustin.§ This monastery is, perhaps, the same as Grane, a priory of Benedictines, in the same county, founded by the same nobleman; the act of its foundation is mentioned by the authors of the "*Monasticum Anglicanum*," to have been inserted in a bull of pope Innocent

* Westmonast. ibid. ad an. 1202.

† Matth. Paris. Angli. Hist. Major. ad an. 1292. Baker. Chron. of Engl. on the reign of John I.

‡ Allemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irl. page 193.

§ Baker. Chron. of Engl. on the reign of John I. War. de Annal. Hib. ad an. 1200.

* Introduction to the life of the duke of Ormond. vol. 1, p. 18.

† War. de Antiq. Hib. c. 26.

‡ Allem. Hist. Monast. d'Irl. page 24, 124.

§ War. de Antiq. Hib. c. 26. Allem. ibid. p. 347.

III., in the year 1207, by which it appears that this English nobleman, its founder, and baron of Bre, lord of Tristeldermot and other places, granted it the lands of Grane, Dolke, and others.

At Nenagh, in the county of Tipperary, there was a priory or hospital called Teach-Eon, dedicated to St. John the Baptist, founded by Theobald Walter, the chief of the Butlers,* A.D. 1200. At Athassel, a small town in the same county was the priory of St. Edmond, king and martyr, founded for regular canons in 1200, by William de Burgo, from whom the Burkes are descended.

At Kilbeggain, in Westmeath, there was an abbey of Cistercian monks, called *de Flu-mine Dei*, founded by the Daltons, barons of Rathcomire.† It was a branch of the abbey of Mellifont, its first monks having come from that abbey.

At Tristernach, in Westmeath, there was also a priory for regular canons of St. Augustin, called St. Mary's, founded about this time, by Geoffry de Constantin, an English lord. Dugdale and Dodsworth mention the act of its foundation, in the additions to the "*Monasticum Anglicanum*."

In the neighbourhood of the town of Wexford, the priory of St. Peter and St. Paul, was founded by the Roches, lords of Fermoy, for regular canons of St. Augustin. There was also a priory of the same order, under the title of St. John the Baptist, at Naas, in the county of Kildare, founded by a baron of Naas.

The church of Ireland lost two celebrated prelates at this period, (A.D. 1201); Thomas O'Connor, archbishop of Armagh, a noble and virtuous character, was one; he was interred in the abbey of Mellifont.‡ The English wishing to make themselves masters of the see, which had become vacant by his death, the king of England appointed Hum-fred de Tikhull to it; but he was prevented from acting by the pope, who conferred it on Eugene Mac-Gillevidier, a native of Ireland. Eugene was a man of great virtue, "*vir magnæ honestatis et vitæ laudabilis*;" he died at Rome in 1216, after having assisted at the fourth council of Lateran.

Catholicus O'Dubhay archbishop of Tuam, was the other prelate alluded to. He was a grave and learned man, and had made peace between Roderick O'Connor and Henry II., he was also one of the six Irish prelates that

had assisted at the council of Lateran. His death took place at Cong, at an advanced age,* and he was buried in the monastery of the regular canons of St. Augustin, and was succeeded by Felix O'Ruadan.

There had always existed a jealousy and secret enmity between the Lacys and John de Courcy, which broke out openly in the beginning of the reign of king John.† This king was abhorred by all good men, not only for having deprived Arthur of the crown, who was legitimate heir to it, but also for having imbrued his own hands in the blood of that innocent prince. Every one expressed his indignation openly, particularly John de Courcy, earl of Ulster, who was a violent and hasty man, and who, not content with the mere abhorrence which so detestable an act excited, gave vent to imprecations, of which the king was soon informed. In order to punish de Courcy's imprudence, John sent orders to de Lacy, whom he had just appointed lord justice of Ireland, to have him arrested and brought to England in chains. Lacy was glad to receive these orders, so much in accordance with his own wishes, and lost not a moment in using all his efforts to execute the commission. Courcy informed of the danger which threatened him, withdrew to Ulster, where he placed himself on the defensive, and defeated the king's troops, whom de Lacy had sent in pursuit of him, near Down. The viceroy finding it impossible to reduce his enemy by force of arms, published a manifesto in the king's name, declaring de Courcy a traitor to the king, and a rebel to his commands, and offered a reward to whomsoever should take and bring him, dead or alive to him. This reward some of de Courcy's own household were base enough to earn; he was arrested on Good Friday by some of his own attendants, and brought to the viceroy, who after giving those who delivered him up, the promised reward, had them all hanged. Lacy immediately set out with his prisoner for England, and presented him to the king, by whose orders he was confined in a dungeon. As a reward for this service, Lacy received from his royal master all the lands which belonged to de Courcy, in Ulster and Connaught, together with the title of earl of Ulster.

The people of Tyrone deposed Hugh O'Neill this year, and placed Cornelius Mac-Laughlin in his stead, who was killed in battle a short time afterwards, by Eigneachain

* Allemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irl. page 65.

† War. de Antiq. ibid. Allemand, ibid. p. 179.

‡ War. de Archiepisc. Ardmach.

* War. de Archiepisc. Tuamens.

† Stanihurst. de Reb. in Hib Gest. page 212.

O'Donnel; after which O'Neill was reinstated.

The discord which prevailed between Philip de Worcester and William de Braos, to whom the king had sold the lands of Philip, as has been already observed, was productive of great troubles in Munster, particularly in the district of Moy-Femin, which was pillaged: but the year following, the castle of Knockgrassan, and other places which had been seized by Philip, were restored to William, by order of the king.

William Fitz-Adelm, or de Burgo, made some incursions into the country of Desmond, and carried off considerable booty. The king gave him by charter five military fiefs, in a place called Toth, where the castle of Canic, now Castle-Connel, stands, which have remained in the hands of his descendants to the present time.

Keating mentions an expedition which Fitz-Adelm made into Connaught, where he committed dreadful devastations.* According to him, cruelty was the ruling passion of this nobleman; he put the priests and people to the sword, without distinction, and destroyed the religious houses, and other holy places in this province, so that his tyrannical conduct drew upon him the censures of the clergy, and he was solemnly excommunicated by the church; in which state he died of an extraordinary sickness, which caused frightful distortions. He gave no signs of repentance; his body was carried to a village, the inhabitants of which he had put to death, and was thrown into a well, from whence it was never afterwards taken.†

Stanihurst, following Cambrensis,‡ gives the following account of him. He was a man, he says, solely occupied in amassing riches, a mercenary governor, and detested both by prince and people; the duties of his office he discharged in a shameful and sordid manner, and disregarded justice, when his own interest was in question. He concludes

* History of Ireland, book 2.

† Keating takes this fact from an authentic manuscript, written three hundred years before his time, consequently in or about the thirteenth century. He calls this manuscript *Leavar Breac*, or the book of Mac-Eogain.

‡ The honours which he conferred on any one were always but a mask of his treacherous intentions, concealing poison beneath the honey, and resembling a snake lurking in the grass. Liberal and mild in his aspect, but carrying more aloes than honey within—

*Pelliculam veterem retinens, vir fronte politus,
Astutam vapido portans sub pectore vulpem;
Impia sub dulci melle venena ferens.*

Hibernia Expugnata, c. 16.

by saying, it is not surprising that his memory should be held in abhorrence by the people: "ut non mirum fuerit, si incolis tristem horribilemque memoriam nominis sui reliquerit."*

Although the historians of the times have represented William Fitz-Adelm as a wicked man, he left a posterity in Ireland, who were worthy of a better ancestor, and who were always distinguished for their religion, virtue, and fidelity to their lawful princes.

There were some religious houses founded about this time in Ireland. At Conol, a village on the river Liffey, in the county of Kildare, a rich priory was established for regular canons of St. Augustin, by Myler Fitzhenry.† This priory depended on the abbey of Anthoni, in England, and the original act for its establishment is in the Bodleian library.

In a very pleasant situation, on the right bank of the river Liffey, in the county of Kildare, there was a handsome priory of the order of St. Victor, dedicated to St. Wolstan, who had been lately canonised by pope Innocent III. This house was commonly called *Scala Cæli*, or the ladder of heaven. It was founded by Richard, the first abbot, and Adam de Hereford, both Englishmen, in 1235.‡

About this time, Theobald Fitzwalter, first grand butler of Ireland, founded at Owny or Wetheni, in the district of Lime-rick, an abbey for Cistercian monks;§ it was a branch of the abbey of Lavigni, diocese of Avranches, in Normandy, from whence its first monks were brought.

At Inistock, in the county of Kilkenny, there was a priory for regular canons of St. Augustin, called after St. Columbanus, founded, according to Ware, in 1206, by Thomas, seneschal of Leinster, at the request of Hugh, bishop of Ossory.

Ware also mentions a religious house, founded in the neighbourhood of Drogheda, which was called *De Urso*, having been founded by Ursus de Samuel; it was a priory and hospital, for the order of the Holy Cross, the monks of which were called cross-bearers. Some believe that it was a custodia or hospital, belonging to the regular canons of St. Augustin.

At Newtown, in the neighbourhood of Trim, on the river Boyne, there was a rich and handsome priory, founded in 1206, for

* De Reb. in Hib. Gest. lib. 4, p. 185.

† War. de Antiq. Hib. c. 26. Allemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irl. page 22.

‡ War. de Antiq. ibid. page 120.

§ Allemand, ibid. page 184.

regular canons of St. Augustin, under the title of St. Peter and St. Paul, by Simon Rochford, bishop of Meath, who fixed his abode there.* This prelate having removed the episcopal see of Clonard to Trim, the bishops of that diocese were afterwards called *Episcopi Trimenses*, instead of *Cluanardenses*; but the diocese was commonly called the bishopric of Meath, taking its name from the county rather than from a city.

In his annals of the same year, (1202), Ware fixes the martyrdom of St. Manon, a native of Ireland, whom Molanus ranks among the saints of Flanders. This saint was a disciple of Saint Remulch, and St. John Agnus, bishop of Utrecht. He was massacred in the forest of Ardenne, and buried in a church which he had founded at Nassoin, in Ardenne, where he is acknowledged as the patron saint.

In the year 1207, a religious house was founded at Douske, in the county of Kilkenny, by William Marshal, earl of Pembroke, for Cistercian monks. This abbey was called, "Valley of the Blessed Saviour." Another was founded at Atherdee, or *De Atrio Dei* in the county of Louth, by Roger Pipard, a lord of that district, for monks called cross-bearers, under the title of St. John the Baptist.

Geoffry M'Moris, or Morich, an Irish nobleman, having caused a revolt against the English, in the county of Tipperary, A.D. 1208, Hugh de Lacy marched as viceroy towards Thurles, with all the troops he could collect, where he destroyed the castle, called Castle Meiler; but having lost several of his men at the taking of this place, and in the various conflicts he had with the Irish, he was forced to abandon his enterprise.

A tragical scene occurred in the year 1209, which gave rise to what the English have since called "black Monday." It was as follows: a contagious distemper raged in Dublin, by which it was almost depopulated, and being deserted by the inhabitants, an English colony was sent for to Bristol to replace them. These strangers, who had been accustomed to go to the country on festival days, for their amusement, left the city in crowds on Easter Monday; when approaching Cullin's Wood, (so called from the noble family of the O'Cullens, to whom it had formerly belonged), they were attacked by the O'Byrnes and O'Tools, from the county of Wicklow, with their vassals, who massacred three hundred of them, sparing

neither women nor children. At that time England was an inexhaustible source of men, particularly when to make a fortune in Ireland was in question, and the loss was soon repaired by a new colony from Bristol. The mayor, aldermen, and citizens of Dublin, celebrated for many ages the anniversary of this fatal day, in the place where the massacre was committed, by feasting and rejoicings.

At Fermoy in the county of Cork, on the river called Avoine Moer, there was an abbey called *De Castro Dei*, founded by the noble family of de Rupe, Roche, or de la Roche, lords of that place.* The monks of this abbey were of the Cistercian order, and came from the abbey of Suire; several were brought afterwards from the abbey of Furnese, in England. Jungelinus says it was founded in 1170, which does not accord with the period when the founder of it settled in Ireland. It should be fixed some years later, viz., about the beginning of the thirteenth century.

In the neighbourhood of Waterford, there was also the priory of St. Catherine of the order of St. Victor, founded by the Danes or Ostmans of that city, and confirmed by Innocent III. in 1210.

At Lerha, near Granard, in the county of Longford, there was an abbey of Bernardines, founded by Richard Tuite, an Englishman, lord of Granard. The first monks of this abbey came from that of our Lady, of Dublin, of the order of the Clairvaux.† Some say that this house was founded in 1210, Jungelinus in 1211, and Flatzburi in 1212. The founder was killed the following year, at Athlone, by the falling of a tower, and his body interred in this abbey.

At Beaubec, a place so called, from its being situated on a delightful peninsula, formed by the confluence of the rivers Boyne and Blackwater, in Meath, there was an abbey founded by Walter de Lacy, lord of that district. This abbey was of the Cistercian order, and a branch of that of Beaubec, in Normandy. It was afterwards united to that of Furnese in England. Ware mentions in his annals a monastery which he calls Fort, founded by the above mentioned nobleman.

Courcy, whom we had left confined in England, found means to recover the king's

* War. de Antiq. Hib. c. 26. Allemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irl. page 181.

† War. de Antiq. cap. 26. Allemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irl. page 180.

* Allemand, ibid. page 31.

favour,* and was restored by him to both his liberty and fortune. This nobleman was particularly desirous of returning to Ireland, where he had such extensive possessions. He set sail fifteen times for that country, and was as often driven back by contrary winds, as if some invisible and avenging hand would deprive him of the pleasure of seeing a country, in which he had committed so many and such flagrant crimes. He was at length cast upon the coast of France, where he died. Such was the end of this great tyrant, whom the English call a great general. According to Stanihurst, he left no posterity, like many other chiefs of the English colony. However, Nichols, the author of the "Compendium," alleges that he had a son called Myles, who was deprived of his father's title and possessions, which the king conferred on de Lacy. By way of indemnification, he was created baron of Kingsale, where his descendants have supported their dignity to the present time.

John visited Ireland in the twelfth year of his reign. He landed at Waterford, at the head of a numerous and well provided army, to put down the Irish who had rebelled, and were continually pillaging and destroying his English subjects. It is affirmed by some, that their rebellion was caused by an exorbitant tax, which the king wished to lay on them, in order to enable him to carry on the war against France, and that finding this tax too heavy to be borne, they determined to have recourse to arms rather than submit to it.

The king having marched with his forces towards Dublin,† the people, alarmed at his power, came from all quarters, to submit to an oath of allegiance and to keep the peace. Twenty petty kings, called Reguli by the English authors, paid him homage in Dublin.‡ There were others, however, who disdained to bend beneath the yoke of England. "Pauci tamen ex Regulis supersederunt, qui ad regem venire contempserunt."

It appears that the object of this prince's expedition was not only to quell the insurrection of the Irish, but likewise to punish his English subjects who were oppressing

them, and exercising an insupportable tyranny every where their authority extended. For this purpose he advanced into the country, and seized upon their castles and fortified places. All fled before him, and amongst others, William de Braos, his wife Matilda, his son William, and their whole retinue; but they were seized, brought to England under a strong guard, and confined in Windsor castle, where, by order of the king, they were starved to death.* Others, however, say that William de Braos, having been banished the kingdom, died of grief in Paris, and was buried on the eve of St. Laurence's day, in the abbey of St. Victor, in that city.†

The de Lacys were not more fortunate than de Braos. Walter, lord of Meath, and his brother Hugh, earl of Ulster, and lord justice of Ireland, goaded by remorse for their extortions and tyranny, and also for the murder of John de Courcy, lord of Ratheny and Kilbarrock, near Dublin, (who was natural son to the former earl of Ulster, and whose death was so justly attributed to them;) as well as pressed by the complaints which had been made of them to the king, resolved to quit the kingdom, and accordingly took refuge in Normandy. The king immediately appointed John Gray, bishop of Norwich, his deputy in Ireland, in place of Hugh de Lacy.

In order to guard against every search which the king might make after them, the Lacys disguised themselves as labourers, and were admitted in that capacity into the abbey of St. Taurin of Evreux, where they lived by their labour during two or three years, cultivating the grounds of the abbey, and attending to the gardens. What a fall! The abbot being pleased with the two workmen, sent for them one day; and either from a previous knowledge of their situation, or from discovering something superior to what they professed to be in their comportment and manner, questioned them concerning their origin, birth, and country. Having obtained a knowledge of their entire history, he felt a deep interest and pity for them, and promised to restore them to their prince's favour. In this he was successful; the king gave them his pardon, and permitted them to ransom their estates. Walter paid two thousand five hundred marks in silver for Meath; and his brother Hugh a much larger sum for his possessions in Ulster and Connaught. These noblemen were so grateful

* Stanihurst. de Reb. in Hib. Gest. lib. p. 217.

† "He was married to the daughter of the king of Man, but left no issue after him, like many of those who ruled over the Irish at that time; whose families from want of children were quickly reduced to a small number.—Stanihurst, b. 4, p. 218.

‡ Matth. Paris. Angl. Hist. Major. ad an. 1210.

§ This is an exaggeration of those writers. There never were twenty kings at one time in Ireland. The title of king was given only to the monarch, and the four provincial kings.

* Matth. Paris. ibid.

† Westmonast. Flores Hist. ad an. 1211.

for the services which the abbot of St. Taurin had rendered them, that they brought his nephew Alured with them to Ireland, and loaded him with riches.

In the city of Kilkenny, a priory and hospital of the order of the regular canons of St. Augustin were founded at this time by William Marshal, earl of Pembroke. The authors of the "*Monasticum Anglicanum*" mention, that this house, which was under the protection of St. John the Evangelist, was not founded till 1220. There was also a priory of the same order in the county of Kilkenny, founded by the Blanchfelds.

The king of England having allayed the troubles in Ireland, thought of giving a form of government to his new subjects. He divided that part of the island which obeyed him, into twelve shires or counties; and established sheriffs or provosts, and other officers of justice, in those counties, to govern the people according to the laws of England. Lastly, he remodelled the coin, and decreed that the same should pass in England and in Ireland; after which he embarked for Wales, where he appeased some troubles, as he passed, and took with him twenty-eight children, of the first rank, as hostages, to secure the fidelity of the people;* but having heard some time afterwards, that the Welsh were beginning to rebel again, he was so transported with rage, that he had all these innocent victims hanged in his presence, as he was sitting to table, A.D. 1212.†

About this time died John Comin, archbishop of Dublin, who had governed that church for thirty years. He was interred in the choir of Christ's Cathedral, A.D. 1213.‡ His successor was Henry Loundres, so called from the city in which he was born. The latter was likewise nominated lord justice of Ireland, which office he filled till the year, 1215, when he was summoned to attend the fourth council of Lateran, and in his absence, Geoffry de Mariscis performed the duties of lord justice. He was appointed legate of Ireland, two years afterwards, by pope Honorius III. On his returning thither, he convened a synod at Dublin, in which useful regulations were made, respecting the government of the church. Geoffry de Mariscis having been recalled to England in 1219, Henry Loundres resumed the administration of affairs by order of the king, during which period he built the castle of Dublin, in which the viceroys hold their court. He erected

the church of St. Patrick, which his predecessor had rebuilt, into a cathedral, and founded the dignities of chorister, chancellor, and treasurer. He increased the revenues of the monastery of *De Gratiâ Dei*. He removed the priory of Holm-Patrick, which had been founded by Sitrick, in an island on the coast, for regular canons of St. Augustin, to a more convenient situation inland. Lastly, the see of Glen-da-Loch, which had become vacant by the death of William Piro, was annexed to the see of Dublin, under his episcopacy.

The prelate of Dublin, though he governed the church and state with applause, was guilty of an act which left an indelible stain on his character. He sent orders to all the farmers to repair to him on a certain day, to show the leases and titles by which they held the lands of the archbishopric. These unsuspecting people obeyed his orders without hesitation; and produced their papers to him, which he threw immediately into the fire, before their faces. This naturally caused consternation and tumult among the people. Some were struck with horror at the injustice of his conduct, whilst others, forgetting all respect towards him, loaded him with insults, calling him, in the Gothic English of those times, *Schorch bill* and *Scorch villen*.* Others still more indignant, ran to take up arms, and the prelate was too happy to escape through a back door, whilst his attendants were beaten, and some almost killed. This conduct of this prelate exasperated the king to such a degree, that he deprived him of all administration in the affairs of Ireland, and transferred them to Maurice Fitzgerald.

Some abbeys for monks of the order of St. Augustin were founded about this time: the principal of which were that of Tuam, in Connaught, built in the twelfth century, by the Burkes; that of Enachdune, in the county of Galway, called *Our Lady of Portu Patrum*, a branch of the abbey of Tuam; one in the island of the Holy Trinity, in lake Ree, county of Roscommon, founded in 1215, by an archdeacon of Elphin, called Mac-Maylin, a native of Ireland; and that of Goodborne, near Carrickfergus, in the county of Antrim, in Ulster.

At Ballintobber, in the county of Mayo, also there was the abbey of the Blessed Trinity, called *De Fonte Sancti Patricii*, from the fountain of St. Patrick.† It was founded in 1216 for regular canons of St.

* Matth. Paris. Angl. Hist. Major.

† Baker. Chron. of England, on the reign of John.

‡ War. de Archiepisc. Dubliniens.

* A countryman.

† War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 26.

Augustin, by Charles O'Connor, otherwise Cahal-Crovedarg, king of Connaught, some time before his death.

John Lackland was the most unfortunate of princes; he was despised by foreigners, and hated by his subjects. Having put his nephew Arthur to death, he was summoned before the court of peers in France, to be tried for his crime; but not appearing, he was declared a rebel, in consequence of which his possessions were confiscated, and he himself condemned to death, as being guilty of the murder of his nephew, committed within the jurisdiction of the government of France.* Philip Augustus seized upon Normandy, which he annexed to his crown, about three hundred years after it had been separated from it; and likewise on Touraine, Anjou, and Maine, so that the king of England retained only the province of Guienne, in France.

This unhappy prince having opposed the election of cardinal Stephen Langton to the see of Canterbury, the pope put his kingdom under an interdict.

After this, John not content with confiscating all the property in his kingdom, which belonged to the church, drew upon himself the hatred of the lords, by refusing them the privileges and liberties which Henry I. had granted them by charter. Reiterated complaints of his conduct having been carried to the pope, he proceeded from the interdict to sentence of excommunication, absolving John's subjects from their oath of allegiance, and conferring his crown upon the king of France. John, finding himself abandoned by the whole nation, resolved to submit to the pope, and acknowledge his kingdom tributary to the holy see. This, however, did not reconcile his subjects to him; for he had made them promises, which he did not fulfil. He therefore assembled his forces; the nobles raised troops, and were supported by the city of London, and hostilities began on both sides. The English having no longer any regard for him, appealed to Louis, son of Philip Augustus, who thereupon entered England, and was crowned in London.

John, who was at Dover, thought it prudent not to wait for his rival, and having given the command of the place to Hubert Burgh, he marched with his army towards the north. Louis began his march also, took Norwich and Dover, and both armies committed dreadful havoc. In the mean time,

John sent to implore the pope's protection, who excommunicated Louis, and the English who had rebelled. This excommunication, however, did not better John's fortune, for his whole army, together with their baggage, were lost by the overflowing of the sea, on their march along the shore, near Walpoole, in the county of Norfolk. He died, after a few days, overwhelmed with grief and affliction, at Newark, and was buried at Worcester, under the grand altar. With him died also the resentment of the English, who declared now in favour of his son Henry, against Louis.

About this time there were three commanderies founded for knights Templars; one at Kilcloghan, in the county of Wexford, by the O'Morras, (Moore), Irish lords; one at Killergy, in the county of Carlow, by Philip Borard, and a third at Kilsaran, in the county of Louth, founded by Matilda, a lady of the family of the Lacys of Meath. These houses were given to the order of Malta, after the abolition of the Templars.

The author of the first part of the annals of Innis-Faill lived in 1215. He first gave an abridgment of the general history, till the year 430; he then wrote with precision upon the affairs of Ireland, down to his own time: this chronicle was continued then by another writer, to the year 1320.

CHAPTER XX.

HENRY III., eldest son of John Lackland, succeeded him at the age of nine years, and was crowned at Gloucester, by Peter, bishop of Winchester, and Jocelin, bishop of Bath, in presence of Guallo, the pope's legate, A.D. 1216. After taking the usual oath, to respect God and his holy church, and to do justice to all his subjects, this prince paid homage to the church of Rome, and to pope Innocent, for his kingdom. By another oath, also, he engaged to pay the thousand marks punctually, which his father had sworn to give to the church.

Ambition and a desire of amassing wealth, which had at first united the English against the Irish, became afterwards incentives to discord among themselves. Unaccustomed to hold such extensive possessions at home, the spoils of the Irish served only to create jealousies amongst them, and a reciprocal dislike which frequently led to the perpetration of dreadful excesses by them against each other, at the expense of the public peace. The wars of Hugh de Lacy the

* Wetmonast. Flores. Hist. ad an. 1212, et seq. Matth. Paris. Angli. Hist. Major. ad an. 1212. Baker. Chron. on the reign of John.

younger, and William Marshal, caused many troubles in Meath.* The town of Trim was besieged, and reduced to the last extremity; but the disturbances being quelled, Lacy built a strong castle in that town, to secure it against future attacks. The provinces of Leinster and Munster were frequently devastated by the quarrels of Marshal with Meyler Fitzhenry.† According to Hanmer, William Marshal took possession of some lands that belonged to the bishop of Ferns, and on his refusing to restore them, was excommunicated by that prelate.‡ He died afterwards in his own country, whilst under this anathema. His wickedness drew on him the vengeance of heaven: not one of the five sons, whom he had by Isabella, daughter of earl Strongbow, and heiress of Leinster, to whom he was married, having left any posterity.

Meyler Fitzhenry, one of the first English adventurers who came to Ireland, and whose father was natural son of king Henry I., died about this time, and was buried A.D. 1220, in the monastery of Conal, of which he was the founder. He was naturally a cruel man. Independently of the tyranny which he practised against the people of his province,§ he attacked Cluan-Mac-Noisk, which he took by assault after a siege of twelve days, and put all whom he met to the sword. The houses were pillaged, the churches and monasteries, with their ornaments and sacred vessels, given up to plunder, and left a prey to his licentious soldiery. It was thus that the English continued to reform the morals of Ireland.

Henry Loundres, archbishop of Dublin, was succeeded by Lucas, dean of the church of St. Martin, in London, who was appointed through the influence of Hubert de Burgo, earl of Kent.

Eugene, archbishop of Armagh, died some time before, and was succeeded by Lucas de Netterville. Donatus O'Lonargan succeeded another prelate of the same name in the archbishopric of Cashel. Felix O'Ruadan then governed the metropolitan church of Tuam. Roger and William Peppard, successively lords of the Salmon Leap, died about this time.

About the same period, too, the following houses were founded for regular canons of the order of St. Augustin; namely, Aghmacart, in Clannaltre, at present the Queen's county, by the O'Dempsys, lords of that

country; one at Carrick-ne-Sure, on the river Suir, in the county of Tipperary, by William de Cantelo (Cantwell); one at Aghrim, county of Galway, by the Butler's; and one of the same order, called the monastery of O'Gormogan, or St. Mary, *de Via Nova*, in the county of Galway, by the O'Gormogans, Irish lords. About the same time the abbey of Tracton, or *De Albo Tractu*, was established in the county of Cork, by the Mac-Carty's, Irish lords, for Cistercian monks.

Although Ireland was already well stocked with religious establishments, the devotion of its inhabitants was not exhausted. They soon admitted the orders which had been recently instituted; namely, those of St. Francis of Assisium and St. Dominick, and also the hermits of St. Augustine, and the Carmelites.

The order of St. Dominick, says Allemand, is considered the first of the four mendicant orders, inasmuch as, the bull by which the pope confirmed or established it, is antecedent to those of the others.* However, Pere Calmet alleges, that the Franciscan friars were approved of in 1210, by pope Innocent III., and places the confirmation of the order of Dominicans six years later, that is, in 1216, by Honorius III.† However men may disagree on this point of chronology, it is quite certain the Dominicans were the first who settled in Ireland.

If we can attach belief to the writers of the hermits of Augustine and the Carmelites, those two orders are the most ancient, not only in Ireland, but in all Europe. The former attribute their establishment to St. Augustin himself, and the latter to the prophet Elias. Both one and the other assert, that St. Patrick, St. Congal, and the other saints in the first ages of the Irish church, were of their order, which we can scarcely credit at present. We must therefore place them in the list of mendicant friars, whose first establishment we discover to have been in the beginning of the thirteenth century, the time that they were sanctioned by bulls from the popes.

The first foundation of the Dominicans in Ireland, was in Dublin. We may judge of the extent and beauty of this convent, from its being at present the Westminster of Dublin,‡ in which are held the four principal

* Hist. Monast. p. 199.

† Chron Abr.

‡ Westminster, in London, was formerly a celebrated abbey, which has since become a public building, in which the meetings of the superior courts of law are held.

* Keating, Hist. of Ireland, b. 2.

† Keating, ibid.

‡ War. de Episc. Fernens.

§ Keating, Hist. of Ire. b. 2.

courts of justice in Ir land; namely, the court of chancery, king's bench, common pleas, and the exchequer; on which account this extensive and splendid edifice is now called the Four Courts.* This convent was one of the most ancient of the order, having been established in 1223. The authors of the order, however observe, that this house had previously belonged to Cistercian monks, but that it was granted to the Dominicans, on condition that they should present a lighted wax taper, every year, on Christmas day, to the abbey of St. Mary, of the Cistercian order, which was in the immediate vicinity, as a mark that they held their convent from that abbey.

At Drogheda, in the county of Louth, there was a convent of Dominicans, founded in 1224, by Lucas de Netterville, archbishop of Armagh. It is mentioned in the registries of the order, and also by Ware.

In the city of Kilkenny, one of the finest and most extensive convents of the order of St. Dominick, was founded in 1225, by William Marshal, earl of Pembroke.

There was a convent of this order at Waterford, founded in 1226, by the citizens, called the convent of our Blessed Saviour. There was also one of the same order in Limerick, founded in 1227, by — O'Brien, who was interred in it; and whose tomb surmounted by his statue, is still to be seen there. Finally, at Aghavoe, in Ossory, the Fitzpatricks, whose descendants were barons of Upper Ossory, founded a house for Dominican friars.

Radulphus Petit, bishop of Meath, founded in 1227, the priory of St. Mary, which was formerly called *Domus Dei de Molingare*, in Mullingar, the chief town of Westmeath, for regular canons of the order of St. Augustin. Lucas de Netterville, archdeacon of Armagh, having been appointed bishop of that see, by the chapter, in 1217, held it for ten years. He died A.D. 1227, and was, according to his request, buried in the abbey of Mellifont, and was succeeded by Donat O'Fidabra.

During the lord justiceship of Maurice Fitzgerald in Ireland, pope Gregory IX. sent Stephen as nuncio, A.D. 1229, with an apostolical mandate, to require a tenth of the chattel property from the clergy and people of England, Ireland, and Wales, in order to enable him to carry on the war against the

emperor Frederick. The Earls and barons in England rejected the demand, but the clergy, who dreaded his excommunication, submitted to it with reluctance. Though this tax was a burden to the Irish, many of them sold their furniture, and even the church utensils to comply with the pope's request.

Fitzgerald being engaged in war, the king during his absence, conferred on Hubert de Burgo, brother of William Fitz-Adelm, (of whom we have frequently spoken), the office of lord justice, with the lordship of Connaught, and the title of earl of that province.* Hubert enjoyed a high reputation on account of the noble defence which he made against prince Louis, when he commanded the town of Dover. He was recalled some time afterwards to England, where he was appointed governor to the king, lord chief justice of England, and earl of Kent. He fell into disgrace, however, subsequently with this monarch, who declared him to be an old traitor, and had him confined in the Tower of London.

Geoffry March, otherwise Maurish, or de Maurisco, held the office of lord justice of Ireland, in place of Hubert de Burgo, Maurice Fitzgerald being still absent.

During the administration of Geoffry,† the king of Connaught wishing to take advantage of the absence of William Marshal and Maurice Fitzgerald, whom the king of England had brought with him to Gascony, to make some efforts in favour of his country, collected his forces, and invaded the English possessions. Geoffry, to whom was entrusted the protection of these provinces, sent for Walter de Lacy, lord of Meath and Richard de Burgh, and with their united forces, marched towards Connaught. On arriving at the entrance of a wood, they learned through their spies, that the king of Connaught and his army were encamped at a short distance on the other side of the wood. Geoffry then divided his army into three parts; to de Lacy and de Burgh, he gave two divisions, with orders to conceal themselves in the wood, on the right and left of the road. With the third he crossed the wood himself, and drew up his men in order of battle, opposite to the enemy, who

* Nicholas, in his *Rudiments of Honour*, when speaking of the earls of Clanrickard, asserts that Richard, son of William Fitz-Adelm, was lord justice of Ireland in 1227. I leave to others the trouble of reconciling this fact, with the opinion of those who affirm that Hubert Fitz-Adelm's brother had immediately succeeded Maurice Fitzgerald, in 1230, who filled that office since the year 1220.

† Matth. Paris Ang. Hist. Major. ad an. 1236.

* The building here alluded to exists no longer. Its site was adjoining Christ's Church cathedral, and the courts of justice continued to be held there till the beginning of the present century.—*Note by Ed.*

attacked him immediately; but the English pretending to fly, retreated into the wood, drawing the Irish after them, who being immediately surrounded by those that lay in ambush, were cut to pieces, and their king made prisoner. The English authors, from whom this account is taken, make no mention of the place where the battle was fought, nor of the name of the king of Connaught; with which they were probably unacquainted. They say that twenty thousand Irish were killed on the spot, but they always exaggerate; and it is highly probable that the king of Connaught could not have brought half that number into the field.

The more elevated a man's situation is, the more danger there is of his fall. Geoffrey de Maurisco, after being raised to the highest honours, and loaded with riches in Ireland, fell into disgrace with the king. He was sent into exile, where he suffered many hardships; and the disgraceful death of his son William, who was hanged and quartered for his crimes, shortened his career; he died unregretted. The memory of the son was held in universal detestation, particularly by the king, whom he had, in concert with his father, attempted to assassinate.

Cornelius, a native of Ireland, surnamed *Historicus*, from his profound knowledge of antiquity flourished about this time. Bale and Stanihurst have given us an abridgment of his life. It is said that he wrote a treatise entitled, "*Multarum Rerum Chronicon*, lib. 1." Hector Boetius acknowledges himself to be indebted to this author for many things essential to his history of Scotland. As usual, Dempster asserts, that this celebrated man was a native of Scotland, since the Scotch Highlanders, according to his account were called Irish.

The following religious houses were founded about this time; namely, a convent for Dominicans, at Cork, by the Barrys, noblemen of English extraction,* and also a convent for Franciscans, in the same city, founded, according to Wadding, in 1231; or in 1240, according to Ware.† These two authors differ respecting the name of the founder of this latter house. Ware ascribes it to the Prendergasts, lords of English origin, and Wadding to the M'Carty's, who were Irish noblemen: his reason for which opinion is, that in the centre of the choir was to be seen the tomb of M'Carty More, who had an apartment built for himself in the convent, to which he retired

during the great festivals of the year. The error might have arisen from this, that part of the possessions of the M'Carty's had been confiscated by the English, and given to the Prendergasts, which might have given rise to the opinion, that the latter were the founders of this house.

The convent of Franciscans, near Youghal, was built at this time by Maurice Fitzgerald, who became a monk himself, and died in it, at an advanced age. The O'Mordhas, (Moore's), lords of Loise, Queen's county, founded in their domain at Stradbally, a house for the same order. The foundation of another convent for Franciscans at Trim, in Eastmeath, may be mentioned here. Allemand, following Wadding, ascribes the merit of this establishment to king John; but it is doubtful if the Franciscans were known in Ireland in the time of this prince, who died in 1216. Others attribute it to the Plunkets, who had settled in that part of the country.

At Carrickfergus, in the county of Antrim, there was a Franciscan convent, founded in 1232, by Hugh de Lacy, earl of Ulster, who was buried there. It is believed by some that the O'Neills were the founders of it, as this place belonged to them, their tombs being in the church; but others say, that it was the Magennises of Yveach. At Kilmore, on the river Shannon in the county of Roscommon, we discover the priory of St. Mary, founded in 1232, for regular canons of St. Augustin, by Cone O'Flanagan, a man of noble family, who was the first prior of it.

Walter de Lacy, lord of Meath, died in 1234. He had no male children; but left two daughters, co-heiresses of his extensive possessions: namely, Margaret, who was married to lord Theobald Verdon, and Matilda, to Geoffry Geneville.*

There was a convent for Franciscans, built by order of Henry III. in 1236, on some land which Radulphus le Porter had given him for that purpose. Donel O'Fidabra, bishop of Clogher, who was removed to the see of Armagh, after the death of Lucas de Netterville, died in England, in 1237, on his return from Rome. At Mullingar, the chief town of Westmeath, a fine convent was built in 1237, for Franciscans, by the Nugents, lords of Delvin.

At Ballibeg, near Butevant, in the county of Cork, a priory was founded for regular canons of St. Augustin, by William Barry, in 1237, and endowed by his son David.

* War. de Antiq. Hib. c. 26. Allemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irl. p. 219.

† Allen. ibid. page 249.

* War. de Annal. Hib. on the reign of Henry III.

About this time the see of Armagh having become vacant, by the death of Donald O'Fidabra, who succeeded Lucas de Netterville, Albert, surnamed Coloniensis, was appointed archbishop, and consecrated at Westminster, in presence of the king, of Otho, the pope's legate, and several bishops, by Walter de Chanteloup, bishop of Wigorn, A.D. 1240.*

Marianus O'Brien, bishop of Cork, succeeded Donatus O'Lonargan in the archbishopric of Cashel. In the beginning of his episcopacy, pope Honorius III., granted a bull, whereby he confirmed the number of twelve canons of the church of Cashel. Henry III., king of England, gave to this prelate the city of Cashel as an alma, to belong for ever to him and his successors, without tax or impost. The prelate gave up his right afterwards to the mayor and aldermen of that city, on condition of their paying some pensions to his church. He also granted leave to David le Latimer, knight and seneschal, to found in that city an hospital for the leprous. After this he undertook a voyage to Rome; but falling ill upon his journey, and thinking his end approaching, he took the habit in the abbey of Citeaux. His health, however, being restored, and his affairs at Rome terminated, he returned to his see, and died five years afterwards, in the monastery of Suire, or Innislaunaght. He was succeeded by David M'Kelly, (O'Kelly.)

Felix O'Ruadan, having governed the metropolitan church of Tuam till 1235, then abdicated it, and withdrew to the monastery of the Blessed Virgin, near Dublin, where he died three years afterwards.† The chapter of Tuam appointed as his successor Marianus O'Laghnan, a dean of the chapter, who was well versed in canon law.

Near Enniscorthy, in the county of Wexford, on the river Slaney, we find a priory of St. John the Evangelist. It belonged to the order of regular canons of St. Victor, and was founded by Girald de Prendergast, lord of the country, and John de St. John, bishop of Ferns. They made a cell or convent of it, and it was annexed to the abbey, called Thomas Court, in Dublin.

Several houses were founded about this time for Franciscans: one at Kilkenny, one at Drogheda, and one at Down, by Hugh de Lacy, earl of Ulster; one at Waterford by Hugh Purcel; and one at Innis Cluanruada in the county of Clare, by Donal Carbrac O'Brien.

* War. de Archiepsic. Ardmach.

† War. de Archiepsic. Tuamens.

There were also a nunnery for the order of St. Augustin, founded at Lismullen, in Eastmeath, by the sister of Richard de la Corner, bishop of Meath, who conferred upon it the lands of Dunsink and Bailli-Godman.

The tyranny and continual injustice which the English practised against the Irish, were the cause of frequent insurrections. John de Burgo, (Burke), son of Hubert, entered Connaught with an army. O'Connor, king of the province, finding himself unable to repel his attack, crossed over to England, and presented himself to the king, in London. He made a spirited remonstrance against the violence and tyranny of Burgo, and the ravages he incessantly committed; and supplicated Henry III., to interpose his authority, and do him justice, by preventing his being trampled upon by an ignoble adventurer, (as he termed him), whilst he paid five thousand marks a year for his kingdom, to the crown of England. Henry heard with attention the complaints of the king of Connaught, and gave orders to Maurice Fitzgerald, lord justice of Ireland, who was then present, to destroy the hotbed of tyrants, which had been planted by Hubert, earl of Kent, during his unlimited lust of power in that unhappy country. At the same time the king sent his orders to the other lords of Ireland, to expel John de Burgo, and leave the king of Connaught in peaceful possession of his kingdom.*

Girald Fitzmaurice, Richard de Burgo, and Hugh de Lacy, earl of Ulster, died about this time. The two first ended their career in Gascony, where they were engaged in war; De Lacy died in Ireland, and was interred at Carrickfergus. He left an only daughter heiress to his extensive possessions, who married Walter de Burgo, who, by this marriage, became earl of Ulster. We have already observed that Walter de Lacy, lord of Meath, and brother to Hugh, left only daughters. In this manner ended the male line of these two chiefs.

* A certain king of that part of Ireland, called Connaught, came to London with heavy complaints to the king and parliament, that vast injuries had been inflicted on him by John de Burgh, who was devastating his estates by fire and sword. For all these grievances he sought redress, and prayed that such violent excesses should be curbed by the regal authority, and that the king would not suffer his faithful subject to be disinherited by an ignoble stranger, (as he called him); nor allow him, who paid the annual impost of 5,000 marks, to be driven from his inheritance, which king John had confirmed to him, &c "—*Mathew Paris*, p. 365.

Peter, surnamed Hibernicus, a celebrated philosopher and theologian, flourished in 1240.* The emperor Frederick II., having re-established the university of Naples, invited him in pressing terms to go thither, as may be seen in a collection of letters of Peter de Vineis, chancellor and secretary to the emperor.† Peter presided over the philosophical department in that university, and had Thomas Aquinas as his disciple, who became afterwards so celebrated. It is said that he was the author of some tracts on theology.

The Welsh, headed by their prince, David Ap-Llewelin, rebelled against the king of England, and defeated the royal army, which was reduced to the greatest hardships during the winter. Henry was obliged, from the state of his affairs, to send to Maurice Fitzgerald, lord justice of Ireland, for succour. After some delay, which caused the king uneasiness, which however he concealed, Maurice arrived with a body of troops, accompanied by Phelim O'Connor and having joined the king's army, they gained a complete victory over the Welsh. The king then renewed his garrisons in Wales, and having dismissed the Irish troops, returned to England.

On his return to Ireland, Maurice found Ulster in a state of revolt. On the death of Hugh de Lacy, O'Donnell laid waste the parts of the country which were under the dominion of that nobleman, and attacked the English wherever he met them. In order to create a division among the Irish, Maurice formed an alliance with Cormac M'Dermot. M'Dory, and other princes of the country; He then entered in a hostile manner, the country of Tirconnel, where he destroyed all before him, and killed Maolseachlin O'Donnell, Giolla Canvinelagh, O'Buhil, Mac-Surley, and other noblemen of the country. Several English of rank also lost their lives in this expedition, after which Maurice placed a garrison in the castle of Sligo, that he had built three years before, and left there the hostages he had received from O'Neill as pledges for his keeping peace with the king. He bestowed on Cormac Mac-Dermot several estates in Connaught, as rewards for the services he had received from him.

At Athenry, in the county of Galway, a convent for Dominicans was founded in 1241, by the Berminghams, who were originally English, and had settled in Ireland. In the church of this convent were to be seen the

tombs of several persons of distinction, particularly that of William Bermingham, archbishop of Tuam, and son of the founder. The Fitzgeralds founded a convent for Dominicans this year, also in the county of Kerry. The founder of it and his son were both killed by M'Carty, and buried in the convent. Another of this order was established at the same date, in Cashel, by an archbishop of that see. There was likewise a convent for Dominicans at Newtown, on the coast in the peninsula of Ardes, in the county of Down; it was built in 1244, by the Savages, a family of English extraction.

Nothing could remove the suspicions which Henry III., had entertained of the fidelity of Maurice Fitzgerald, in the war against the Welsh. He withheld his vengeance for a while, but it broke forth at length, A.D. 1245; when John Fitzjeffery de Maurisco, was appointed by the king lord justice of Ireland, in place of Maurice. This nobleman afterwards took the monastic habit in a convent of Franciscans, which he had founded at Youghal; and died in it after some time, at an advanced age, having borne the reputation of a brave, able, and irreproachable man. He was accused, indeed, though perhaps unjustly, of the death of Richard, the earl marshal.

There was an earthquake this year in England, Ireland, and the western parts of our hemisphere, which infected the air, and rendered it unwholesome, A.D. 1247. This phenomenon was followed by a cold, stormy, and damp winter, which lasted till the month of July, and caused considerable uneasiness about the harvest.

Albert, archbishop of Armagh, gave up his see in 1247, and was succeeded by Reinerius, a monk of the order of St. Dominick. He united the county of Louth, which had long formed part of the bishopric of Clogher, to the archbishopric of Armagh. This prelate died at Rome in 1256, and was succeeded by Abraham O'Connell.

Ware places an abbey belonging to the order of St. Augustin, in an island called the Blessed Trinity, in lake Oughter, in the county of Cavan, where, he says it was founded in 1249,* by Clarus Mac-Mailin, archdeacon of Elphin, and endowed by Charles O'Reilly, an Irish nobleman. It might be the same which we have already mentioned to have been founded in 1215, in an island in lake Rea, called the island of the Trinity, in the county of Koscommon, by the same archdeacon of Elphin. However,

* Fleuri, Hist. Eccles.

† Wad. Annal. Min. ad an. 1270, n. 28, lib. 3, cap. 10.

* De Antiq. cap. 28.

as different places and times are given for their foundation, it is more probable that they were different houses.

Henry III., began to think of marriage for his son, prince Edward, A.D. 1252; and as it was necessary, for this purpose, to make settlements upon him, he gave him the sovereignty of Gascony, Ireland, Wales, &c. He then sent him to Spain, where he married Eleanor, sister of king Alphonso, and brought her, loaded with riches, to England.

David O'Kelly, having been appointed to the see of Cloyne, was afterwards removed to Cashel. It appears by the registry of the church in Dublin, called "*Crede mihi*," that this prelate had taken part in the disputes between the archbishops of Dublin and Armagh, respecting the primacy, to which we have already alluded. He died in 1252, and was succeeded in the see of Cashel by David Mac-Carwel.

During the period that Lucas was archbishop of Dublin, a controversy arose between the cathedrals of that city, namely, Christ's Church and St. Patrick's. In order to effect a reconciliation, the prelate decreed that the election should be always held in Christ's Church, and that the dean and chapter, together with the prior and monks, should have the right of voting at the election. This prelate was deprived of his sight during some years, and at length died in 1255. Both churches concurred in electing Randulphus de Norwic, a canon of the cathedral of St. Patrick's, but his appointment being sent to the court of Rome, it was rejected, and Fulck de Saunford, treasurer of the church of St. Paul, in London, was nominated by the pope to the archbishopric of Dublin.

Three houses for Dominicans were founded at this time; one at Strade, in the county of Mayo, by the Mac-Jordans; another at Sligo, by Maurice Fitzgerald, who built a strong castle there; and the third at Roscommon in 1253, by Feilim O'Connor, an Irish nobleman. The O'Connors built another house for the same order at Towemone. About this time, a monk of the abbey of Boyle, wrote the annals of Connaught, which he continued to his own time, that is, till 1253. His manuscript is in the Cottonian library.

Alanus de la Zouch was appointed lord justice of Ireland, in room of Fitz-Jeffrey, A.D. 1255. He afterwards became lord justice of England, where he ended his days in a tragical manner. Some difference having arisen between some noblemen in England,

respecting the boundaries and limits of their estates, and the titles by which they held them, the king determined to call an assembly at Westminster, to decide upon the matter. De la Zouch, as lord justice having asked earl Warren by what right his lands belonged to him; the earl, drawing his sword, replied: "By this right my ancestors possessed them, and by the same do I intend to hold them," at the same time running his sword through his body. Whilst endeavouring to escape, he wounded the son of the man whom he had just killed; and then withdrew to his castle of Risgate, whither he was pursued by prince Edward, the king's eldest son, at the head of a few troops. He at length surrendered himself to the prince, and with the assistance of a sum of money, and the influence of his friends, obtained his pardon.

A.D. 1256. About this time flourished the celebrated John, surnamed "De Sacro Bosco." Bale and Leland, without any further proof than conjectures drawn from his name, assert that he was a native of Halifax, in the county of York, in England,* which is not at all probable; the word *fax*, according to Camden, signifying *hair* among the people beyond the river Trent. That author adds, too, that the place called Halifax is not very ancient.† He says that a few centuries before his time that place was called Horton, and that in 1443, it was a village containing but thirteen houses; it therefore is clear, that Halifax could not possibly have given its name to John à Sacro Bosco, since it was not known by that name at the time of that learned man's birth. Stanihurst and some others, say that he was a native of Holywood, in the district of Fingal, Ireland, about twelve miles from Dublin, as they discover an analogy between his name, de Sacro Bosco, and Holywood.‡ However, this be, that learned man went to Paris, where he taught the sciences with universal approbation; he was partial to the philosophy of Aristotle, and surpassed all those of his own time in mathematical science. He wrote several treatises; namely, one upon the globe, which was much esteemed, and read in the public schools, during many years, for the instruction of youth; a tract on Algorithms, or calculations on the ecclesiastical year; a breviary of law, and several other works. He died at Paris in 1256-57, and was buried in the cloister of the Mathurins,

* War. de Annal. Hib. ad an. 1256.

† Brit. in Brigant. page 564, Edit. Lond. 1607.

‡ Harris, Hist. of Irish writers in the thirteenth century.

near the church, where his tomb is still to be seen, on which the following inscription and a globe are engraved :

De Sacro Bosco qui computista Joannes ;
Tempora discevit, jacet hic à tempore raptus.
Tempore qui sequiris, memor esto quod morieris,
Si miser es, plora, miserans, pro me, precor, ora.

Marian O'Laghan, archbishop of Tuam, having received the pallium from pope Gregory IX., made a voyage to Jerusalem, the particulars of which he has written. He died at Athlone in 1249, and was succeeded by Florence M'Flin, chancellor of the church of Tuam, who was celebrated for his learning and profound knowledge of the canon law. He went to Rome, and obtained the pope's sanction; and upon his return to his diocese, convened a synod, in which regulations were made respecting ecclesiastical discipline, which were then published, but have been since lost. He established a school in the Dominican convent at Athenry, where he himself gave lessons to the students, and governed the church of Enaghduane, while that see was vacant. This holy prelate at length died at Bristol, in England, in the year 1256. The pope appointed Walter de Salern, dean of St. Paul's, London, to this see, notwithstanding the election of James O'Laghan by the chapter of Tuam. It seems that Walter never took possession of his diocese having died on his return from Rome, in 1258. Thomas or Tomultach O'Connor, bishop of Elphin, was elected in his stead, and his election confirmed by the pope, who honoured him with the pallium.

At Athy, a small town on the river Barrow, in the county of Kildare, there was a handsome convent founded for Dominicans, in 1257, by the Boiseles and Wogans, English noblemen who had settled in Ireland.

The earl of Salisbury, called Stephen *de Longa Spada*, "long sword," was sent to Ireland, as lord justice, A.D. 1258. He gave battle to the O'Neills, and other rebels* of Ulster and Connaught, near Down, in which many lives were lost. Salisbury died two

years afterwards, and was succeeded in the government by William Denn.

In 1259, a convent for the hermits of St. Augustin was founded in the eastern suburb of Dublin: the founders are unknown; some say they were the Talbots.

Munster was in a state of rebellion during the administration of the new lord justice, A.D. 1260. Green Castle (*Arx Viridis*) was destroyed. The M'Cartys were the chief belligerents; they brought terror and devastation into Desmond, their old patrimony, then in possession of the English, and became so formidable, that their enemies dared not to appear in public. They killed several of them at Callan, the principal of whom were John Fitzthomas, who had founded the monastery of Tralee; Maurice, his son; eight barons, fifteen knights, and several others. The English at length found safety in the discord which arose between the M'Cartys, O'Driscols, O'Donavans, M'Mahons, and other tribes of Muskerry, who were so much weakened by civil war, that they were unable to face the common enemy. In the meantime, William Denn, lord justice of Ireland, died, and was succeeded by Richard de Capella.

Abraham O'Conellan, arch-priest of Armagh, was elected archbishop of that city, and went to Rome, where he was confirmed by the holy father, who granted him the pallium. He then returned to Armagh, where he was solemnly received by the dean and chapter; but he did not long enjoy his dignity, having died in 1260. He was succeeded by Patrick O'Scanlain.

A religious house was founded this year at Kildare, for Franciscan friars, by Gerald Fitz-Maurice; or according to some writers, by William de Vesey.

Thomas Palmeran, or Palmerston, a native of the county of Kildare, Ireland, was known to foreign authors by the name of Thomas Hibernicus. Having concluded his studies in the university of Paris, where he received the cap of doctor in theology, he went to Italy, and shut himself up in the monastery of Aquila, on the confines of the kingdom of Naples, where he died and was buried, about the year 1269. He was author of the book entitled, "*Flores omnium Doctorum illustrium*;" which is an alphabetical summary of virtues and vices, with those passages from the fathers, which were calculated to support the former and eradicate the latter. Our author was indebted for the plan of his book to a similar work, which had been begun by John Wallis, a Minorite, under the title of a "Bunch

* English writers call the Irish rebels, who did not immediately surrender; at a time too, when, far from considering themselves subjects, more than half of Ireland, and particularly Ulster, which is here in question, refused to acknowledge the dominion of those foreigners. According to the maxims of every other nation, a rebel is a subject who resists the legal authority. But of course, according to the system of that imperious people, the English, a man was looked upon as a rebel, who was unwilling to submit at once to the most unjust oppression.

of Flowers," but which he was prevented by death from continuing. The book of Thomas Hibernicus was printed at Paris in 1664. He also wrote treatises on the Christian religion; the illusions and temptations of the devil; the remedies to be used against vice, and the beauties of the Bible. He was thought also to have been the author of a "Promptuarium Morale," or moral collection of passages from the holy Scriptures, published at Rome, in 1624, according to a manuscript in the library of the Minor brothers, *De Ara Celi*, by Luke Wadding. Marianus de Florence says,* in his manuscript chronicle, that Thomas Hibernicus lived in 1270, in the monastery of Aquila, of the province of St. Bernardin, in high reputation for his piety and learning. Lastly, John de Saxe, in his lives of the Preaching Brothers, speaks highly of "Master Thomas of Ireland, of the house of Sorbonne."

The annals of the Minorites of Multifernan by an anonymous writer, begin with the Christian era, and end with the year 1274, in which year the author lived, as appears by the antiquity of the letters. Giolla, or Gelasius Mac-Firbissy, an historian and poet of some eminence, flourished towards the end of this century; he wrote a chronicle of his times, and some poems. These works, as well as the annals of Multifernan, are still to be found in manuscript.

Walter Burke, earl of Ulster, had a son called Walter, by his marriage with the heiress of Hugh de Lacy, who left one son and five daughters, A.D. 1261. Ellen, the eldest, married Robert Bruce, king of Scotland; Jane and Margaret married the two Fitzgeralds of Ophaly and Desmond; and the others were also allied to noblemen. These alliances were, however, unable to allay the reciprocal hatred that had long prevailed, between the Fitzgeralds and Burkes, which ended in a civil war, in which many lives were sacrificed to their revenge. The Fitzgeralds carried their resentment so far, as to arrest, and confine in the dungeons of Leix and Donamese, Richard de Capella, Theobald le Butler, and Miles Cogan, who had espoused the quarrel of the Burkes.

A convent for Dominicans was founded about this time at Trim, on the river Boyne, in Eastmeath, by Galfridus de Genevil, who took the habit of the order, and another at Arklow, by Theobald Walter, high butler of Ireland, who was interred in it, and his tomb and statue erected there † Allemand,

however, makes no mention of an abbey for Bernardines, founded in that town by the same Theobald, probably confounding the Bernardines with the Dominicans. A house for Franciscan friars was founded about this time also at Armagh, according to some, by the O'Donnells, princes of Tyrconnel, but others say, by Patrick O'Scanlain, archbishop of Armagh.

The king of England, informed of the troubles which prevailed amongst his subjects in Ireland, and the excesses they committed against each other, thought prudent to put a stop to them; he therefore recalled Richard de Capella, and appointed David Barry as lord justice of Ireland in his stead, who, by his prudence and moderation, quelled the fury of the rival houses above mentioned. A.D. 1267.

The convent of Rosse Ibarcan, on the river Barrow, in the county of Kilkenny, was founded at this time for Dominicans, by the Graces and Walshes, English noblemen who had settled in that country.

David Barry, having completed his mission to Ireland, was succeeded the year following, in his office of lord justice, by Robert Ufford, and the latter by Richard de Excester.

Two convents for Dominicans were founded at this time, one at Youghal, in the county of Cork, by the Fitzgeralds; the other at Lurchoe, in the county of Tipperary, by the Burkes. A convent was also built in the same county for Franciscans.

Lord Audley was appointed lord justice of Ireland, in the place of Richard de Excester, A.D. 1270. During his administration, the Irish revolted against the English, fell upon them wherever they could be met, (not sparing their magistrates) and plundered their habitations. The king of Connaught defeated Walter Burke, earl of Ulster, in a pitched battle, and the earl with great difficulty saved his life by flight; several noblemen of his retinue being killed. This war was followed by a plague, and general famine throughout the island.

Patrick O'Scanlan, of the order of Saint Dominick, bishop of Raphoe, was elected by the chapter of Armagh as the successor of Abraham O'Connellan. His election was confirmed by a bull of pope Urban IV., in the month of November, 1261. He convened a synod at Drogheda the year following, in which some statutes were enacted, which are to be discovered in the registry of Octavianus de Prelatio, afterwards archbishop of Armagh; rebuilt St. Patrick's cathedral at Armagh, and founded a house in that city for Franciscan friars. He died in

* Lib. 2, cap. 3.

† War. de Antiq. cap. 26. Allemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irl. page 166, 210.

1270, in the monastery of St. Leonard at Dundalk, whence his body was taken to Drogheda, and buried in the Dominican convent. He was succeeded by Nicholas-Mac-Molisse.

Fulek, archbishop of Dublin, died A.D. 1271. His body was interred in the chapel of the Blessed Virgin, in the cathedral church of St. Patrick. The see remained vacant for seven years after his death, on account of the disputes which arose between the monks of Christ's church and the chapter of St. Patrick's, about the choice of his successor, which terminated in 1279, by the election of John de Derlington.

An abbey for Bernardines, under the invocation of Our Lady, formerly called *Hore Abbey*, was founded at Cashel in 1272, by David O'Carroll, archbishop of that city. It is affirmed that he suppressed a convent of Benedictines to enrich this abbey. He also annexed to this house a lazaretto, which had been founded by a knight named Latimer, in the same city.

In this year, 1272, is fixed the death of Henry III. Amongst the children this king had, by Eleanor, daughter of Raymond, count of Provence, was Edward, his eldest son and successor.

In the reign of Henry several religious houses were founded, the dates of which are unknown. The following were for Franciscan friars; one at Wicklow, founded by the O'Byrnes and O'Tools; one at Cashel by the Hackets; one at Nenagh, probably Aonagh Oroun, in the country of Ormond, by the O'Kennedys, the ancient owners of that district; and one at Multifernan, in Westmeath, by William Delamer. At Dundalk, in the county of Louth, a house for the same order was founded by John de Verdon. Lastly, there was one established at Limerick, but authors do not agree either upon the time of its establishment or the name of its founder. There was also a house founded at the same time, in the town of Tipperary, for Augustin hermits, and one of the order of Templars, called *Teach Temple*, in the county of Sligo; likewise one for Carmelites on the river Barrow, near Leighlin bridge, in the county of Carlow, by the Carews, English lords who had settled in the country, and another at Kildare, by William de Vescy.

A century had now elapsed since the English began to rule in part of Ireland. Though the kings of England had taken the title of lords of Ireland, *Dominus Hiberniæ*, their dominion did not extend to more than one third of the island, called in

their language, *The English Pale*, which signified the English province, or the province governed by the laws of England. Though some of the princes of the country had submitted to pay a tribute to the kings of England, still they governed their own immediate subjects according to the ancient laws and customs of the country, and the English laws were obeyed only within the English province.

CHAPTER XXI.

IMMEDIATELY after the death of Henry III., his son Edward, though absent, was proclaimed king of England, by the lords, who assembled in London, A.D. 1272. More than a year had passed since this prince had arrived in the Holy Land, where he had wrested from the enemies of Christianity the city of Acon, which was on the point of surrendering, but the succours that were promised him having failed, he put a garrison into those places which were still in the power of the Christians, and returned to Europe, with his wife Eleanor. Having landed in Sicily, he heard there of his father's death, and after sojourning there a short time, he continued his route for England, where he was crowned, together with his consort, at Westminster, by Robert Kilwarby, archbishop of Canterbury. To render this ceremony the more magnificent, five hundred untamed horses were let loose, which were to become the property of those who should succeed in catching them.

In the first year of Edward's reign, Maurice Fitzmaurice, (Fitzgerald,) was named lord justice of Ireland. In his time the Irish took up arms, devastated the lands of the Anglo-Irish, and destroyed the castles of Aldleek, Roscommon, Scheligath, and Randon. Maurice, however, being betrayed, according to Glynn, by his vassals, was arrested in the country of Offaly, and sent to prison. He was succeeded the year following, in his capacity of lord justice, by Walter Genevil. During his government in Ireland, the Scotch made a descent upon it, where they burned a great number of villages, and put all whom they met to the sword, without distinction of age or sex. They then returned laden with spoil to their ships, before there was time to pursue them. The English colonists of Ulster and Connaught, headed by Richard de Burgo, and Sir Eustace le Poer, made an attack soon

afterwards upon Scotland, and availed themselves of the right of reprisal against the Scotch, even surpassing them in cruelty.

Some houses belonging to the Dominican order were established about this time in Ireland, viz.; in the cities of Derry and Coleraine by the O'Donnells, princes of Tirconnel; by the M'Donoghs, lords of Tirrereil, in the county of Sligo, at Ballindown, and at Rathbran, in the county of Mayo, by the M'Jordans. About this time also a beautiful convent for the Carmelites, was founded in Dublin, by Robert Bagot.

Ireland was still agitated with troubles and domestic war. She enclosed for a century within her bosom, like Rebecca in her womb, two distinct people, whose interests would not suffer them to live together in peace. Their objects and their motives were different. On one side they were influenced by feelings of just resistance, on the other by tyranny and usurpation. The ancient inhabitants made frequent efforts to defend themselves, the only result of which was the shedding of much blood. The Irish took possession of the castle of Roscommon, A.D. 1276, overthrew the English completely at Glynburry, and made many of them prisoners, besides killing a great number. At the same period also O'Neill gave battle in the north, to a body of English, who were commanded by Ralph Peppard and O'Hanlon.

Walter Genevil, lord justice of Ireland, was recalled, A.D. 1277, to England, and Robert Ufford appointed to succeed him; the second time he was appointed to that commission. Murtagh, a celebrated rebel, (as the English call him), was taken in arms at Noraght, by Walter de Fant, and executed. O'Brien Roe, prince of Thuomond, was killed by Thomas Clare, who was married, some time before, to the daughter of Maurice, son of Maurice Fitzgerald; but he and his father-in-law Fitzmaurice, together with the whole of their troops were surrounded afterwards by the Irish, at Slieve-Bloema, and to save their lives, were forced to surrender. After laying down his arms, Clare was forced to make atonement for the death of O'Brien and his followers, and to give up the castle of Roscommon, which the English had taken: to secure the performance of which treaty, he gave hostages. These conditions were very humiliating to the English, but they were compelled to submit, in order to save their lives.

The English were not the only enemies that the Irish had to contend with. They had more to fear from themselves even than

from those foreigners, whenever their disunion caused them to turn their arms against each other. Some difference having arisen, A.D. 1278, between O'Connor, prince of Connaught, and M'Dermot, of Moy-Lurg, the two at the head of their vassals, entered the field, and a bloody engagement took place: many lives were lost on this occasion, and O'Connor himself was among the number of slain. The news of these commotions among the Irish having reached the king of England, Robert Ufford was ordered to come to him and give an account of the disorders that had so often occurred under his administration. Ufford, to justify himself with the king, represented to him that his majesty was badly informed, and that all which was advanced against him was but a calumny, for that he considered it only an act of good policy to shut his eyes while one rebel was cutting the throat of another. "By this means, sire," said he, "your treasures will be spared, and peace secured to Ireland." The plan suited the king's taste, and Ufford was sent back to rule the island as chief magistrate.

Thomas O'Connor, archbishop of Tuam, died A.D. 1279, having governed that see and Enaghdone, for twenty years. This prelate was a learned man, and possessed all the virtues which form the apostolical character.

The see of Tuam continued vacant for some time, in consequence of a dispute that occurred at the election of a bishop; but was filled at length by Stephen of Fulburn, bishop of Waterford.

John Derlington governed the church of Dublin for five years, but died suddenly in London, A.D. 1284; and was buried among the Dominicans of that city. John of Saunford succeeded him in the see of Dublin.

At Clane, a little village in the county of Kildare, distant some leagues from Dublin, a convent was, according to Ware, founded for Franciscans, in 1287. It is supposed that Gerald, son of Maurice Fitzgerald, baron of Offaly, was founder of this house, inasmuch as he was buried there, and his statue was seen upon his tomb, which was formed entirely of marble. There was a house of that order also at Tristle-Dermot in the same county: but it is not known who were the founders of it. A convent of them was likewise founded at Ross, county of Wexford, by Sir John Devereux.

Stephen, of Fulburn, archbishop of Tuam, died about this time, and was succeeded by William of Birmingham, son of Meyler Birmingham, lord of Atheury. The see of

Cashel continued vacant for a year by the death of David O'Carrol, who succeeded Stephen O'Brogan.

It may be affirmed that since the arrival of the English in Ireland, it had been a theatre of tyranny, where every species of cruelty was acted. If the ancient Irish sometimes took up arms to oppose their usurpation, (though nothing could be more natural or more just than to defend their property against those who strove to wrest it from them without any just title), they were represented as rebels at the tribunal of England, to which they had neither access, nor the opportunity of defending their cause.

The divisions that prevailed among the new or Anglo-Irish were also the cause of many misfortunes to their country, and every year was memorable for some tragical occurrence. The Fitzgeralds and the Burkes were always opposed to each other. The Butlers, Verdons, and Berminghams took part in their quarrels according to their respective interests, and several of them lost their lives in the contest. Some of the Irish nobility were involved likewise in these misfortunes; O'Connor Faly was killed by Jordan Comin, and his brother Charles was murdered in the house of Piers Bermingham, at Carrick. The lands which were usurped by these new comers, had belonged for many ages to the O'Connors, whose pretensions became a source of misfortune to them, as it was thought fit by the usurpers that they should be exterminated. Mac-Coghlan was more successful than the O'Connors; he gained a complete victory over William Burke and his adherents, at Dealna. It may be readily imagined that the consequence of these troubles was the loss of many lives, the devastation of the provinces, and a total obstruction to agriculture. The passion for erecting religious houses still, however, prevailed. Jordan Comin, who had assassinated O'Connor Faly some time before, established a priory for regular canons under the invocation of the Blessed Trinity, called also *De Laude Dei*, at Ballibogan, in Meath, on the left bank of the river Boyne, between Clonard and Castlejordan. The Franciscans had a house at Ross-Pont in the county of Wexford, founded at this time by the Devereuxes, one at Killeigh, in Hy-Regan, founded, it is said, by one O'Connor, probably of the house of Offaly; and one at Butavant, in the county of Cork, which was founded, some say, by the Prendergasts, and others by the Barrys. There was also one in an island near Galway, established by one of the Burkes, and another at Clare, in

the same country, of which John de Cogan was the founder.

Houses were founded for the Carmelites at Drogheda, Atherdee, in the county of Louth, and in the vicinity of lake Rea, in the county of Galway. The first was established by the citizens of the town; the second by Radulphus Pippard, and the third by Richard de Harlay. A convent for Dominicans was also founded during this reign, at Kilmallock or Killocie, in the county of Limerick, and another for the fathers of the Redemption of Captives, at Athdara, in the same county.*

John de Saunford, archbishop of Dublin, was a favourite of Edward I., who appointed him lord justice of Ireland, on the death of Fulburn. The king recalled him afterwards to England, and sent him as ambassador to the emperor; which commission he discharged to the satisfaction of his prince. Having died shortly afterwards in England, his body was brought to Dublin, and buried in the cathedral of St. Patrick. He had the reputation of a learned and prudent man. His successor in the see of Dublin was William de Hothum, who died the same year, and was replaced by Richard de Feringe. The office of lord justice of Ireland, was conferred on Sir William Vescy, and after him on William Dodinsell, who was succeeded by Thomas Fitzmaurice. The death of the latter put an end to the disputes which had long prevailed between the houses of the Fitzgeralds and Burkes; and his son John Fitzthomas, was reconciled to the earl of Ulster. During de Vescy's administration in Ireland, there were violent quarrels between him and John,† son of Thomas Fitzgerald, the baron of Offaly, which, according to the chronicle of Hollingshead, degenerated into gross rebukes, and sarcastic recriminations at an assembly where these noblemen met. They accused each other in turn of robbery, extortion, murder, &c. The baron having made some remarks on the birth of the viceroy, the latter replied that the de Vescys were noble before the Fitzgeralds were barons of Offaly; "even, (said he), before your bankrupt ancestor‡ had made his fortune in Leinster. Their dispute did not even end in Ireland; they went to England, to plead their cause before the king and his court; and in the presence of Majesty, they continued their invectives and reproaches, which were apparently accordant

* Alemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irlande, page 35.

† Con. Hib. Angl. page 78.

‡ Maurice Fitzgerald, who came to Ireland with Strongbow.

with the taste of the times and of the nation. Fitzgerald, at length wearied with these contentions, proposed to settle the quarrel by single combat, which was approved of by the assembly, and accepted at first, with much boasting, by de Vesey; but the day being named, the latter embarked for France, leaving the baron without an antagonist.* Dugdale gives a different account of this transaction; saying that Fitzgerald refused to fight. When the king was informed of the flight of de Vesey, he bestowed the lordships of Kildare and Rathangan on Fitzgerald, which had, till then, belonged to the former, saying, that although he carried his body to France, he had left his property in Ireland. The acquisition of the districts of Kildare and Rathangan raised considerably the fortunes of the Fitzgeralds, who had afterwards sufficient influence to have the title of earl bestowed on them.

Stephen O'Brogan, a native of Ulster, from being archdeacon of Glendaloch, became archbishop of Cashel, by a canonical election. He filled that see for the space of eleven years, and died in 1300. He was buried in his church of Cashel, and was succeeded by Maurice O'Carroll.

In the year 1303, Nicholas M'Molisse, archbishop of Armagh, died. He had governed this see for thirteen years, and was celebrated for his eloquence, prudence, and zeal in the worship of God. He ornamented and enriched his cathedral with books, ornaments, and every thing necessary for the divine service, and bequeathed to that church twenty marks of silver, charged upon his lands at Termo Feichan. He was succeeded by John Taaf.

The manner in which the Welsh were treated by the English, is an example of cruelty, and a subject of horror to all who have had the misfortune of falling beneath their dominion. The Welsh are descended from the ancient Britons, whom their allies, the Saxons, had expelled from England, about the seventh century, and forced to seek safety in the country called Wales, on the western coast of Britain, and formed a distinct people from the English, governed by their own kings till the eleventh century. The English, equally treacherous with the Saxons, filled with an idea of the right of conquest, and unable to bear so small an independent sovereignty near them, subjugated Wales, and put Rees, its last king, to death, in the eleventh century, under William Rufus. The recollection of their former liberty, and the

tyranny of their new masters, often forced the Welsh into rebellion. The superior power of England, however, always quelled these revolts, with the loss of many lives; but it was the lot of Edward I. to complete their subjugation, A. D. 1283. This king declared war against Llewelyn, a prince of Wales, of the royal race, who, having been betrayed, fell into the hands of a soldier, who cut off his head, and sent it to Edward, by whom it was ordered to be exposed on the tower of London.* David, the brother of Llewelyn, was taken prisoner some time afterwards, and condemned to an ignominious death in England. He was first tied to the tail of a wild horse, and dragged through the city of Shrewsbury; his head was cut off, sent to London, and placed upon the tower with his brother's; his heart and entrails were then torn from his body and burned; and the four limbs were exposed on the gates of four cities in England, namely, Bristol, Northampton, York, and Winchester. In this unparalleled manner was the son of a prince treated, whose only crime was a desire to restore freedom to his country, and to rescue it from the yoke of England. Wales was then united to the crown of England; the king gave it a form of government in conformity with the laws of England, and his eldest son has, since that time, assumed the title of prince of Wales.

A convent for Dominicans was founded in this century, in the town of Carlingford, in the county of Louth; another for Augustin hermits near Galway; a convent for Franciscans was founded in 1300, at Cavan, by the O'Reillys; and a house for Carmelites at Thurles, county Tipperary, by the Butlers.

The English set no bounds to their pretensions over their neighbours; the kings of England considered themselves as protectors of the kingdom of Scotland, and arbitrators of any difficulty that might arise respecting the succession to that crown. Alexander III. king of Scotland, having died without issue, the great number of pretenders to the throne gave rise to factions, and afforded a favourable opportunity for Edward I. to enforce his pretended jurisdiction. The two most powerful competitors were John Baliol, earl of Galloway, and Robert Bruce of Anandale. Edward set out for Scotland, and had an interview with Robert Bruce, whose claim was not so strong as Baliol's

† English Baronetcy, vol. 1, page 94.

* Baker, Chron. of Engl. Life of Edward I, page 96.

but who was possessed of more influence. He proposed to make him king of Scotland, on condition that he would take an oath of allegiance to him, and do homage to the crown of England, A.D. 1291. This generous nobleman replied, that he would not sacrifice the liberty of his country to the ambition of reigning. But Baliol, whose opinions were less honourable, accepted the terms, and was crowned king of Scotland at Scone, after which he paid homage to the king of England, at Newcastle, as his sovereign lord. He afterwards retracted, which caused bloody wars between the two nations, that lasted for almost three centuries; but were at length terminated after much bloodshed, by the union of both crowns under James I. Edward having begun this war, was determined to prosecute it with all his energies, for which purpose he marched an army towards Scotland, and created in one day three hundred young men knights, A.D. 1291, in order to excite their emulation. John Wogan, who shared in this promotion, was sent to Ireland as lord justice, in place of Thomas Fitzmaurice, who had just died.

About this time more establishments were founded for Carmelites; the monastery of Thurles, county of Tipperary, by the Butlers; and that of Ardnecran, in the county of Westmeath, by the Dillons. There was also one near lake Reogh, in the county of Galway, founded, according to Ware, by Richard de Burgo, earl of Ulster. Alemand attributes this foundation to Richard de Harlay, and alleges that the Harlays of France are descended from him.

Edward I., having gained some advantages over the Scotch, was seized with a dysentery, of which he died A.D. 1306, regretting deeply that he had not been able to take full revenge upon them. When on his death bed, he enjoined Edward, his son and successor to have his remains carried with the army through Scotland, till he should have reduced that people; but his last will was neglected in this particular, as well as in every other matter which he had imposed on that young prince.

John Taaf, archbishop of Armagh, died this year, and was succeeded by Walter de Jorse, of the order of St. Dominick. He had six brothers, all in the same order, one of whom, called Thomas, was a cardinal, under the name of St. Sabina, and another named Roland, succeeded him in the see of Armagh, which he gave up in 1321.

Richard de Ferings, archbishop of Dublin, who laboured incessantly to establish peace between the two metropolitans in this

city, died about this time. The articles of agreement between the two churches, Christ's and St. Patrick's, were, that each should enjoy the title of metropolitan; that Christ's church as being the larger and more ancient, should take precedence in ecclesiastical matters; that it should have the custody of the cross, mitre, and episcopal ring; and that the prelates of the see should be buried alternately in both churches. This prelate founded three prebendaries in St. Patrick's church. He was succeeded by John Lech.

John Duns Scotus, a Franciscan friar, flourished in the beginning of this century. The subtilty of his genius, and great penetration on learned subjects, gained him the name of "subtle doctor." He was educated at Oxford, under William de Wara or Varro, where he wrote on the four books of Sentences. He also composed many scholastic works in Paris. He went afterwards to Cologne, where he died suddenly in 1308. Three nations claim the honour of having given birth to this great man; English authors maintain that he was born at Dunston, a village in the parish of Emildune, in the county of Northumberland; for which purpose they advance, as a proof, the conclusion of the manuscript works of this great man, (which are at Oxford), in the following terms: "Here ends the reading of the works of John Duns, a subtle doctor of the university of Paris, born in a certain village called Dunston, in the parish of Emildune, in Northumberland, belonging to the college of Merton, in the university of Oxford;" but as it is doubtful whether this conclusion is by Scot himself, or added by another, the proof drawn from it in favour of his being a native of England, seems insufficient. The Scotch say he was a native of Duns, in Scotland, a village about eight miles from the English frontiers. Finally, the Irish, seconded by Arthur à Monasterio, and the martyrology of Cavellus, affirm that he was born at Down, (in Latin *Dunum*), in Ulster. The Irish had not yet given up the name of *Scoti* or *Scots*; and it is therefore probable that on this account, Doctor John Duns has been surnamed *Seotus*.

CHAPTER XXII.

EDWARD II., son of the late king, and Eleanor of Spain, succeeded his father, A.D. 1307. Some time after he married Isabella,

daughter of Philip the Fair, king of France.* He recalled his favourite, Piers Gaveston, who had been expelled the kingdom by his father. This nobleman's influence over the king was so great, that every favour which was conferred was given through him. This drew upon him the hatred and envy of the English lords, who threatened to oppose the king's coronation, if he did not dismiss his favourite, to which the weak monarch consented: but in order to mitigate this supposed disgrace, he sent him, invested with some authority, to Ireland, where he partially quelled the commotions, and laboured with effect, to secure the possessions of the Anglo-Irish in that country. The king, unable to bear the absence of his favourite, and supposing that the resentment of the nobles had subsided in the interim, made him return from Ireland, and sent Sir John Wogan as lord justice in his stead; and in order to procure him some influence among the nobles, he made him marry the daughter of the earl of Gloucester. This alliance of Gaveston with one of the first families in the kingdom, served only to exasperate the minds of the people against him. Another occurrence completed his downfall; not content with gaining the prize in a tournament at Wallingford, in which, by his skill and courage, he defeated the English nobles who measured their arms with him, he rallied them in the most sarcastic manner, which hurt them more severely than the victory he had just gained, so that they conspired unanimously against him, and represented in the strongest terms to the king, that nothing less than the sacrifice of his favourite could appease them. Gaveston found himself forced to yield to the tempest, and proceeded to France, where he continued for some time; but the desire of seeing his dear master again, induced him, at the peril of his life, to return secretly to England. In order to secure him against the rage of his enemies, the king gave him the castle of Scarborough, as a safe asylum; where, however, he was besieged in it by the discontented barons, and forced to surrender himself prisoner, on condition of having his life spared. But these terms did not prevent his being taken by the earl of Warwick out of the hands of those who were guarding him. This nobleman had him beheaded, without trial or any formality of justice, in spite of the repeated entreaties which the king made to him, to spare the life of the unhappy man. Such was the tragical end

of Gaveston, one of the handsomest men of his time, and one of the most accomplished in Europe. He was a native of Gascony, and possessed all that delicacy of wit which is so peculiar to his countrymen, and his only crime seems to have been that of being too well beloved by his king.

The conduct of the English on this occasion, clearly demonstrates the changeable and inconstant character of that people. We see a rude and brutal nobility treat their king with contempt and insolence, and deficient in the most indispensable duties towards a monarch, whose only defect was a weak and effeminate disposition; yet we also discover the same people to have bent frequently to tyrants. Though Edward was indignant at the conduct of his subjects, and their violation of his authority, he was too much intent upon the war in Scotland to chastise them. Robert Bruce, who was already possessed of that throne, determined to take advantage of the disturbances in England; he reduced under his dominion that part of Scotland which still adhered to the opposite party; after which he invaded the northern parts of England. Edward saw the danger which threatened his kingdom, and marched at the head of one hundred thousand men to meet the king of Scotland, who had but thirty thousand, A. D. 1313. Both armies met at Bannockburn, where the English were completely defeated. This victory has been ascribed to stratagem; the king of Scotland had no cavalry; his army was very inferior in numbers to those of the enemy, and he was obliged to have recourse to it. He therefore caused trenches of three feet in depth to be dug in the road through which the enemy had to pass, and covered them with the branches of trees and other matters, to conceal them from their view. The English cavalry fell into the snare; having advanced with impetuosity against the Scotch, the horsemen and their horses fell, which put the whole army in disorder. Scotch writers affirm that the loss of the English in this battle amounted to fifty thousand men; the English allow their loss to have been but ten thousand. However, it was the most fatal battle to them since the conquest. The defeat was so general, that king Edward had some difficulty to save himself by flight, with the nobles who accompanied him; and the Scotch remained masters of the whole of the north of England, from Carlisle to York. The courage of the English, says Baker, was so broken down by this defeat, that a hundred of them would fly before three Scotchmen.

* Baker, Chron. of England, on the reign of Edward II.

John Lech, or De Leeke, archbishop of Dublin, died about this time. The claims of the two cathedrals in this city were always productive of some controversy respecting the choice of a prelate. The prior and convent of Christ's Church nominated Nicholas Butler, brother to Edmond Butler, afterwards earl of Carrick, to fill the vacant see, and the dean and chapter of St. Patrick's elected Richard Havering, the grand chorister of their church. However, the king's influence prevailed over these elections, and John Lech, his almoner, was appointed. This prelate had a serious misunderstanding with Roland Jorse, archbishop of Armagh, respecting the right which the latter claimed of having the cross carried erect before him, in the province of Dublin. At the solicitation of John Lech, pope Clement V. granted a bull for the foundation of a university in Dublin. Some time previous to this prelate's death, he was nominated high treasurer of Ireland. His successor in the see of Dublin was Alexander de Bicknor.

An Irish Franciscan friar, named Malachi, after having lived for some time at Oxford, went to Naples, where he gained a high reputation for piety and learning.* He wrote a treatise upon the poison of mortal sin, and the remedies to be used; it was published in Paris, by Henry Stephens. Bale says he was the author of a book of sermons and other tracts.

At Tully-Felim, or Tullagh-Felaghe, a small town on the river Slaney, in the diocese of Leghlin, county of Carlow, there was a convent founded in 1314, for Augustin hermits, by Simon Lombard and Hugh Talon.

The Irish, discontented with their lot, seeing the success of the king of Scotland, sent deputies to him, soliciting his alliance, and assistance to deliver them from the insupportable bondage into which they had fallen, by the haughty and cruel dominion of the English.† The king of Scotland considered this embassy a favourable opportunity, both to cause a diversion in England, and to make his brother, Edward Bruce, king of Ireland. Sir Edmond Butler, who had already returned to England, succeeded Sir Theobald de Verdon, who had filled the office of lord justice during his absence, A. D. 1315. On the 25th of May following, Edward Bruce, brother to the king of Scotland, landed near Carrickfergus in Ulster, with six thousand Scotchmen, where he was joined by a body

of Irish, and proclaimed king of Ireland by part of the nation.* In the month of June he took Dundalk, which he burned; he then laid waste the district of Uriel, expelled the English from Ulster, and made himself master of that province. He bore the title of king of Ireland till his death, which took place three years afterwards.

The Anglo-Irish collected their forces, to check the progress of the new king. They met at Dundalk, but the lord justice, on finding the generals disunited, left the care of carrying on the war against the Scotch to the earl of Ulster, and returned to Dublin. This nobleman acquitted himself very badly of his commission; he was defeated by the Scotch near Coleraine, on the tenth of September, with the loss of many lives, besides a great number of prisoners, amongst whom were Sir William Burke, Sir John Mandevill, Sir Alan Fitzwarren, and John Staunton. In order to follow up his victories, Bruce laid siege to Carrickfergus, and despatched his brother William to Scotland, to seek further aid from the king, his brother. He then led his victorious army out of the province of Ulster, and advanced towards Kells in Meath, where he met the English under Roger Mortimer, and gave them battle, in which they were defeated. It is said that the Lacys deserted the English on this occasion; however this be, the victory was against them, and many of them fell in their retreat. After this Bruce burned Kells, Granard, Finagh and Newcastle, and spent the Christmas at Loghseudy, from whence he marched through the county of Kildare, to Rathangan, Kildare, Castledermot, Athy, Raban, and Sketheris, where Sir Edmond Butler, the lord justice of Ireland, accompanied by John Fitzthomas and other noblemen, were waiting to give him battle. The action took place on the 26th of January, but Bruce was again victorious and the English entirely routed.

The king of England, seeing the unhappy state of his affairs in Ireland, and fearing the defection of his subjects, sent Sir John

* "He sent ambassadors from Ireland, saying, that he would surrender into his protection both himself and his possessions; but if it was necessary for him to continue at home, they besought him to give them for a king his brother Edward, and not to suffer a kindred nation to be oppressed under the intolerable bondage of English rule. Edward Bruce at length proceeded with an army, by the general consent of all, and was proclaimed king. In the first year of his arrival after expelling the English, he brought the whole of Ulster under his authority, and traversed the entire kingdom with his victorious army."—*Buchanan*, b. 8, p. 277.

* Anton. Possevin Appar. Sacr.

† Baker, Chron. Reign of Edward II. War de Annal Hib. Cox on the reign of Edward II.

Hotham thither, to make them renew their oath of allegiance, and receive hostages from them. These were given by John Fitzthomas, afterwards earl of Kildare, Richard de Clare, Maurice, afterwards called earl of Desmond, Thomas Fitzjohn le Poer, Arnold le Poer, Maurice Rochfort, David and Miler de la Roche, and many others.

In the month of February both armies took the field. The place of meeting for the Scotch was at Geashil in Offaly, and the English assembled at Kildare; but the country having been destroyed, and the Scotch army in want of provisions, Bruce determined to return to Ulster, where he gave himself up to his pleasures, having nothing to dread from his enemies. On the retreat of the Scotch, the lord justice proceeded to Dublin, where he summoned a parliament, in which he endeavoured to reconcile some noblemen, whose disunion was prejudicial to the general cause; and Walter de Lacy was acquitted of the crime of treason of which he had been suspected. They likewise discussed the plan of prosecuting the war.

In the mean time, the Irish who had espoused the interests of Edward Bruce, were given up to the fury of his enemies. Several among the inhabitants of Leinster were put to the sword at Castledermot, by the English under Edmond Butler. The O'Mordhas, O'Byrnes, O'Tools, and M'Morroughs, soon afterwards shared the same fate: and the O'Connors Faly were massacred at Ballibogan, on the river Boyne, by the English of Leinster and Meath. The Irish, on the other hand, used the right of retaliation, by making some efforts to be revenged for their lives and liberty, and the O'Nowlans, of Leinster, put Andrew Bermingham, Sir Richard de la Londe, and their adherents to the sword, who had insulted them in their territories.

In order to induce his Irish subjects to support his cause against the Scotch, the king of England began to distribute favours and confer titles of honour upon them, which were hitherto unknown in Ireland, A.D. 1316. He accordingly created John Fitzgerald, son of Thomas, baron of Offaly, earl of Kildare. This lord was chief of the noble family of the Fitzgeralds, descended from Maurice, who derived his origin from the dukes of Tuscany, and was the first of the name that settled in Ireland under Henry II. To enable him to support this dignity, the king gave him the town and castle of Kildare with their dependencies, and all the lands and lordships of William de Vesey, which had been confiscated in 1291, when the

latter was lord justice of Ireland. This illustrious house, which has been always remarkable for its virtue and noble alliances, still exists with the title of premier earl of Ireland.

Edward Bruce having returned from Scotland, where he spent some time in recruiting his troops, summoned the town of Carrickfergus to surrender. The inhabitants being destitute of every thing, eight vessels, laden with provisions, were sent from Drogheda to their relief; but these were not sufficient to enable them to hold out. The garrison had been reduced to live for some days on leather and the flesh of eight Scotchmen, who were prisoners. They therefore surrendered about the end of August. At the same time, O'Connor and his followers defeated a body of English in Connaught; Lord Stephen Exter, Milo Cogan, and eight of the Barrys and Lawlesses, having lost their lives in the engagement. O'Connor and his army were, however, defeated on the 4th of August, at Athenry, by a body of English, headed by William Burke and Richard de Bermingham. In Ulster, Richard O'Hanlon, followed by his vassals, in endeavouring to draw contributions from Dundalk and its vicinity, was repulsed with great loss by the inhabitants, under the command of Robert Verdon, who lost his life in the action. On the 14th of September, Burke and Bermingham gained a complete victory over the people of Connaught, who lost five hundred men, with their chiefs, O'Connor and O'Kelly. About the end of October, in the same year, John Loggan and Hugh Bisset defeated a body of Scotch troops in Ulster; about three hundred fell on the field of battle, and many prisoners were taken and sent to Dublin, amongst whom were Sir Allen Stewart and Sir John Sandal. The Lacys, who were suspected of having betrayed the state, by introducing the Scotch into the kingdom, presented a petition on the subject, and being cleared of the charge, they renewed their oath of allegiance, and obtained a general amnesty from the king, by charter.

Maurice Mac-Carwil, or O'Carroll, archbishop of Cashel, died at this time. After his elevation to that see by the dean and chapter, with the consent of the king of England, he set out for Rome, where he received the pope's sanction, and was consecrated and honoured with the pallium by the holy father. On his returned to Ireland, he allowed Walter Multoc the privilege of founding a house at Fethard, in the county of Tipperary, for Hermots of St. Augustin. He attended the parliament which was convened at Kilkenny,

in 1309. It was composed of all the nobles of the country, whom he compelled to submit to its decrees, under pain of excommunication. Maurice was succeeded in the see of Cashel by William Fitzjohn, bishop of Ossory.

Edward Bruce, at the head of twenty thousand men, composed of Scotch and Irish, marched, during the Lent, towards Slane, in Meath, pillaging the country as he passed. The Earl of Ulster, who was at the time in the abbey of Our Lady, near Dublin, having had some dispute with the citizens, was arrested by order of Robert Nottingham, mayor of the city, and confined in the castle, which caused so great a tumult, that the abbey was pillaged, and some domestics belonging to the earl were killed. In the mean time, Edward Bruce marched towards Dublin, and on his way took the castle of Knock, in which he found Hugh Tyrrel, the lord of the place, with his wife, who ransomed herself for a sum of money. The inhabitants, terrified at the approach of so formidable an enemy, in order to defend the city, burned the suburbs, together with the churches, and among the number, the cathedral of St. Patrick. Bruce, who knew that the walls of the city were in good order, and that the inhabitants would defend it to the last, thought fit, (with the advice, it is said, of de Lacy, contrary to the oath of allegiance he had just taken), to proceed on his march towards Naas, where he spent two days, and continued his route towards Limerick. He passed through Kenlis, in Ossory, to Cashel, and went from thence to Nenagh: having in his march laid waste the lands of Edmond Butler, in the counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary. All the English lords who were in the country assembled at Cashel, to deliberate on the means of checking his progress. They determined on sending the army, which amounted to 30,000 men, under the command of the lord justice and the earl of Kildare, in pursuit of him; but Roger Mortimer having landed at Youghal, as lord justice, on Easter Thursday, A.D. 1317, attended by thirty knights, and other troops, he sent word to the English generals to wait for him to give battle to the Scotch. Edward Bruce, hearing of the arrival of Mortimer, and not thinking it prudent to wait for him, continued his route towards Ulster, where he arrived towards the beginning of the month of May.

Mortimer, having no longer an enemy to contend with in Munster or Leinster, sent his troops into quarters until further orders. He then went to Dublin, and convened a parliament at Kilmainham, composed of more

than thirty knights, amongst whom were Wogan and Warren. The principal subject of debate in this assembly was the liberation of the earl of Ulster, (who had been kept in prison by the mayor and citizens of Dublin), which was effected in a second session at Whitsuntide. After this assembly, Mortimer repaired to Trim, in Meath, through Drogheda, from whence he sent orders to the Lacys to appear before him, and give an account of their conduct. They were descended from Robert de Lacy, of Rathwer, which estate had been given him by Sir Hugh de Lacy. These noblemen, far from obeying his orders, killed Sir Hugh Crofts, who was the bearer of them. Mortimer, exasperated to find his authority compromised by so flagrant a contempt of his orders, caused their properties to be seized; confiscated their lands for the benefit of the English soldiery, and put all who declared in their favour, to the sword. He then compelled them to withdraw into Connaught, having first declared them traitors to their country. It appears that they were the only English who sided with Bruce, whom they accompanied on his return to Scotland.

A convent for Carmelites was founded this year, at Athboy, in the county of Meath, by William Loundres, lord of that place.

After the expedition into Meath, against the Lacys, Mortimer turned his attention to appease some troubles caused by the O'Byrnes and other inhabitants of Omayle, in the county of Wicklow. It was at this time that Sir Hugh Canon, judge in the court of Common Pleas, was assassinated by Andrew Bermingham, between Naas and Castlemartin.

Mortimer, as lord justice, gave a magnificent banquet on Quinquagesima Sunday, in the castle of Dublin, at which he conferred the honour of knighthood on John Mortimer and four others. After Easter, he was recalled to England; having before his departure received intelligence of the death of Richard de Clare, Sir Henry Capel, Sir Thomas de Naas, the two Cantons, and eighty others, who were killed on the 5th of May, by the O'Briens and M'Cartys. On John Lacy's refusal to vindicate himself of the crime of which he was accused, he was smothered at Trim, by orders of Mortimer, who afterwards sailed for England, leaving the administration of affairs, during his absence, to William Fitzjohn, archbishop of Cashel. According to the histories, however, Alexander Bicknor, archbishop of Dublin, was entrusted with the government in the month of October following, A.D. 1318.

Edward Bruce now made preparations in

Ulster for a new enterprise. He marched with his army, amounting to about three thousand men, as far as Fagher, two miles from Dundalk; but the English being alarmed at his movements, collected their troops, to the number of thirteen hundred and eighty men, and Sir John Bermingham was appointed by the lord justice to command them.

This general attended by several able captains, amongst whom were Richard Tuite and Miles Verdon, set out from Dublin at the head of his army. On approaching the enemy, the necessary preparations being made on both sides, the engagement began; but victory, which had hitherto always followed the steps of prince Edward, forsook him on this occasion; he lost two-thirds of his army, and was himself found among the slain. Bermingham caused the head of the unfortunate prince to be cut off, and presented it to the king of England, who, to reward him for so signal a service, created him earl of Louth.* This title became extinct with himself, as he died without issue; but that of baron of Athenry has been preserved in this noble family, who are descended from Robert de Bermingham.† The latter accompanied earl Strongbow to Ireland, and was one of the house of Bermingham, in the county of Warwick, England. The barons of Athenry are considered to have been the first in Ireland.‡ According to Cox the first baron of Athenry was Richard de Bermingham who had distinguished himself in battle against the inhabitants of Connaught.

Bruce's overthrow is a proof of the uncertain fate of arms, and shews how trivial a thing may win or lose a battle. About five years previously, thirty thousand Scotchmen gained a complete victory over a hundred thousand English, at Bannockburn; at Dundalk, the Scotch, who were superior in numbers, and headed by a prince accustomed to conquer, were vanquished by the English. Prince Edward may be ranked amongst the first captains of his age; he would, probably, says Abercromby, have remained master of Ireland, had his military ardour been moderated by the superior prudence of his brother.

Historians mention a circumstance which seems to prove that the sudden death of the prince was the cause of losing the battle. John Maupas, captain in the English army, and a man of very determined character, threw himself between the ranks, resolved

to kill him; and it is affirmed that after the action both bodies were found dead, one lying upon the other. However, according to Walsingham* and Baker, the prince was taken prisoner, and then beheaded, which displays the treachery of Bermingham, who acted thereby contrary to the rights of war; unless we can suppose that he merited his fate, by usurping a crown to which he had no right. Such a supposition concerning a prince called upon by a part of the nation that had a perfect right to choose their own king, is of no weight. This right is inherent in all people, even according to the spirit of the English laws, and his title was more lawful than that of Henry II. who added tyranny to usurpation.

Roger Mortimer returned again from England in the beginning of November A.D. 1319, invested with the same power as before. About this time the bridge of Kilculen, on the river Liffey, in the county of Kildare, and Leighlin bridge, on the Barrow, county of Carlow, were built through the influence of Maurice Jake, a canon of Kildare. Ireland being then tranquil, Mortimer returned to England, and Thomas Fitzgerald, son of John, earl of Kildare, was invested with the government, A. D. 1320. In his time pope John XXII. granted a bull to Bicknor, archbishop of Dublin, confirming that previously granted by Clement V., for the foundation of a university in Dublin; St. Patrick's church was the place intended for the schools. The same pope gave also to the king of England another bull exonerating him from the payment of Peter's pence, which the court of Rome exacted from the kingdoms of England and Ireland.

It is remarkable that the king of England granted to the earl of Kildare the power of receiving under the protection of the English laws, all his Irish tenants who would submit to them: *Quod possit recipere ad legem Angliæ omnes homines Hibernos tenentes suos, qui ad eandem venire voluerunt*; a proof that the Irish had not yet enjoyed that advantage; the withholding which was the inexhaustible source of those usurpations, murders, and civil wars, to which Ireland way a prey for some centuries. The English of Leinster and Meath made a general massacre of the O'Connors Faly, at Ballibogan, on the river Boyne; but soon afterwards a retaliation was inflicted by the O'Nowlans, who put Andrew Bermingham, Sir Richard de la Londe, and their followers to the sword, for having attacked them in their territories.

* He was brother to Richard, baron of Athenry.

† Nichol's Rudiments of Honour.

‡ Lodge's Peerage, vol. iv.

* Walsing. Ypodig. Neustrisæ. page 593.

According to Ware, a convent was established in the reign of Edward III., for Augustin hermits, at Ross or Rosspont, on the river Barrow, in the county of Wexford, which agrees with the registries of the Vatican, according to which it was founded in 1320, as Herrera observes. The same author mentions a convent for this order, founded at Skrine, in the county of Meath, by Feipo, who was then lord of that place.

John Bermingham, earl of Louth, was nominated lord justice of Ireland, A.D. 1321. The king sent him orders to join him at Carlisle with seven or eight thousand men, to assist him in the war against the Scotch; A.D. 1322; in obedience to which mandate, he set out with the earl of Ulster, who furnished three hundred men at his own expense, and left the government of Ireland to Ralph de Gorges, to whom it was entrusted till the month of February following, when he was succeeded by Sir John Darcy. The hostilities against the Irish recommenced under his administration. Sir Henry Traherne having put M'Morrough into confinement, massacred O'Nowlan and twenty-four of his followers, A.D. 1323. Among the registries in the tower of London, a document was discovered, proving the aversion which prevailed in the fourteenth century, between the Irish and English.* It was expressly prohibited by it to admit any subject of English extraction, into the abbey of Mellifont in Ireland: *In abbazia Mellifontis talis inolevit error, quod nullus admittatur in domum prædictam, nisi primitus facta fide quod non sit de genere Anglorum.* It appears that Edward II. had great influence with pope John XXII., who imposed a tithe of two years in his favour, upon the clergy of Ireland, to be levied by the dean and chapter of Dublin. The prelates and clergy, however, remonstrated against it, till they had seen the pope's bull. With the consent of his council, Edward enacted some laws on the 24th of November, at Nottingham, for the purpose of reforming the government of Ireland, which are given at full in the commentaries of Pryn, on the fourth institute.

Monaster-Eoris, or Totmoy, situated in that part of Offaly which lies in the King's county, was a celebrated convent for Franciscans, founded at this time by John Bermingham, lord of that country, which is still called Clan-Eoris.†

A parliament was held at Kilkenny during the feast of Pentecost, which was attended

by the earl of Ulster, and most of the nobility in the country, A.D. 1326; but there is no mention of the laws passed in it, except that it decreed a large quantity of corn to be sent to Aquitaine for the king's use. The earl of Ulster gave a magnificent banquet to this assembly, shortly after which he died.

Maurice M'Carwill, archbishop of Cashel, having died in 1316, the chapter assembled to appoint a successor.* The dean and majority of the canons elected John M'Carwill, bishop of Cork: the others gave their votes to Thomas O'Lonchi, archdeacon of the same church; but the pope, either on account of their being divided in their votes, or to gratify the king of England, who was desirous that all the sees should be filled by Englishmen, excluded both candidates, and nominated to it William Fitzjohn, bishop of Ossory, a man of great merit, who the following year was appointed warden and chancellor of the kingdom. The city of Cashel was surrounded with walls during his episcopacy. The prelate died about this time, and was succeeded by John O'Carrol. Ireland claims as her own (as before stated), the celebrated John Duns Scot, of the order of St. Francis, known by the name of the subtle doctor, who flourished about this date.

"Lord Mortimer," says Cox, "being obliged either through necessity or inclination, to return to England, gave the superintendence of some lands of which he was the owner, in Leix, to an Irishman named O'Morra. In course of time this Irishman appropriated them to himself, and was in possession of them for a long time; asserting even that he had a right to them, though his claim was founded only on perfidy and ingratitude."† This observation of Cox is crafty and plausible, and might have influence with those who are not aware of the venom which prevails throughout his whole history. The man is considered treacherous and ungrateful who appropriates to himself a property with which he was entrusted, through the good faith of the lawful owner; but did not our historian know that the district of Leix was the patrimony of the O'Morras, from the first ages of Christianity to the end of the twelfth century, and the usurpation of the English? and that the O'Morra in question, only availed himself of a favourable opportunity to recover a property, of which his ancestors had been unjustly deprived, some years before? *Res clamat Domino suo.* If he was not ignorant of it, he affords to the public a proof of that

* Cox's History of Ireland, on the year 1323.

† War. de Antiq. Hib. c. 26. Allemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irlande.

* War. de Archiepisc. Cassel.

† Cox, ibid. on the year 1326.

punic faith discoverable among the historians of his country. Our author forms the same opinion respecting the measures which Cavanagh adopted to recover the barony of Idrone, in the county of Carlow, from an Englishman named Carew.

The war still continued between the Scotch and English; the unfortunate catastrophe of Edward Bruce, having tended only to promote it. The Scotch invaded England, and extended their conquests as far as York; they then laid siege to Berwick, which was surrendered to them through the treachery of Spalding, the governor, and the other English who composed the garrison. The king of Scotland, however, had them hanged for betraying their country: thus giving a lesson to posterity, that though treason be tolerated, the traitor should be detested. The Scotch, having gained many advantages over the English, and Edward being unable to prosecute the war, a truce of two years, others say thirteen, was concluded between him and the king of Scotland.

Of all the kings who reigned over England, from the conquest of that kingdom by William the Conqueror, Edward II., was the most unfortunate and least guilty; but he was not, the last of that character. He never offended his subjects, nor encroached upon their privileges; his ruling passion was an inordinate attachment to his favourites; and he was tender hearted and generous, a rare quality among the people whom he had the misfortune to rule over. Young Spencer, who had succeeded Gaveston in the prince's affection, was quartered, after his father, who at the age of ninety years shared the same fate; his only crime that of having been beloved by a master who was unable to protect him. The prince himself sunk under the weight of his misfortunes. Those who, by the ties of nature, blood and honour, should have sacrificed their lives in his defence, were his most inveterate persecutors. The queen herself, seconded by a cruel and savage nobility, attacked him openly, and had him seized and thrown into a dungeon, where he was left destitute of common necessities. The parliament was then assembled in order to depose him, and he was forced to make a solemn abdication in favour of his son, a formality which was at that time deemed requisite in disposing of the crown, but which has been since then, omitted on a similar occasion. When this ceremony was over, his first guards, who were considered to be partial to him, were removed; he was placed under the care of two noted miscreants, Sir Thomas de Gournay, and Sir John Mattrevers, who had sold their service

to his enemies; and who put him to death with the most excruciating torture, by forcing a red hot iron into his body, and burning his intestines. Such was the character of the English at that period, and more than once has this disposition to cruelty manifested itself among them. It is said, that in order to investigate those monsters to commit this regicide, Mortimer had a letter sent to them, in which was contained the following passage, composed by Adam Toleton, bishop of Hereford: "Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum est." Mortimer, after being created earl of March by Edward III., was condemned to be hanged for having concluded a disgraceful peace with the Scotch, from whom he had received presents; likewise for having caused the king's death; for having lived in a shameful manner with the queen mother, Isabella; and lastly, for having robbed the king and the people. He was executed at Tyburn in 1330, and was left hanging on a gibbet for two days and nights. Some of those who had been his accomplices in the king's death, were executed along with him. The queen Isabella was deprived of her dowry, and confined in a castle, with a yearly pension of a thousand pounds sterling, where she spent the remainder of her life, and died at the age of thirty years.

CHAPTER XXIII.

EDWARD of Windsor, so called from the place of his birth, was eldest son of Edward II. He was proclaimed king of England on the 24th of January, 1317, eight days after his father had resigned the crown; received the honour of knighthood from Henry, earl of Lancaster, who presented him with the sword, and was crowned at Westminster, on the 1st of February, by Walter Reginald, archbishop of Canterbury. He shortly afterwards married Philippa, daughter of the earl of Hainault.*

This reign was more brilliant than the preceding one. The wars which Edward carried on against France, the battles of Cressy and Poitiers, the taking of Calais and his expeditions against the Scotch, are well known to those who are acquainted with the history of the period; but as they are sub-

* Annales Christophori. Walsingham, Ypodigm. Neustria. Baker's Chronicle on the reign of Edward III., and Higgins's Abridgment of the History of England.

jects unconnected with Ireland, we shall pass them over in silence, inasmuch as this prince should here be considered rather in his character of lord of Ireland, than as king of England.

Thomas Fitzgerald, son of John, earl of Kildare, having been appointed lord justice, in place of Sir John Darcy, the court sent orders to the heads of the English colony in Ireland, to take the usual oath of allegiance to the new king, as they had done to his predecessors.

After the arrival of the English, and fall of the monarchy in Ireland, there was no national army of regular troops, united under one commander. The chief of each tribe, attended by the different branches of his family, commanded his vassals, and made them march at his will, (like the clans of Scotland, who are under the controul of their respective chieftains), which gave rise to the opinion of English writers respecting the great number of petty kings they supposed to have existed in the country. Sometimes these chieftains joined against the common enemy, while they frequently went to war with one another. The same want of union prevailed among the Anglo-Irish, the chiefs of whom kept bodies of armed men under their immediate command, which they frequently employed against each other on the smallest provocation. We have already discovered instances of this under the preceding reigns; and in the present we find several which proved almost fatal to the English interest in Ireland.

Maurice, son of Thomas Fitzgerald, afterwards earl of Desmond, considering himself to have been insulted by Arnold Poer, who called him a rhymers, (he having a fondness for poetry), resolved to take revenge by arms. He accordingly drew the Butlers and Berminghams into his quarrel, and declared war against the Poers and their allies, the Burkes; several were killed, and the rest of them dispersed and forced to fly into Connaught, whilst their lands were laid waste, and their habitations burned. In vain did the earl of Kildare, as lord justice, interpose his authority, to allay those quarrels. He appointed a day to hear the cause of the parties; but Arnold Poer, knowing himself to have been the aggressor, and averse to submit to such investigation, proceeded to Waterford, from which place he set sail for England. His flight did not put a stop to the troubles; the confederate army continued their hostilities, spreading terror every where they went: the towns that had remained neuter during the disturbances, dreading the storm, were for-

tified and put into a state of defence. While these preparations were going forward, the confederates dreaded lest they should be looked upon as rebels, who desired to disturb the public peace, and accordingly sent word to the earl of Kildare that they had no hostile views against the king or his cities; that they had collected their troops to take revenge on their enemies, and were ready to appear before him at Kilkenny, to vindicate their proceedings. They accordingly did appear in the Lent, before the lord justice and the king's council at Kilkenny, where, with great humility, they solicited an amnesty and pardon. The lord justice, however, put off the matter to another time, in order to deliberate upon it.

The Irish in Leinster viewed with delight the dissensions that prevailed among their English rulers; and seizing the opportunity, which they thought a favourable one, proclaimed Donald, son of Art Mac-Morrrough, king of Leinster. He was of the family of the Mac-Morrrough's the ancient kings of the province.* His reign, however, was of short duration, as he was taken prisoner by the English near Dublin, in a battle in which he fought bravely at the head of his new subjects. Sir Henry Traherne and Walter de Valle, who commanded the English army, received one hundred and ten pounds sterling as a reward for his capture, a considerable sum at that time. Mac-Morrrough was confined in the castle of Dublin, from which he made his escape in the month of January, by means of a rope that he had been provided with by Adam de Nangle, whose life paid the forfeit of this generous act, for which he was hanged. Thomas Fitzgerald, earl of Kildare, and lord justice of Ireland, died at this time in his castle of Maynooth, and was succeeded in his office by Roger Outlaw, prior of Kilmainham, and chancellor of Ireland. During his administration, David O'Toole,† who had been made prisoner in Lent, by John Wellesly, was condemned to death, and executed in Dublin.

In the second year of the reign of Edward III., James Butler,‡ son of Edmond Butler, earl of Carrick, married a daughter of the earl of Hereford and of Elizabeth, who was seventh daughter of Edward I.§ He was

* Cox, *ibid.* on the year 1327.

† In English books he is styled a robber: all those who took up arms against them, even in the fairest cause, being denominated either rebels or robbers.

‡ He was descended in the tenth degree from Gilbert, count of Brionne in Normandy, and in the eighth from Gilbert de Tonbridge, earl of Clare in England, by Walter Fitz-Gilbert, his second son.

§ Introduction to the Life of the Duke of Ormond.

afterwards created earl of Ormond, by the king in a parliament, held at Northampton. The king also erected the county of Tipperary into a palatinate, in his favour, granting him the royal rights, franchises, military fiefs, and other privileges in that county. William Burke and Arnold Poer, who had left Ireland to escape the fury of their enemies, the Butlers, Fitzgeralds, and Berminghams, were reconciled to them in a parliament held in Dublin for that purpose.

Sir John Darcy was again nominated lord justice of Ireland, A.D. 1329. Lord Thomas Butler led a powerful army into Westmeath this year, with the design of subduing that country. The day before the feast of St. Laurence, he was met by M^cGeoghegan at the head of his forces, near Mullingar.* They came to a bloody engagement, which proved fatal to Butler and his followers, he having lost his life in it, together with several of his principal officers. The names of some of those who fell we discover in Pembrige, viz.; John de Ledewiche, Roger Ledewiche, Thomas Ledewiche, John Nangle, Meiler Petit, Simon Petit, David Nangle, John Waringer, James Tirrel, Nicholas White, Wm. Freyne, Peter Kent, John White, with a hundred and forty others whose names are not known. It seems from the honours which were paid to his remains, that lord Butler was much regretted by his partizans. His body was removed to Dublin, to the convent of the Dominicans, where it remained till the Sunday after the feast of the beheading of St. John the Baptist, when it was carried with great solemnity through the city, and back to the Dominicans, where it was interred.† O'Brien, of Thuomond, devastated the lands of the Anglo-Irish about this time, and burned the towns of Athessel and Tipperary.

These advantages, gained by the Irish over the English, did not prevent the latter from destroying each other. John Bermingham, earl of Louth, his brother Peter, and Talbot de Malahide, with their retinue, to the number of one hundred and sixty Englishmen, were massacred at Ballibraggan, in the territory of Uriel, by the treachery of the Savages, Gernons, and others of their countrymen. James, son of Robert Keating, lord Philip Hodnet, Hugh Condon and their followers, to the number of a hundred and forty, were

killed in Munster, by the Barrys and Roches. Lastly, the English of Meath, under the command of Sir Simon Genevil, having made some incursions into the barony of Carbury, in the county of Kildare, were defeated with the loss of seventy-six men, by the Berminghams.

The Irish were continually at war with the common enemy. Philip Staunton was killed, and Henry Traherne made prisoner in his house at Kilbeg, by Richard, son of Philip O'Nowlan; but this action was revenged some time afterwards, on the lands of Foghird, in the county of Wexford, which were laid waste by orders of the earl of Ormond.

In order to quell these disturbances, Sir John Darcy, lord justice of Ireland, marched the same year, at the head of some troops, towards Newcastle and Wicklow, against the O'Byrnes, who were ravaging the English settlements. This expedition was productive of little good, although several were killed and wounded on both sides. The governor therefore finding it impossible to oppose so many enemies on every side, ordered Maurice Fitzgerald, son of Thomas of Desmond, with the advice of his council, to take the command of the troops, and march against the king's enemies; a promise being made him, that he should be indemnified for the expenses of the war. Maurice marched at the head of the English army, which amounted to ten thousand men, against the Irish, whom he subdued separately, with ease. He began by the O'Nowlans, whose country he burned. He treated the O'Morrighs, (Murphys), in the same manner, took hostages from them, and recovered the castle of Ley from the O'Dempseys. The king's resources being inadequate to defray the expenses of the war, or maintain a standing army, Desmond renewed an old custom, by levying a tax, which was called by the Irish *Bonaght*, and *Coyne and Livery* by the English. It consisted in supplying food to men and horses, and also a money tax, which was arbitrarily laid on the people, in the same manner as contributions exacted in time of war, from an enemy's country. Necessity constrained the lord justice to tolerate, on that occasion, an abuse which afterwards proved fatal to some of the members of the house of Desmond.

The Irish seeing themselves without resource, and a prey to their enemies, sent a petition to the king of England, begging that he would receive them under the protection of the laws, and grant them the privileges and liberty of loyal subjects. The king referred the decision of their prayer to his English parliament in Ireland, being desirous to try if that favour could be granted without affect-

* War. de Annal. Hib. ad an. 1329.

† "The same year on the eve of St. Laurence, lord Thomas Butler marched with a great army towards Ardnorwith, and met there lord Thomas M^cGeoghegan. The lord Thomas Butler and many besides were killed, to the great loss of Ireland."—*Pembrige, Annal. for the year 1329.*

ing the interests of his Anglo-Irish subjects.* *Nos igitur certiorari si sine alieno præjudicio præmissis annuere valeamus, vobis mandamus quod voluntatem magnatum terræ illius in proximo parlamento nostro ibidem tenendo super hoc cum diligentia perscrutari facias.* But these politic senators gave the king to understand that such favour would be incompatible with their interests, and those of his majesty. In the parliament of that year, the heads of the English colony were enjoined to preserve union with their king, and peace among themselves.

The petition of the Irish having been rejected by the court of London, they carried their complaints to the sovereign pontiff, John XXII. O'Neill, king of Ulster, wrote upon the subject to his holiness, in the name of the Irish nation representing the tyranny which the English government exercised over them. The following copy of his letter is taken from the Scotie chronicle of John of Fordun, vol. 3, page 908, et seq.

"To our Most Holy Father, John, by the grace of God, sovereign pontiff, we, his faithful children in Christ Jesus, Donald O'Neill, king of Ulster, and lawful heir to the throne of Ireland; the nobles and great men, with all the people of this kingdom, recommend and humbly cast ourselves at his feet, &c.

"The calumnies and false representations which have been heaped upon us by the English are too well known throughout the world, not to have reached the ears of your Holiness. We are persuaded, most Holy Father, that your intentions are most pure and upright; but from not knowing the Irish except through the misrepresentation of their enemies, your holiness might be induced to look upon as truths those falsehoods which have been circulated, and to form an opinion contrary to what we merit, which would be to us a great misfortune. It is, therefore, to save our country against such imputations, that we have come to the resolution of giving to your Holiness, in this letter, a faithful description, and a true and precise idea of the real state at present of our monarchy, if this term can be still applied to the sad remains of a kingdom which has groaned so long beneath the tyranny of the kings of England, and that of their ministers and barons, some of whom, though born in our island, continue to exercise over us the same extortions, rapine and cruelties as their ancestors before them have committed. We shall advance nothing but the truth, and we

humbly hope, that, attentive to its voice, your Holiness will not delay to express your disapprobation against the authors of those crimes and outrages which shall be revealed. The country in which we live was uninhabited until the three sons of a Spanish prince, named Milesius, according to others Micelius, landed in it with a fleet of thirty ships. They came here from Cantabria, a city on the Ebro, from which river they called the country to which Providence guided them, Ibernica, where they founded a monarchy that embraced the entire of the island. Their descendants, who never sullied the purity of their blood by a foreign alliance, have furnished one hundred and thirty kings, who, during the space of three thousand five hundred years and upwards, have successively filled the throne of Ireland till the time of king Legarius, from whom he who has the honour of affirming these facts, is descended in a direct line. It was under the reign of this prince, in the year 435, that our patron and chief apostle, St. Patrick, was sent to us by pope Celestinus, one of your predecessors; and since the conversion of the kingdom through the preaching of that great saint, we have had till 1170, an uninterrupted succession of sixty-one kings, descended from the purest blood of Milesius, who, well instructed in the duties of their religion, and faithful to their God, have proved themselves fathers of their people, and have shown by their conduct, that although they depended in a spiritual light upon the holy apostolical see of Rome, they never acknowledged any temporal master upon earth. It is to those Milesian princes, and not to the English or any other foreigners, that the church of Ireland is indebted for those lands, possessions, and high privileges, with which the pious liberality of our monarchs enriched it, and of which it has been almost stripped, through the sacrilegious cupidity of the English. During the course of so many centuries, our sovereigns, jealous of their independence, preserved it unimpaired. Attacked more than once by foreign powers, they were never wanting in either courage or strength to repel the invaders, and secure their inheritance from insult. But that which they effected against force, they failed to accomplish in opposition to the will of the sovereign pontiff. His holiness pope Adrian, to whose other great qualities we bear testimony, was by birth an Englishman, but still more in heart and disposition. The national prejudices he had early imbibed, blinded him to such a degree, that on a most false and unjust statement,

* Davis, Relat. Histor.

he determined to transfer the sovereignty of our country to Henry, king of England, under whom, and perhaps by whom, St. Thomas of Canterbury had been murdered for his zeal in defending the interests of the church. Instead of punishing this prince as his crime merited, and depriving him of his own territories, the complaisant pontiff has torn ours from us to gratify his countryman, Henry II., and without pretext or offence on our part, or any apparent motive on his own, has stripped us by the most flagrant injustice, of the rights of our crown, and left us a prey to men, or rather to monsters, who are unparalleled in cruelty. More cunning than foxes, and more ravenous than wolves, they surprise and devour us; and if sometimes we escape their fury, it is only to drag on, in the most disgraceful slavery, the wretched remains of a life more intolerable to us than death itself. When, in virtue of the donation which has been mentioned, the English appeared for the first time in this country, they exhibited every mark of zeal and piety; and excelling as they did in every species of hypocrisy, they neglected nothing to supplant and undermine us imperceptibly. Emboldened from their first successes, they soon removed the mask; and without any right but that of power, they obliged us, by open force to give up to them our houses and our lands, and to seek shelter like wild beasts, upon the mountains, in woods, marshes, and caves. Even there, we have not been secure against their fury; they even envy us those dreary and terrible abodes; they are incessant and unremitting in their pursuits after us, endeavouring to chase us from among them; they lay claim to every place in which they can discover us, with unwarranted audacity and injustice; they allege that the whole kingdom belongs to them of right, and that an Irishman has no longer a right to remain in his own country. From these causes arise the implacable hatred and dreadful animosity of the English, and the Irish, towards each other; that continued hostility, those bloody retaliations and innumerable massacres, in which, from the invasion of the English to the present time, more than fifty thousand lives have been lost on both sides, besides those who have fallen victims to hunger, to despair, and the rigours of captivity. Hence also spring all the pillaging, robbery, treachery, treason, and other disorders which it is impossible for us to allay in the state of anarchy under which at present we live; an anarchy fatal not only to the state, but likewise to the church of Ireland, whose mem-

bers are now, more than ever, exposed to the danger of losing the blessings of eternity, after being first deprived of those of this world. Behold, most holy father, a brief description of all that has reference to our origin, and the miserable condition to which your predecessor has brought us. We shall now inform your holiness of the manner in which we have been treated by the kings of England. The permission of entering this kingdom, was granted by the holy see to Henry II. and his successors, only on certain conditions, which were clearly expressed in the bull which was given them. According to the tenor of it, Henry engaged to increase the church revenues in Ireland; to maintain it in all its rights and privileges; to labour by enacting good laws, in reforming the morals of the people, eradicating vice, and encouraging virtue, and finally, to pay to the successors of St. Peter an annual tribute of one penny for each house. Such were the conditions of the bull. But the kings of England and their perfidious ministers, so far from observing them, have uniformly contrived to violate them in every way, and to act in direct opposition to them. First, as to the church lands, instead of extending their boundaries, they have contracted, curtailed, and invaded them so generally and to such a degree, that some of our cathedrals have been deprived, by open force, of more than one half of their revenues. The persons of the clergy have been as little respected as their property. On every side we behold bishops and prelates summoned, arrested, and imprisoned by the commissioners of the king of England; and so great is the oppression exercised over them, that they dare not give information of it to your holiness. However, as they are so dastardly as to conceal their misfortunes and those of the church, they do not merit that we should speak in their behalf. We once had our laws and institutions; the Irish were remarkable for their candour and simplicity; but the English have undertaken to reform us, and have been unfortunately but too successful. Instead of being, like our ancestors, simple and candid, we have become, through our intercourse with the English, and the contagion of their example, artful and designing as themselves. Our laws were written, and formed a body of right according to which our country was governed. However, with the exception of one alone, which they could not wrest from us, they have deprived us of those salutary laws and have given us instead a code of their own making. Great God! such laws!

If inhumanity and injustice were leagued together, none could have been devised more deadly and fatal to the Irish. The following will give your holiness some idea of their new code. They are the fundamental rules of English jurisdiction established in this kingdom :

1st—"Every man who is not Irish, may, for any kind of crime, go to law with any Irishman, whilst neither layman nor ecclesiastic, who is Irish, (prelates excepted,) can, under any cause or provocation, resort to any legal measures against his English opponent.

2d—"If an Englishman kill an Irishman perfidiously and falsely, as frequently occurs, of whatsoever rank or condition the Irishman may be, noble or plebeian, innocent or guilty, clergyman or layman, secular or regular, were he even a bishop, the crime is not punishable before our English tribunal; but on the contrary, the more the sufferer has been distinguished among his countrymen, either for his virtue or his rank, the more the assassin is extolled and rewarded by the English, and that not only by the vulgar, but by the monks, bishops, and what is more incredible, by the very magistrates, whose duty it is to punish and repress crime.

3d—"If any Irishwoman whosoever, whether noble or plebeian, marry an Englishman, on the death of her husband she becomes deprived, from her being Irish, of a third of the property and possessions which he owned.

4th—"If an Irishman fall beneath the blows of an Englishman, the latter can prevent the vanquished from making any testamentary deposition, and may likewise take possession of all his wealth. What can be more unjustifiable than a law which deprives the church of its rights, and reduces men, who had been free from time immemorial, to the rank of slaves?

5th—"The same tribunal, with the co-operation and connivance of some English bishops, at which the archbishop of Armagh presided, a man who was but little esteemed for his conduct, and still less for his learning, made the following regulations at Kilkenny, which are not less absurd in their import than in their form. The court say they, after deliberating together, prohibits all religious communities, in that part of Ireland of which the English are in peaceful possession, to admit any into them but a native of England, under a penalty of being treated by the king of England, as having contemned his orders, and by the founders and administrators of the said communities, as disobedient and refractory to the present regulation.

This regulation was little needed; before, as well as since its enactment, the English Dominicans, Franciscans, Benedictines, regular canons, and all the other communities of their countrymen, observed the spirit of it but too faithfully. In the choice of their inmates they have evinced a partiality, the more shameful, as the houses for Benedictines and canons, where the Irish are now denied admittance, were intended by their founders to be asylums open to people of every nation indiscriminately. Vice was to be eradicated from amongst us, and the seeds of virtue sown. Our reformers have acted diametrically the opposite character; they have deprived us of our virtues, and have implanted their vices amongst us." &c. &c. &c.

The sovereign pontiff moved by the remonstrances of O'Neill and of the Irish people, respecting the tyranny and cruelties committed by the English government, addressed the following letter, quoted by Petrus Lombardus, page 260, to Edward III., king of England, exhorting that prince to check the disorders and cruelty that were practised upon the Irish.

"We, Pope John, servant of the servants of God, to our dear son in Christ, the illustrious Edward, king of England, greeting health and salvation.

"Our unceasing entreaties to you, dear son, to maintain peace in your kingdom, justice in your decisions, the blessings of tranquillity amongst your subjects, and lastly, to omit nothing which can contribute to your happiness and glory, proceed from the paternal solicitude which we bear towards your majesty: you ought, therefore, to devote yourself altogether to these objects, and prove yourself eager and willing to promote them. We have a long time since received from the princes and people of Ireland, letters addressed to our well beloved Anselmus, priest of the chapel of SS. Marcellus and Peter, to Lucas, dean of St. Mary, to the cardinals and nuncios of the holy see, and through them, letters enveloped with their own, addressed to us. These we have read, and among other things which they contain, have particularly noted, that our predecessor, pope Adrian, of happy memory, hath given to your illustrious progenitor, Henry II., king of England, the kingdom of Ireland, as specified in his apostolical letters to him. To the object of these letters neither Henry nor his successors have paid regard, but passing the bounds that were prescribed to them, have, without cause or provocation,

heaped upon the Irish the most unheard of miseries and persecution, and have, during a long period, imposed upon them a yoke of slavery which cannot be borne. None have dared to stem the persecutions which have been practised against the Irish, nor has any person been found willing to remedy the cause of them: not one, I say, has been moved, through a holy compassion for their sufferings, although frequent appeals have been made to your goodness in their behalf, and the strong cries of the oppressed have reached the ears of your majesty. Thus no longer able to endure such tyranny, the unhappy Irish have been constrained to withdraw themselves from your dominion, and to seek another to rule over them in your stead. If these things be founded in truth, they are in direct opposition to our regards and consideration for your felicity. Our advice is, therefore, that your majesty will not lose sight of this important matter, and that you will carry into speedy effect the commands of your Creator, in order to avoid that which must draw down the vengeance of God upon you. The groans and sorrows of the afflicted have been heard by the Omnipotent, who can, as the holy Scriptures attest, change and transfer kingdoms to others, as he has abandoned his chosen people in punishment for the crimes they had committed. Our most ardent wish is, that your majesty omit nothing, particularly during these revolutions, to conciliate by your goodness the hearts of the faithful Irish, and avoid every thing that can tend to estrange them from you. As it is, therefore, important to your interest to obviate the misfortunes which these troubles are capable of producing; they should not be neglected in the beginning, lest the evil increase by degrees, and the necessary remedies be applied too late: and having considered the matter maturely, we herein exhort your majesty, that you remove the cause of these misfortunes, and arrest, by honourable measures, their cause and consequences, that you may render him from whom you hold your crown, propitious to your views and government; and that by fulfilling the duties of lord and master, you may afford no subject for complaint, by which means the Irish, guided by a wise administration, may obey you as lord of Ireland; or if they, (which heaven forbid), continue in rebellion, which they describe before God and man to be innocent, that rebellion may be deemed unjust. In order, therefore, that your majesty may become acquainted with the grievances of the Irish people, we send to you, enclosed, the letters they have

sent to the above named cardinals, with a copy of the bull which our predecessor Adrian, of happy memory, hath sent to the illustrious Henry, king of England, concerning the act of conferring on him the kingdom of Ireland. Given," &c.

Ireland at this time produced several learned men. Maurice Gibellan, a canon of the church of Tuam, who died in 1327, was celebrated as a philosopher, and a good poet.

Adam Godham, a monk of the order of St. Francis, having taken the degree of doctor in theology, at Oxford, wrote commentaries on the four books of Sentences, which were printed in Paris in 1512; he wrote likewise a book of philosophical directions.* Bale makes mention of this author, but calls him Adam Wodeham, for which he cites the authority of John Major, who, notwithstanding, calls him Adam Godhamen. The following are his words: "At the same time flourished Adam Godhamen, who had heard Ockam at Oxford; he was a man of modesty, and not inferior to Ockam in learning."† Bale is also in error, according to Ware, in saying he was an Englishman; John Major, he says, calls him, in another place, Adam of Ireland. Oxford, says Major, formerly produced some celebrated philosophers and theologians; namely, Alexander Hales, Richard Middleton, John Duns, the subtle doctor, Ockam, Adam of Ireland, Robert Holkot, &c. Lastly, Ware supposes that Godham is the same as Gregory de Rimini, so often quoted under the name of Adam the Doctor, or the doctor of Ireland, in his treatise, written on the "Sentences," 1344.

William Ockam, a Franciscan friar, and disciple of John Scot, is ranked among the celebrated men of this time; he was generally called the invincible, apostolic, and prince of Nominalists: he died at Munich, in Bavaria, and was interred among the Franciscans. Volateran thinks that he was an Irishman.‡ "Ireland," says he, "had also her saints, particularly the prelates Malachi, Cataldus, and Patrick, who converted her people to the Christian religion; and also a prelate called William Ockams, the celebrated logician, a Minorite and cardinal of Armagh, under the pontificate of John XXII., who lived in 1353, and was highly esteemed for his learning and writings."§ Philip O'Sullivan, who calls him O'Cahan, and a few

* War. de Script. Hib.

† Cent. 5, cap. 98. De gestis Scotor. lib. 4, cap. 11.

‡ Commentar. Urban. lib. 3.

§ Hist. Cathol. Hib. Compend. tom. 1, lib. 4, cap. 8.

others, agree with Volateran respecting the country of Ockam; but Ware, convinced by the reasons assigned by Wadding, thinks otherwise.*

David Obugey, a monk of the Carmelite order, of the convent of Kildare, was remarkable for his learning, first at Oxford and afterwards at Treves. Having been nominated provincial of his order, he returned to Ireland, where, according to Bale, he held chapters at Atherdee and Dublin.† He was considered a great philosopher, an elegant orator, a profound theologian, and one of the most learned in the law of his time. He wrote discourses for the clergy, epistles to various persons, propositions discussed, lectures and rules of law; also a treatise against Gerard de Bononia, and Commentaries on the Bible. This learned man died at Kildare, advanced in years, where he was buried in the convent of his own order.

Gilbert Urgale, so called from the place of his birth, lived in 1330.‡ He belonged to the order of Carmelites, and was author of two large volumes, one of which was a Summary of Law, and the other on Theology. The compiler of the Annals of Ross, lived in 1346, at which time he concludes with observing, that O'Carrouil was killed this year, in the district of Eile, by the people of Ossory.

Roger Outlaw, prior of Kilmainham, was appointed deputy of Ireland, A.D. 1330. All was tranquil during the summer, and the severity of winter prevented the renewal of hostilities, which, however, began in Lent in Meath, between the Mac-Geoghegans and the English.§ The latter, supported by the united forces of the earls of Ulster and Ormond, defeated the former at Loghynherthy, and killed one hundred and ten of their men, with three young noblemen, sons of their leading chiefs.

A parliament was held this year at Kilkenny, at which Alexander, archbishop of Dublin, the earls of Ulster and Ormond were present, besides other noblemen, the chief of whom were, William Bermingham and Walter Burke, of Connaught. Each of these came attended by his troops, in order to attack O'Brien, and expel him from Urkiffe, near Cashel, where he was posted. With their combined army, they marched towards Limerick, and on their route, the Burkes pillaged the lands of the Fitzgeralds, which

produced a quarrel between these two families, and obliged the lord justice to have the earl of Ulster, and Maurice, lord of Desmond, arrested, and committed into the hands of the marshal, at Limerick. Maurice, however, found means to escape, and the earl of Ulster was liberated, after which they both went to England, and their troops were disbanded without having performed any thing, according to an anonymous writer, *quod nihil perfecerunt*.

The following year, 1331, the English defeated the Irish of Leinster, on the 21st of April, in the district of Kinseallagh; and in the month of May, O'Brien was routed at Thurles with considerable loss. About the same time David O'Toole advanced with his forces towards Tulagh, which belonged to the archbishop of Dublin, and thence carried off several herds of cattle, and killed Richard White, and many others by whom he was opposed. The intelligence of these depredations having reached Dublin, O'Toole was pursued by Sir Philip Britt, Maurice Fitzgerald, a knight of the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, Hamon Archdekin, John Camerar, Robert Tyrrell, the two sons of Reginald Barnewall, and several others, all of whom lost their lives in an ambuscade which was laid for them by O'Toole, at Culiagh. Encouraged by this success, the O'Tooles besieged and took the castle of Arklow; but these disturbances, were partly quelled by William Bermingham at the head of a large body of forces.

In the month of June, Sir Anthony Lucy, a man highly esteemed in England, was sent to Ireland as lord justice; he was the bearer of letters from the king to the earl of Ulster and other noblemen, in which he ordered them to give him assistance whenever he would require it. He was attended by Hugh de Lacy, who had just received a general pardon. The new lord justice intended to put down the disturbances in Ireland by a severe mode of government; but the undertaking was too difficult for one man, and required more time than he could give to it. His administration, however, was favoured by a victory gained over the Irish at Finagh, in Meath. He summoned a parliament for the month of June, in Dublin; but the meeting being thinly attended, it was adjourned to Kilkenny, where it was to be held on the 7th of July. The earl of Kildare, and the noblemen who had been absent from the parliament in Dublin, attended that of Kilkenny, in which they apologised for their former absence, and were pardoned their past of-

* Annal. Minor. ad. an. 1323, n. 15, ad. an. 1347, n. 22.

† Cent. 14, tit. 92.

‡ Bale, Cent. 14, n. 92.

§ Pembrigg. ad an. 1330.

fences, on taking an oath not to violate the peace for the future.

The viceroy being informed in the month of August, that the Irish had pillaged and burned the castle of Ferns, conceived strong suspicions of the fidelity of some of the noblemen who had not appeared at the meeting in Kilkenny, and believing them to act in conjunction with the Irish, had some of them arrested. Henry Mandevil was taken in the month of September; Maurice Fitzgerald, of Desmond, was arrested in Limerick, in the beginning of October, and brought to Dublin; Walter Burke and his brother were taken in November; and, lastly, William and Walter Bermingham were removed from Clonmel to Dublin in the month of February following, where William was tried; and notwithstanding the important services he had rendered to his king and country, was condemned to death, and executed on the 11th of July. Walter, his son, was pardoned, having taken holy orders. Maurice, of Desmond, remained for eighteen months in prison, when, on giving security, he was permitted to go and plead his cause before the king of England.

In the month of July, 1332, the Irish destroyed the castle of Bunratty. On the other hand, the English retook the castle of Arklow, and had it rebuilt. In Munster they defeated the O'Briens, Mac-Cartys, and their allies, and took from them the castle of Coolmore. The hostages which the English had received from the Irish some time before, having been kept in Limerick and Nenagh, undertook to surprise these places, and succeeded in making themselves masters of them; but the English having assembled their forces, they were re-taken. The hostages of Limerick were put to death, but those of Nenagh were spared. In the mean time the O'Tooles, of Leinster took Newcastle, in the county of Wicklow, and reduced it to ashes.

The affairs of Ireland were the chief object of the parliament which was at this time assembled in England; they determined that the king should visit that country in person, and that, in the mean time, reinforcements should be sent thither. The several English noblemen who possessed estates there, received orders to reside on them, in order to assist in defending it;* and those who were appointed to serve as lords justices in Ireland, were forbidden to frame any pretext for avoiding it. William Burke and other no-

blemen then received orders to go to England, and prepare for the king's voyage, which was deferred on account of the advanced period of the season. The lord justice was recalled in November, and in February Sir John Darcy was sent in his place.

The king being desirous that the new governor should support the dignity of his office, conferred on him the lordships of Louth and Ballyogaun, which had been confiscated when Simon, count d'Eu, to whom they belonged, withdrew from the service of the king of England, and attached himself to the French monarch.

In the beginning of Darcy's administration, the Berminghams carried off large booty from the O'Connors of Sligo, A.D. 1333. William Burke, earl of Ulster, was assassinated on the 6th of June in this year by his servants, on the road to Carrickfergus. His countess, alarmed by this outrage, set sail for England with her only daughter, who was afterwards married to Lionel, duke of Clarence, the king's son, by whom she had an only daughter, who married Roger Mortimer, earl of March and lord of Trim, in Meath. This was the reason why the titles of earl of Ulster and lord of Connaught were annexed to the crown. There were, however, two noblemen of the name of Burke, apparently of the family of the earls of Ulster, who took possession of some of the estates, which they kept for a length of time, contrary to the spirit of the law, and gave origin to different branches of this noble family, which is still in being, in Connaught. To supply the want of a legal title, they sought support from the friendship of the ancient Irish; joined in their leagues; adopted their language, manners, and customs; and even went so far as to change their name, by placing the article Mac before it, like the Irish. From them is derived the name of Mac-William, &c.

The assassination of the earl of Ulster caused a great sensation in Ireland, A.D. 1334. The viceroy being determined to take revenge on the murderers, and having consulted with his parliament, set sail on the 1st of July for Carrickfergus, where he put them to the sword. This done he committed the government to the care of Thomas Burke, treasurer of Ireland, during his absence, and crossed over with his army to Scotland, to the assistance of the king his master.

Stephen Segrave, archbishop of Armagh, died this year, (1335). He was succeeded by David O'Hiraghty, otherwise Mac-Oreghty, who was consecrated at Avignon, and put in possession of his see in the month of March following.

* We discover in this place, that the conquest of Ireland was not completed in the fourteenth century, since the English who had been enriched with the spoils of its inhabitants were obliged to reside in it, to defend their unjustly acquired properties.

In the parliament of England, held on the fifteenth of March, it was determined that the king's presence being necessary in France, his voyage to Ireland should be delayed for another year, and in the mean time that succour should be sent thither. But it appears that the war with Scotland prevented either voyage being undertaken at the time; and though the king was advised by both chambers, to send assistance, in men and money, to Ireland, and they voted a sixth and fifteenth as aids for the purpose; it appears, that instead of this assistance, inconsiderable in amount, a commission was sent to treat with the rebels, in other words, the Irish.

John Darcy having signalized himself against the Scotch, returned to Ireland, and resumed the government, which he had confided to the treasurer in his absence. The first use he made of his authority, was to release Walter Bermingham from prison. About this time, Simon Archdekin and several of his retinue were killed in Leinster, by the Irish. Roche, lord of Fermoy, was fined two hundred marks of silver, for having neglected to attend two parliaments to which he had been summoned; but his son prevailed on the king to reduce the fine to ten pounds sterling.

Maurice Fitzgerald was prevented, at this time, by an accident, from going to England; his leg being broken by a fall from his horse, which obliged him to defer his voyage, A.D. 1335. As soon as he recovered, he set sail for that country, where he was well received by the king, who created him earl of Desmond, A.D. 1336. Sir John Darcy was succeeded, the year following, in his office of lord justice, by Sir John Charleton.

On the right bank of the river Suire, county Waterford, opposite the town of Carrick, in the county of Tipperary, a convent called Carrick Bee was founded at this time, for Franciscan friars, by James Butler, first earl of Ormond, who gave the ground and a house for the purpose.* Both Ware and Wadding agree that Clinnus was the first warden of it. There was a large inclosure, besides beautiful meadows belonging to this convent, but on the suppression of the monasteries, the earls of Ormond took back their house, and all that depended on it.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Sir John Charleton, who was nominated lord justice of Ireland, A.D. 1337, was attended in

his voyage thither by his brother Thomas, bishop of Hereford, as chancellor, and John Rice (Ap Rees) as treasurer, and was followed by two hundred soldiers. On his arrival he summoned a parliament to meet in Dublin. The archbishop of Armagh was preparing to attend this meeting, but he found some opposition from the archbishop of Dublin, who would not permit him to enter his diocese with the cross raised. The king having been informed of the difference between the prelates, prohibited the archbishop and citizens of Dublin from interfering with the primate.

Charleton was deprived by the king, in 1338, of the office of lord justice, at the instigation of his brother, the bishop of Hereford, who succeeded him. This new governor sent to Munster for Sir Eustace Poer, and John his uncle, and on some suspicion, had them confined in the castle of Dublin. The winter was very severe this year in Ireland; snow fell frequently; the frost lasted from the 2nd of December till the 10th of February, and so frozen was the river Liffey, that the people played, danced, and dressed their food upon the ice.

The disturbances continued in Ireland, particularly in Munster, where the Irish often took up arms; but they were defeated in the county of Kerry, with the loss of twelve hundred men, by the earl of Desmond, A.D. 1339. He caused Nicholas Fitzmaurice, lord of Kerry, who was of English origin, to be arrested, and imprisoned till his death, for having taken part with the Irish against him and the king. The earl of Kildare was not more lenient to the inhabitants of Leinster; he pursued the O'Dempseys of Clannalire so closely, that several of them were drowned in the river Barrow. The lord justice, about the same time at the head of some English troops, carried away an immense booty from the territory of Idrone, in the county of Carlow. This prelate was recalled to England in the month of April following, and gave up his dignity to Roger Outlaw, prior of Kilmainham, who did not enjoy it long, having died in the month of February, A.D. 1340.

The king of England now appointed Sir John Darcy lord justice of Ireland, during his life, of which office he granted him letters patent. This nobleman being unable to go in person, sent Sir John Morris as deputy in his place; but the Anglo-Irish, who had become wealthy, and invested with titles of honour, would not submit to an authority delegated to a simple knight, and refused to pay him the respect which was due to his station. In order to punish their

* War. de Antiq. Hib. c. 26, et Alemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irlande.

pride, the court decreed by a public act, addressed to the lord justice, that all the gifts of lands, liberties, lordships, or jurisdictions, which had been bestowed in Ireland either by the reigning king or his predecessor, should be revoked 1341, and that the said lands and lordships should be seized in the king's name, in order that investigation might be made into the causes and conditions of those donations, and the merit of the persons on whom they had been conferred.

This decree against the new proprietors of land in Ireland, gave rise to that distinction between an Englishman by birth and an Englishman by descent, which became so injurious to the interests of the English in Ireland. By it we discover the facility with which the kings of England bestowed the lands of the ancient Irish on their English subjects; and the artful misrepresentations and treachery resorted to by the latter, to obtain the property of their neighbours. The meanest English subject, who was employed either in the militia or the magistracy, by representing an Irishman possessed of land to be a rebel, or suspected of being such, was certain of being rewarded by the English tribunal, at the expense of a man who was denied the means of justice to vindicate himself; conduct which naturally kept up hatred and animosity between the two people, and gave rise to the murders and sanguinary conflicts which were so frequent.

The decree alluded to, having caused considerable disturbances amongst the Anglo-Irish, a parliament was summoned to meet in Dublin, in the month of October, to allay them; but the earl of Desmond, and other lords of his faction, instead of attending it, formed a league with the corporations of towns, and others who were dissatisfied; and without consulting the government, convened a general assembly at Kilkenny, for the month of November, where they met in spite of the lord justice, who did not dare to appear among them. This was an obvious contempt of the royal authority. The result of the assembly was to send deputies to the king, with complaints couched in form of the three following questions: 1st. How could a state torn by wars be governed by a man who had no experience in military affairs? 2nd. How could an officer without a fortune, and the king's representative, amass more wealth in one year, than those with extensive possessions could do in many? 3rd. As they were all called lords of their estates, how was it that their sovereign was not the richest among them?

The king immediately understood the purport of these interrogatories; but as he was resolved not to restore the lands which had been seized, he tried other means to reform the abuses which prevailed, and to satisfy the people. He recalled several judges and other officers, whose administration was disliked, particularly Elias de Ashbourne, whose property had been seized; Thomas Montpelier, and Henry Baggot, judges in the court of common pleas. He sent orders to the deputy to ascertain the rank, services, pay, number, and conduct of his officers in Ireland. He abolished all respite and forgiveness of debts due to the crown, which were granted by his officers, and ordered that they should be recovered. John Darcy, the king's chief justice, and the deputy, were commanded to admit no Englishman, who was not possessed of landed property in England, to any of the high offices of the state; and all who were already in office, not possessing such qualifications, were ordered to be dismissed. They were prohibited to sell or confiscate the crown lands without royal permission, and a perfect knowledge of the circumstances under which such confiscations or sales took place. The king abolished likewise some privileges to which the treasurer of the exchequer laid claim; as, for instance, a right to use and pay any sum under five pounds that he thought proper, without being responsible for it. He also ordered him to give an account of the past expenditure, and never to make any payment for the future, without the sanction of the lord justice, the chancellor, and the council. He likewise took from that officer the nomination of county sheriffs, and conferred it on the head magistrates, who were enjoined to choose fit persons for that office. The king's money being often lost, through the avarice of the treasurer, who was bribed to allow delay to parties in the payment of it, he was not suffered to receive the revenue, except in the public office. Lastly, the king sent for a list of the individuals whose estates had been seized, and in order to reward John Darcy the elder for his services, he received liberty to claim his property, which had been confiscated. The lord justice, deputy, and chancellor, were all commissioned to examine into, and regulate the exchequer. All this, however, did not put a stop to the disturbances, and the king was at length obliged to restore the lands which had been seized.

At this time, John Larche, prior of the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, in Ireland, and Thomas Wogan, were sent to the

king, by the prelates, earls, barons, and other lords, with a list of the grievances under which they laboured. In Pryn's animadversions we discover what these grievances were, and the king's answer. It is not known whether these deputies were sent by the parliament in Dublin, or the meeting of the malcontents in Kilkenny; but it is certain that the lord justice was recalled soon after their embassy.

Sir Ralph Ufford was sent to Ireland in quality of lord justice, in 1343. He married the countess dowager of Ulster. It is affirmed, that on his arrival in the country, the most severe and inclement season succeeded very fine weather, and that rain and storms were frequent during his administration. He was considered more severe and cruel than any one who had preceded him in the government of Ireland. He appropriated the goods of others to his own use, and plundered without distinction the clergy, the laity, the rich, and the poor, assigning the public welfare as a pretext. He tyrannised over the inhabitants of the country, and no one found justice at his hands. Such is the character which Ufford bore, both among the new and the old Irish; he was so universally abhorred, that on his entering Ulster, he was robbed in the open day, at Emerdullan, by Maccartan and his followers, who seized upon his equipages in presence of the people, none of whom interfered to defend him.

In the parliament which had met at Nottingham, in November, laws were enacted for the reformation of the Irish government, which are the same, says Cox, as are mentioned in the seventeenth year of the reign of Edward II. They are to be met with in full, in Pryn's remarks on the fourth institute.

The following year, 1345, the lord justice convened a parliament in Dublin, in the month of June. The earl of Desmond, who refused to appear at it, called a meeting himself at Callan; but many of the noblemen who had promised to attend, absented themselves by orders of the king. The lord justice, exasperated at the earl's conduct, sent, of his own accord, the king's standard to Munster, where he seized on his estates, and gave them *in custodiam* to whoever would take them. He seized upon the castles of Miskilly and Ile by a stratagem, in the month of October, and three knights who were in command of them were ordered to be hanged; namely, Eustace Poer, William Grant, and John Cotterell; *quia multas graves, extraneas, et intolerabiles, leges*

exercuissent;* because they introduced many strange and intolerable laws.

The earl of Desmond, humbled by the manner in which he had been treated by the lord justice, was forced to submit, by procuring the earls of Ulster and Ormond, with twenty-four knights, to become his security;† but dreading the governor's severity, he did not think prudent himself to appear. This cost those who had become his bail dearly; the lord justice confiscated the estates of eighteen knights, and reduced them to beggary; but the other six, with the Earls of Ulster and Ormond, found means to get clear of this embarrassment.

John O'Grada, archbishop of Cashel died at this time; he was first the rector of Ogus-sin, in the diocese of Killaloe, then treasurer of Cashel, when he was appointed by the dean and chapter to this see, whose choice was confirmed by the pope. He was a discreet and clever man, according to the annals of Nenagh: *Vir magnæ discretionis et industrie*. Having enriched his church considerably, he died at Limerick, after taking the Dominican habit, and was interred in the church of that order. He was succeeded in the see of Cashel by Radulphus O'Kelly.

Ufford, having settled his affairs in Munster, returned to Dublin, where he had left his wife. Not satisfied with making war against the nobles, he persecuted the clergy also, and took large sums of money from them; some he imprisoned, and confiscated the property of others. He also had the earl of Kildare arrested for treason, who was detained in the castle of Dublin till the month of May following, when he was liberated by the successor of this magistrate.

Sir John Ufford, having tyrannically ruled over his countrymen in Ireland, during two years, died unregretted in Dublin, on Palm Sunday, the 9th of April, 1346. The countess, his wife, who had been received in Ireland like an empress, and lived in it as a queen, was obliged to leave the castle through a back gate, to avoid the insults of her enemies, and the demands of her creditors.

Sir Roger Darcy was appointed, with the good will of all, to fill the vacant office of lord justice. He took the oath on the 10th of April, but on the 25th of the following month he resigned it in favour of Sir John Morris, who had been appointed by the court; the disastrous news of the O'Morras having burned the castles of Ley and Kil-

* War. de Antiq. Hib. c. 13.

† Cox, Hist. of Ireland, p. 121.

mebide having arrived some time before. The first act of the administration of Morris was, to set the earl of Kildare at liberty, who had been state prisoner. During his government, which was of a short duration, a bloody battle took place between the Irish of Ulster and the English of Uriel, in which the latter were defeated, with the loss of three hundred men.

David O'Hiraghty, or according to others, Mac-Oreghty, was consecrated archbishop of Armagh, at Avignon, in 1334.* He was summoned to attend the parliament held in Dublin, in 1337, by Sir John Charleton, who was then lord justice; but the old difference which still continued between the sees of Armagh and Dublin, respecting the primacy, prevented his appearing. According to the annals of Nenagh, he died on the 16th of May, 1346. Pembridge is incorrect in placing his death in the year 1337, since he was succeeded in the see of Armagh, in 1347, by Richard, son of Ralph.

Sir Walter Bermingham succeeded John Morris in the government of Ireland, and took the usual oath in the month of June. He then obtained leave for the earl of Desmond to go to England to defend his cause, where the king received him kindly, allowing him twenty shillings a day to defray his expenses while he remained at court. He pleaded his cause with warmth, and demanded reparation for the injustice which Ufford had done to him.

The lord justice and the earl of Kildare having united their forces, pursued the O'Morras closely, and forced them to surrender, and give hostages, A. D. 1347. Through gratitude for the kindness his relative, the earl of Desmond, had met with in England, the earl of Kildare set out for Calais, which Edward was then besieging, where the king as a reward for his services, conferred on him the honour of knighthood. The lord justice having been obliged to go to England on some business, about this time, appointed John Archer, prior of Kilmainham, deputy during his absence. The same year, Donald Oge Mac-Morrough, the heir of the ancient royal house of Leinster, was assassinated by his vassals, and the town of Nenagh was burned by the Irish.

Christopher Pembridge, a native of Dublin, flourished at this period. He was author of the greater part of the Irish annals, published by Camden in 1607, at the end of his *Britannia*, and which ended with 1347.

On Sir Walter Bermingham's return to

Ireland, where he resumed the reins of government, A. D. 1348, the king rewarded him with the estate of Kenlis, in Ossory, which had belonged to Sir Eustace Poer, one of those whom Ufford had put to death, for his attachment to the interests of the earl of Desmond. Usurpation, tyranny, and civil wars were not the only afflictions with which Ireland was visited. The climate, which, according to Cambrensis, was so temperate and healthy in the twelfth century, that physicians were hardly needed,* became totally changed, and the provinces were desolated by a general plague.

The house of commons of England presented a petition to the king, praying him to appoint commissioners to examine into the causes why his majesty derived so small a revenue from Ireland, while his power in that country was more extended than that of any of his predecessors had been; and to inquire into the conduct of the officers employed there, in order to punish or change them, in case of misdemeanour or bad government on their part. It was also requested in the prayer of the petition to establish a rule respecting the succession of the earl of Ulster, in order to prevent the collateral heirs of that nobleman, some of whom were but little attached to his majesty's interests, from aspiring to it, in case the duchess of Clarence, his daughter-in-law, should die without issue.

The troubles in Ireland began now to subside. The favourable reception which the earls of Desmond and Kildare had met with in England and France, and the hopes of seeing the lands restored which had been seized upon for the king's use, were happy omens of peace and general tranquillity between the king and his Irish subjects, so that this period presents nothing interesting, except the change of governors.

Malachi Mac-Aed, archbishop of Tuam, died about this time. He was canon when raised to the see of Elphin, in 1309, by a bull from the pope. Being elected shortly afterwards by the canons of Tuam to be archbishop of their see, his appointment was confirmed, in the beginning of 1313, by the sovereign pontiff. Malachi was a man of deep erudition; he is thought to have been the author of a large volume, written in the Irish language, which was still extant in Ware's time, under the title of *Leavas Mac-Aed*, and which, amongst other things, contained a list of the kings of Ireland from Niall Noygiollach to Roderick O'Connor.

* War. de Archiep. Armach.

* Topograph. Hib. distinct. cap. 25.

He also wrote the prophecy of St. Jarlath respecting his successors in the see of Tuam. This prelate renewed his claim to the see of Enaghduane, which had been separated from Tuam twenty years before, though it had been previously united to that arch-diocese. Malachi died at an advanced age, on St. Laurence's day. He was interred in the cathedral church of Our Lady of Tuam, and was succeeded by Thomas O'Carrol.

On the death of John Lech, archbishop of Dublin, the old disputes were renewed about the election of a prelate. The suffrages were divided between Walter Thornbury, chorister of the church of St. Patrick, and chancellor of Ireland, and Alexander Bicknor, prebendary of Maynooth, and treasurer of Ireland. Walter, in order to secure the pope's approbation, who was then in France, set sail for that country, and perished the night following in the waves, with a hundred and fifty-six others, who were in the same vessel. Bicknor having no longer a rival, and all the votes being united in his favour, set out for Lyons, where he was appointed by pope Clement V., of his own authority, without any reference to the election. He was afterwards consecrated at Avignon, by cardinal Ostium. The bulls confirming his election were read and published on the feast of the purification, in Christ's cathedral. This prelate who was afterwards nominated lord justice of Ireland, repaired to Dublin in the month of October, 1318, where he was received with loud acclamations by the clergy and people, and installed in the archiepiscopal see. He founded a college two years afterwards, near St. Patrick's church, with the sanction of pope John XXII. The undertaking was worthy of a great prelate, but the funds being insufficient, the establishment could not be supported. The statutes of this college are quoted by Ware, in his 15th chapter on the Antiquities of Ireland. This prelate was sent by the English parliament, with Edmond de Woodstock, earl of Kent, brother to king Edward, as ambassador to the court of France, where his success was but moderate. He had warm debates with Richard, archbishop of Armagh, respecting the pre-eminence of the two sees. He held a synod, the rules of which are in the white book of the church of Ossory. A country house was built by him at Taulaght, for himself and his successors in the see of Dublin. This prelate, who equalled any of his predecessors in prudence and learning, having filled the see for nearly thirty-two years, died in the month of July, 1349. He was interred

in St. Patrick's church, and was succeeded in the archbishopric by John de St. Paul.

Some religious houses were founded in this century, but the years of their foundation is not known.* At Balli-ne-Gall in the county of Limerick, there was a convent established for Dominicans, according to Ware, by the Roches, but attributed by Alemand to the Clan-Gibbons.† There was another of the same order founded in the town of Galway, and one at Clonshanvil, in the county of Roscommon, by M'Dermot, lord of the country.

The Franciscans of the third order had two houses in the county of Sligo,‡ one at Ballimot, the other at Court, both founded about the same time, by the M'Donoghs and the O'Haras, Irish lords of that country.

In this century also two convents were established for Carmelites; one at little Horeton, in the county of Wexford, by the Furlongs; the other at Crevabane in the county Galway, by the Burkes of Clanriccard. There was also a house of this order at Cluncurry, in the county of Kildare, founded in 1347, by the Roches. Two houses were also founded for Augustin nuns; one at Killeigh, in the district of Geashill, by the Warrens; the other at Moylag, in the county of Tipperary, by the Butlers of the house of Ormond.

At Quinchi, in the county of Clare, there was a convent for Franciscan friars, founded by the M'Nemaras, lords of Clancully, or Clancullane. Speed calls this place Quint or Kint: according to Wadding, it is called Coinhe; and Coinche by father Castet. It might, perhaps, with more propriety, be called Inchequin:§ there are various opinions respecting the time of its foundation, Wadding places it in 1350. The tombs of the founders are to be seen in the church of this convent. Pope Eugene IV. allowed Mac-Con-More M'Nemara, who was chief of that noble family in 1433, to establish Observantine Franciscans in this convent. Wadding observes that it was the first of the Franciscan order in Ireland, which received that particular rule. Alemand wrongs the pope, in saying that he gave the title of duke of Clancully to M'Nemara in his bull. He had, in fact, no thought of creating titles of dignity in Ireland; the word dux or duke,

* War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 26.

† Hist. Monast. d'Irlande, p. 220.

‡ War. de Antiq. ibid.

§ War. de Antiq. Hib. c. 15. Allem. Hist. Monast. d'Irlande.

which he makes use of, signifying nothing more than chief or lord of Clancully.*

Baron Carew succeeded Sir Walter Bermingham in the office of lord justice of Ireland. He was succeeded, after some time, by Sir Thomas Rokesby, who was invested with that authority in the month of December, 1349; but being obliged to return to England after a year, he appointed Maurice de Rochford, bishop of Limerick, his deputy during his absence. Rokesby returned in a short time to Ireland, having obtained the king's permission to add to his usual guard of twenty horsemen, ten men at arms, and twenty archers, A.D. 1353.

John Clyn, a Franciscan friar of the house belonging to their order at Kilkenny, and first warden of the Franciscans, at Carrick, wrote annals from the Christian era to 1313.† He continued them afterwards with considerable additions, to the year 1349, which was probably the time of his death. He also wrote annals of the kings of England, from Hengist to Edward III.; likewise of the wardens of his order in Ireland and England, and a list of the bishoprics of the three kingdoms. His works were still extant in Ware's time in the Franciscan convent at Kilkenny. Sir James Lee, chief justice of the king's bench, afterwards treasurer of England, and earl of Marlborough, had the annals of Clyn, and other writings on the affairs of Ireland, transcribed, and given to Henry, earl of Bath, who undertook to have them printed.

At this time, Robert Savage, a rich and powerful man in Ulster, declared war against the ancient proprietors of the lands he had usurped, and put many of them to the sword in the county of Antrim.

Rokesby resigned his office of lord justice in the month of July, 1355, and was succeeded by Maurice Fitzgerald, earl of Desmond. This nobleman was now in so great favour at court, that the office was conferred on him for life. He was respected for his equity and love of justice, for which he was

so remarkable, that he did not spare even his own relatives, when guilty of any offence. The barons of the exchequer were reduced in his time to three. John de Pembroke, chancellor, was appointed third baron. The earl of Desmond having died on the 25th of January following, Sir Thomas Rokesby returned to Ireland as lord justice. This magistrate convened a parliament at Kilkenny, in which laws were enacted relative to the government of the state. The court sent orders to him and to the chancellor of Ireland, to have the difficulties removed, which some of the king's subjects met with in the recovery of their lands, which had been seized in his majesty's name. Rokesby died shortly afterwards at Kilkea, and was succeeded in the government of Ireland by Almaric de Saint Amand.

About this time a house was founded for Carmelites at Ballinahinch, in the county of Galway, by the O'Flahertys, Irish lords of that country; and another of the same order at Ballinsmale, in the county of Mayo, by the family of the Prendergasts.* There was also a house founded the same year for Dominicans in the town of Naas, county Kildare, by the Fitz-Eustaces.

A warm debate arose between Richard, archbishop of Armagh, and the mendicant friars, A.D. 1357, concerning some animadversions which that prelate made upon them in the sermons which he preached in London.† The superior of the minor brothers of Armagh, seconded by many of his own, and the Dominican order, had him summoned to Avignon, whither he repaired without delay, but after spending three years at the court of the sovereign pontiff, he died without bringing his affairs to a conclusion.

The king of England gave the lord justice of Ireland a new proof of the confidence he reposed in him; namely, the privilege, with the approval of the chancellor and treasurer, to pardon all the English and Irish whom he might consider worthy of it, for every crime except that of high treason. He, however, soon afterwards resigned his office, and was succeeded by the earl of Ormond.

James Butler, commonly called the noble earl, from his being descended, by the female line, from Edward I., was entrusted with the government of Ireland, A.D. 1359. In his time the king of England published an act prohibiting any of the old Irish from being admitted to hold the offices of mayor, bailiff, or any situation in a city within the English

* The noble tribe of the M'Nemaras, of Thuo-mond, are descended from Oilioll Olum, king of Munster in the second century, by his son Cormac Cas; they owned a considerable territory in the baronies of Tulla and Bunratty, in the county of Clare for many ages. Gratianus Lucius, after the ancient poem of O'Douvegan, calls them *Muighaghair*. This tribe has been distinguished for their virtue and beneficence. In our time it has given birth to a man of great celebrity, viz., John M'Nemara, who died in 1747, vice-admiral in the service of France, of the grand military order of St. Louis, and governor of the port of Rochefort.

† War. de Script. Hib.

* War. de Antiq. Hib. cap. 26. Allemand Hist. Monast. d'Irl. page 337.

† War. de Archiepisc. Ardmachan.

province; and also from being appointed to any ecclesiastical dignity. The year following, however, he mitigated this act in favour of some Irish prelates, who had been attached to him.

The earl of Ormond having been recalled, under some pretext, to England, Maurice Fitzgerald, earl of Kildare, was appointed lord justice during his absence, A.D. 1360, by a patent under the great seal of Ireland, with the usual salary of five hundred pounds sterling a year, on condition of supporting nineteen men at arms for his guard, and protecting the English colony with the castles and lands belonging to it. His government was of short duration, as he resigned it to the earl of Ormond on his return to Ireland.

Richard, son of Ralph, a native of Dundalk, and archbishop of Armagh, died at this time, at Avignon. Having taken the degree of doctor of theology in the university of Oxford, of which he was chaucellor in 1333, he was appointed dean of Lichfield, and in 1347, consecrated archbishop of Armagh, at Oxford, having been named to that see by Clement VI. Raphael Volateran, in his commentaries, calls him cardinal of Armagh; but Alphonso Ciaconius and Onuphrius Panvinus make no mention of him in their list of cardinals. This prelate was a learned theologian, and an able preacher. Ware mentions his having a collection in manuscript, of sermons preached by him at Lichfield, London, and other places in England; at Drogheda, Dundalk, Trim, and elsewhere in the county of Armagh; and also, at Avignon, where he delivered a discourse in favour of bishops and parish priests, in presence of the pope, at a consistory held on the 5th of July, 1350. In the sermons, which he preached in London, he drew the following inferences, for which he was summoned to Avignon: 1st, that our Lord Jesus Christ, as man, was very poor, not that he loved poverty for itself; 2nd, that our Lord had never begged; 3d, that he never taught men to beg; 4th, that, on the contrary, he taught men not to beg; 5th, that man cannot, with prudence and holiness, confine himself by vow, to a life of constant mendicity; 6th, that minor brothers are not obliged by their rule to beg; 7th, that the bull of Alexander IV., which condemns the Book of Masters, does not invalidate any of the aforesaid conclusions: 8th, that by those who, wishing to confess, exclude certain churches, their parish one should be preferred to the oratories of monks; and 9th, that, for auricular confession, the diocesan bishop should be chosen in preference to friars.

Other works are ascribed also to this prelate; namely, a treatise on the questions of the Armenians respecting the four books of "Sentences," and the Gospels: one on the poverty of Jesus Christ; one on the motives of the Jews: a defence of parish priests; answers to the objections made against the privileges given to mendicant brothers: instructions for judges, on the declaration to be made concerning the *Extravagantes* of pope John XXII., beginning with the words: *Vas electionis*: a dissertation on mendicants in good health, in which it is questioned if they be entitled to relief; a dialogue on subjects connected with the holy Scriptures, and a manuscript which is in Lincoln college, at Oxford. He is said to have written likewise the life of the abbot of St. Munchin, who lived in 640; praises of the blessed Virgin: the spiritual virtue of the passion of our Lord, &c. The body of this prelate was removed from Avignon to Dundalk in 1370, by Stephen de Valle, bishop of Meath; and the great number of miracles attributed to him, induced pope Boniface IX., to commit the examination of the body to John Colton, one of his successors in the see of Armagh, and Richard Young, the intended bishop of Bangor; but this inquiry was brought to no conclusion. The see of Armagh was filled, after the death of Richard, by Milo Sweetman.

Some other writers flourished about the same time. Hugh of Ireland, belonging to the order of minor brothers, wrote his travels in different countries. Wadding believes that he was the same person as Hugh Bernard, a provincial of the minorites in Ireland.

William, of Drogheda, so called from the place of his birth, lived at this period. He was educated at Oxford, where he became eminent for his knowledge of law, as well as of arithmetic and geometry, and was public professor of law in that university. He is said to have been author of a book called the Golden Summary, which is in the college of Caius and Gonville, at Cambridge; and of a treatise on secrecy. Doctor Thomas James, in his catalogue of manuscripts at Oxford and Cambridge, places him among the number of writers on civil law.

Geoffrey O'Hogan, of the order of the minor brothers at Nenagh, in the county of Tipperary, wrote the annals of his time, from 1336 to 1370, which are to be met with in manuscript.

The king of England wishing to send his son Lionel to Ireland, as his lieutenant, with forces sufficient to subdue that country, in order to render the expedition more brilliant, and the undertaking more successful, sum-

moned the duchess of Norfolk, and all the English nobles who possessed estates in Ireland, to appear before him and his council, in order to make arrangements for its defence. At this assembly, they were enjoined to repair to Ireland without delay, with all the men they could collect, capable of bearing arms, and assist his son. The king at the same time published a proclamation against the exportation of corn and other provisions from Ireland, under pain of confiscation. Lastly, he gave orders to confiscate all the lands which his officers had purchased there without his permission, and contrary to the decree of Edward II.

Every thing being prepared for the expedition of Lionel, who was earl of Ulster and lord of Connaught, in virtue of his marriage with Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of William de Burgo, this prince set sail for Ireland, A.D. 1361; and accompanied by his countess, landed in Dublin on the 15th of September, attended by fifteen hundred men, intending to complete the conquest of the kingdom. The arrangement made in this expedition respecting the command, and the levying and payment of the troops, will appear curious and interesting; as by it is shown the difference that prevailed between the mode of keeping up troops at that period, and the present. The chiefs who commanded under prince Lionel, were Ralph, earl of Stafford, James, earl of Ormond, John Carew, a knight Banneret, Sir William Winsore, and a few others.* The pay of the prince was, at first, but six shillings and eight pence a day; that of the five knights by whom he was attended, two shillings each; of sixty-four squires, twelve pence a day each, and of seventy archers, six pence a day each. Prince Lionel was created duke of Clarence soon afterwards, and the number of his attendants was increased; his salary was then raised to thirteen shillings a day; he had eighteen knights at two shillings, and three hundred and eighty archers, viz; three hundred and sixty horsemen, at sixpence, and twenty-three infantry, at two pence a day each.

The pay of the earl of Stafford was six shillings and eight pence a day; one Banneret, four shillings; of seventeen knights, two shillings each; of seventy-eight squires, twelve pence; a hundred horse archers, six pence each. Stafford had also the command of seventy archers from different provinces in England, at four pence a day.

The earl of Ormond had four shillings a day; two knights who commanded under

him, two shillings each; twenty-seven squires, twelve pence each; twenty knights, called hoblers, from the hobbies or light horses which they rode, six pence; and twenty unarmed hoblers, four pence a day.

The pay of Sir John Carew was four shillings a day; that of a knight who attended him, two shillings; eight squires had twelve pence; and ten horse archers, sixpence a day each.

Sir William Winsore had two shillings a day, two other knights, two shillings each; forty-nine squires, twelve pence, and six horse archers, sixpence a day.

The other knights and lords in this expedition, were paid in proportion to their rank, and the number of men they furnished. The kings, at that period, levied no troops by commission, as they at present do; but the lords severally undertook to raise a stipulated number for the service of the prince, according to their authority amongst the people, for a stated sum of money. Good policy afterwards removed this abuse, which, by making the nobles too popular, enabled them to levy forces against their sovereigns.

The preparations made by prince Lionel were not attended with much success; he revived the distinctions between Englishmen by descent, and Englishmen by birth; reposed all his confidence in the latter, with whom he thought himself equal to any enterprise, and refused the services of the former; even forbidding them to approach his camp. He marched against the O'Briens, but was defeated, with the loss of a hundred men. This check made him feel the want of the Anglo-Irish, who were better acquainted with the country and the dispositions of the inhabitants, than the new recruits he had brought from England; and he accordingly published an edict, in which the Englishmen by descent were enjoined to enlist under his banners, by which means he was enabled to continue the campaign. He confirmed the union of parties by conferring the honour of knighthood on several of the old and new English, the principal of whom were Robert Preston, Robert Holywood, Thomas Talbot, Walter Cusack, James de la Hyde, John Frene, Patrick and Robert Fresne, and several others.

Lionel removed the exchequer from Dublin to Carlow, and gave five hundred pounds to have that town surrounded with walls. He made himself master of the maritime coasts of his country in Ulster, and kept so strict a discipline among his troops, that they were no longer a burden to the people as before. All those distinguished acts influenced the clergy and Anglo-Irish lords to

* Davis, Hist. Relat.

grant him two years value of their revenues to support the war ; but after his ostentatious campaigns, he returned to England in the month of April, without effecting the conquest of Ireland, or extending the limits of the English province.

At this period, a second plague visited Ireland, and the mortality was great, particularly among the men. About this time, too, Radulphus, or Ralph O'Kelly, archbishop of Cashel, died. This prelate, who was a native of Drogheda, was educated by the Carmelites in Kildare, where he took the habit of their order. In 1336 he distinguished himself as an orator, was appointed attorney general under Peter de Casa ; in 1345 he was raised to the archbishopric of Cashel by pope Clement VI. After labouring to secure peace to his church, he died at Cashel in 1361, in the month of November, and was interred in the church of St. Patrick. He wrote a book of canon law ; some epistles on friendship, and other works which have been lost. Anthony Possevinus makes mention, in his *Sacred Compendium*, of this learned prelate, but calls him Kullei, and adds that he was an Englishman ; but he is mistaken with regard to both his name and country. He was succeeded by George Roche, who lived only a short time, having been drowned on his return from Rome. His successor was Thomas O'Carrol.

At this time died also John de St. Paul, archbishop of Dublin. He had been a canon of that city, and was promoted to the archbishopric in the month of September, 1349, by the pope. This prelate added greatly to the size of the church of the Holy Trinity, and built, at his own expense, the episcopal palace. Some serious disputes occurred between him and Richard, the learned prelate of Armagh, about the primacy. These differences continued for a long time between the two sees, but were at length terminated by the college of cardinals, under Innocent VI. It was decided by this august tribunal, that each should take the title of primate ; that the archbishop of Armagh should be styled primate of all Ireland, and the archbishop of Dublin primate of Ireland, like the archbishops of Canterbury and York, the former of whom signs himself primate of all England, and the latter primate of England. The archbishop of Dublin was nominated chancellor of Ireland, by king Edward III. ; and having governed the church of Dublin for thirteen years, he died the ninth of September, and was interred in the church of the Holy Trinity. He was succeeded by Thomas Minot.

The vengeance of heaven seems to have visited Ireland, at this period from the plagues, hurricanea, and fires which took place. A third mortality was severely felt, and carried away numbers ; the storms too were so frequent and violent, that the strongest trees were torn up by the roots ; steeples, chimneys, and houses were thrown down ; fires occurred frequently, by which many houses were reduced to ashes, and the beautiful church of St. Patrick, in Dublin, was totally consumed.

The earl of Ormond was appointed deputy, in the absence of the duke of Clarence, A.D. 1364. This nobleman obtained permission from the court to purchase lands, to the value of sixty pounds sterling a year, notwithstanding the law or statute which prohibited the king's officers from purchasing land within the extent of their jurisdiction.

The archiepiscopal see of Tuam having become vacant in 1348, by the death of Malachy Mac-Aodh, the canons nominated Robert Bermingham as archbishop ; but his election was rejected by the pope, who appointed Thomas O'Carrol, archdeacon of Cashel, (of the noble family of the O'Carrols of Eile), who was consecrated at Avignon. The town of Tuam was plundered and burned during his administration, by one Charles or Cahal Oge, in concert with the son of William de Burgo. This prelate was removed by the pope in 1364 to the see of Cashel, and was succeeded at Tuam by John O'Grada.

The duke of Clarence returned to Ireland in 1365, where he continued but for a short time ; remaining only to appoint Sir Thomas Dale his deputy, which done he went back to England. Serious disturbances broke out under the new governor, between the Berminghams of Carbury, county Kildare, and the English of Meath, who laid waste, in turn, each other's lands. Sir Robert Preston, first baron of the exchequer, who had married the heiress of Sir William Bermingham, was obliged to place a strong garrison in the castle of Carbury, to protect his estates.

Lionel, duke of Clarence, returned a third time to Ireland. He convened a parliament at Kilkenny, in which a celebrated law, frequently quoted, under the name of the *Statute of Kilkenny*, was enacted. This law had no reference to the ancient Irish, who were not admitted as yet under the protection of the English laws, though they had frequently sought to obtain it : but were obliged to follow their own ancient laws till the reign of James I. The object of the act was a reformation in the manners and customs of the descendants of the first English, who had

settled in Ireland since the twelfth century, and were called by their countrymen, *the degenerate English*. In fact they considered themselves, with justice, as true Irish: they possessed property in the country; and their interests had become different from those of the English by birth. They began to hold intercourse with the ancient inhabitants, whose manners, customs, and style of dress, they adopted; and many of them placed the article *Mac* before their names, in conformity with the custom of the Irish. Some branches of the Burkes, of Connaught, suppressed their real names, and called themselves Mac-William, Mac-Hubbard, Mac-David. The Berminghams took the name of Mac-Yoris; Dexecester, that of Mac-Jordan; Nangle or de Angulo, that of Mac-Costelloe. Like changes took place among some branches of the Fitzgeralds in Munster. The chief of the house of Lixnaw was called Mac-Maurice; another was known by the name of Mac-Gibbon. These are at present called Fitzmaurice and Fitzgibbon, the articles *Mac*, and *Fitz*, being of the same signification, namely, son of such a one. The Butlers, of Dunboyne, took the name of Mac-Pheris; the Condons, of Waterford, were called Mac-Maioige; and in the same way, many others. It appears that the new colonies, which were sent under different reigns from England to Ireland, were always careful to sow discord between the new and old Irish, who lived in perfect harmony with each other. This became a source of uneasiness to the English, and gave rise to the celebrated statute of Kilkenny, above alluded to, which is still preserved in French in the library of Lambeth, in England. By this law, the English, by descent, who had settled in Ireland, were prohibited, under the penalties of high treason, to have any intercourse with the ancient Irish, to form alliances with them by marriage, to speak their language, to imitate their mode of dress, to adopt their names, to confer livings on them, or admit them into monasteries or religious houses,* &c. This law was revived afterwards, and confirmed in a parliament held at Drogheda, under Henry VII.

The duke of Clarence having terminated to his satisfaction the parliament of Kilkenny, returned to England, A.D. 1317, and Gerard Fitzmaurice, earl of Desmond, was appointed lord justice of Ireland. This nobleman,

* This act is in direct opposition to their pretended reformation of morals, of which the English boasted, and which had been made a pretext for their usurpation. It was by frequent intercourse only that such reformation could have been effected.

whose office obliged him to watch over the public peace, and maintain tranquillity among the king's subjects, commissioned Thomas Burley, prior of Kilmainham and chancellor of Ireland, John Reicher, sheriff of Meath, Robert Tyrrel, baron of Castleknock, and a few others, to make peace between the Berminghams of Carbury, and the English of Meath, who had been at war for some time. This negotiation did not, however, take place; the commissioners being arrested, contrary to the rights of war, by the Berminghams, who found means thereby to procure the liberty of James Bermingham, then a prisoner at Trim, by exchanging him for the chancellor. The others were obliged to purchase their liberty. About this time the duke of Clarence died at Pavia, in Piedmont, from whence his body was brought to England, and interred in the Augustin convent at Clare.

Sir William de Windsor arrived in Ireland in the month of July, 1369, as lord justice. He convened a parliament at Kilkenny, which granted him a subsidy of three thousand pounds sterling, for the necessities of the state. He held a second shortly afterwards at Ballydoil, by which two thousand pounds were ordered to be raised in order to carry on the war. The payment of these sums was suspended for a while, by command of the king. They were subsequently raised, however, and placed at the disposal of the lord justice. Ireland was visited at this time by a fourth plague, which carried off several persons of all ranks.

The lord justice carried on the war vigorously against the O'Tools and other inhabitants of Leinster. The English in Munster were, however, defeated at the same time, near the monastery of Nenay, in the county of Limerick, by the O'Briens and MacNamaras of Thuomond. The earl of Desmond, John Fitznicolas, lord of Kerry, Thomas Fitzjohn, and several other noblemen were made prisoners in this engagement, and a considerable number slain. This reverse of fortune among the English created a change in the operations of the lord justice; he collected his scattered forces, gave up his enterprises in Leinster, flew to the aid of his countrymen in Munster, and obliged M'Nemara, a powerful lord in Thuomond, to submit to him and give hostages. This viceroy was afterwards recalled to England; he left Maurice Fitzgerald in his stead as governor of Ireland, who, on his appointment, took the usual oath A.D. 1371.

After the translation of Thomas O'Carrol, John O'Grada, archdeacon of Cashel, was appointed to the archbishopric of Tuam in

his place, and consecrated the same year at Avignon.* This prelate, who was respected for his liberality and other good qualities, died at Limerick on the 19th of September, 1371, and was succeeded by Gregory, bishop of Elphin.

Sir Robert de Ashton was nominated lord justice of Ireland, A.D. 1372. A destructive war broke out about this time, between the O'Ferralls of Longford, and the English of Meath, in which many lives were lost on both sides.† John Hussy, baron of Galtrim, John Fitzrichard, sheriff of Meath, and William Dalton, were killed, together with their retinues, in the month of May, by the M'Geoghegans of Kinalyach, who had taken part in the quarrel.

Thomas O'Carrol, archbishop of Tuam, who was translated to the see of Cashel in 1365, by a bull from the pope, governed this latter church for the space of eight years. He was greatly esteemed for his prudence and learning. He died at Cashel, on the 8th of February, 1373, and was interred in the cathedral.‡ His successor was Philip de Torrington.

Sir William Windsor was at length appointed the king of England's lieutenant in Ireland, A.D. 1374. He landed at Waterford on the 18th of April, and took the oath of office at Kilkenny, on the 4th of May.§ He engaged to protect and govern the English province, on condition of receiving eleven thousand, two hundred and thirteen pounds sterling a year, to defray his expenses. An order was obtained by him from the king and his council, to oblige all who possessed estates in Ireland, to reside in the country, under pain of having their properties confiscated, or else to send others in their place, capable of defending them; but, notwithstanding all these precautions, he was so unsuccessful in subduing the Irish, that, as he has himself acknowledged, he never was able to get access to them, and therefore gave up the enterprise.

Thomas Minot, prebendary of Malaghidert, and treasurer of Ireland, was appointed archbishop of Dublin by the pope, and consecrated on Palm Sunday, 1363. The dispute relative to the carrying of the cross, was renewed once more between him and Milo, archbishop of Armagh. This prelate had the church of St. Patrick repaired, which

had been greatly injured by fire; and also caused a handsome steeple to be added to it, built of cut stone. He died in London, in the month of July, 1375, and was succeeded by Robert de Wikeford.

James Butler, earl of Ormond, was appointed lord justice of Ireland, A.D. 1376. By this office the defence of the English province, its castles and dependencies, was confided to him during the king's pleasure. His guard consisted of twenty horsemen, well paid and mounted, he himself being the twentieth. The subjoined is a form of the commission he received, which is given for the gratification of our readers.*

In the time of this lord justice, the counties, towns, and boroughs of the English province in Ireland, sent commissioners to England to deliberate with the king on the state of affairs in that island, without making any mention of consulting the parliament.

The king, by his letter patent, dated in August, empowered the earl of Ormond as lord justice, with the concurrence of the council, to grant a general pardon to all accused persons; the prelates, however, and earls, who were guilty of crimes which merited death, or the loss of a limb, or of their estates, were excluded from this amnesty. At the same time, Alexander, bishop of Ossory, was appointed treasurer of Ireland; six men at arms, and twelve archers, who were maintained at the king's expense, being given to him as a guard.

The reign of Edward III. was long and brilliant, but oppressive to his subjects, on account of the frequent taxes he was obliged to raise, to enable him to carry on the wars in which he was continually engaged, with France and Scotland. As to his personal character, he was brave and successful, and appeared the more illustrious from his having been the successor and predecessor of two unhappy princes.

The good qualities of Edward were tarnished by the cruelty of which he had been guilty on three remarkable occasions. Besides the horrible catastrophe which befel his father, the enormity of which nothing can palliate, (he having been then of an age sus-

* "Rex omnibus ad quos, &c. Salutem. Sciatis quod commisimus dilecto consanguineo nostro Jacobo Le Bottiler Comiti de Ormond officium Justic. nostr. Hibern. et terram nostram Hibern. cum castris et aliis pertinentiis suis custodiend. quamdiu nobis placuerit, percipiend. per an. ad scac. nostrum Hibern. (quamdiu in officio illo sic steterit) quingent. libras, pro quibus officium illud et terram custodiet, et erit se vicissimus de hominibus ad arma, cum tot equis coopertis, continuo durante commissione supra dicta, &c.

* War. de Archiepisc. Tuamens.

† Chron. manuscr. Henric. de Marleburg. apud Camd. ad calcem Brit.

‡ War. de Archiepisc. Cassel.

§ War. de Annual. Hib. Cox, Hib. Engl. under Edward III.

ceptible of feeling its atrocity,) he suffered Edmond, earl of Kent, his paternal uncle, to be condemned by a parliament held at Winchester, and to be beheaded for having shown some marks of tenderness and humanity for his brother Edward II., who was put to death in the deplorable manner already described.

In the beginning of his war with Scotland, Edward besieged the town of Berwick, of which Sir Alexander Seaton was commander, who, finding the place reduced to the last extremity, offered to capitulate. It was agreed between both parties, that if the town received no succour before the expiration of a fortnight, it would then surrender to the English. As a pledge for the fulfilment of this treaty, the governor gave his son as a hostage; but the treacherous king seeing the Scotch army marching to the assistance of the place, a few days afterwards, sent word to the governor, that if he did not immediately surrender, he would not only hang the hostage, but likewise another of his sons who was prisoner of war in his camp. The governor, surprised at so barbarous a determination, sent a person to represent to him that the time agreed upon for the surrender of the place, had not yet expired; but finding Edward inflexible, and ready to sacrifice every honourable feeling to revenge, he suffered dreadfully from the struggle between his natural affection as a father for his children, and the fidelity which he owed his prince and country: whereupon his wife, a woman worthy the admiration of all future ages, told him she was yet young, and might possibly have more children, but that the loss of Berwick would be irreparable, and that the public welfare should be preferred to every other consideration. The governor, encouraged by so noble a resolution on the part of his wife, sacrificed his tenderness as a father, to his duty as a faithful citizen, and had the misery of beholding his children executed before him. All the virtues of Edward cannot efface the stain of this barbarous deed.

At another period the town of Calais, which Edward was besieging, being reduced to the necessity of surrendering, proposals to that effect were sent to him: but the inexorable conqueror answered haughtily, that six of the principal citizens should appear before him, bareheaded and barefooted, with ropes around their necks, with the keys of the town and castle in their hands, and submit to his will. These severe conditions were not immediately accepted, but necessity at length forced the citizens to accede to

them, and the six innocent victims appearing before him, he gave orders to have them strangled. He refused all the entreaties of his nobles to change this hard sentence; but the queen, who was then pregnant, moved with pity, threw herself at his feet, and with great difficulty obtained pardon for the unhappy men. She even took the ropes from about their necks herself, and had them dressed, and sent them home, giving to each of them twenty shillings. Thus did her charity and goodness atone for the inhumanity of the king her husband.

Edward III. is said to have instituted the order of the garter on an occasion when the queen, (others say the countess of Salisbury), dropped her garter, while dancing, and the king taking it up, exclaimed, "*Honi soit qui mal y pense*;" "Evil to him who evil thinks."* Perhaps, however, it was derived from *garter*, a watch word which this king made use of in a battle wherein he was victorious. Some affirm that the institution of this order was more ancient, and that it was re-established only by Edward, having been instituted by Richard I. Edward was the first monarch who introduced the title of duke into England, beginning with his eldest son Edward, whom he created duke of Cornwall. He afterwards conferred the title on two others, in parliament; namely, his son Lionel, whom he made duke of Clarence, and John of Lancaster, whose earldom he converted into a dukedom. Simon Fleming, lord of Slane, in the county of Meath, Ireland, was created baron of Slane by this monarch.†

Edward being now advanced in years, fell into all the infirmities which are incidental to old age; he abandoned himself to the caresses of an infamous woman called Alicia Pierce, who possessed so great an influence over him that she became not only the mistress of his person, but also of the government of the kingdom. Her effrontery was such that she took a seat even in the courts of justice, and the great men of the kingdom were base enough to submit to her dominion.‡ The subsidies, however, which the king applied for in the parliament which was held at Windsor, were granted on condition only, that four persons one of whom was Alicia Pierce, should be given up; and he very

* Selden, Tit. of Honour, part 2, chap. 5, sec. 40, page 550.

† Nichol's Rudiments of Honour.

‡ Baker, Chron. of Engl. on the reign of Edward III. Higgin's Short View of the Hist. of England. Camd. Brit. de Ordin. Anglic. Selden, *ibid.* sec. 22, page 506, et seq.

reluctantly banished her from court, to satisfy the people.* The exiled persons were afterwards recalled, notwithstanding, and restored to their places.†

In a subsequent parliament dame Pierce had revenge on Sir Peter de la Moore, who had been principally instrumental to her disgrace, by having him condemned to perpetual imprisonment. He was liberated, however, after two years, through the intercession of his friends.‡

Edward was at length overwhelmed with grief and sorrow, both by the death of his son the prince of Wales, and the loss of most of his conquests in France, of which Calais alone remained to him. Having survived the best of wives, and the best son who was ever born to a king; having, in a manner, outlived himself, as his latter years did not accord with the early part of his life; when about to breathe his last, he found himself forsaken by all, even by Alicia Pierce. She allowed none to speak to him on religion, and stripped him of every thing, even of the rings on his fingers, his jewels, and all the valuables he possessed. Her example was imitated by his other attendants, who made the pillage complete; so that the unhappy prince was left alone in a room, without any other assistance but that of a poor priest, who happened to be in the house preparing him for death.§

This king had, by his marriage with Philippa, daughter of the earl of Hainault, many

* A general petition was presented, that Alicia Pierce who was a most petulant woman, confiding in the royal favour, and the cause of many evils to the country, should be removed from the king's dwelling and familiarity. She strangely transgressed the bounds of female propriety, and had the effrontery to sit, at one time with the king's justices, and again, with the doctors of the consistorial court, and in defence of her cause, to persuade and dissuade, and to demand without a blush her cause, in opposition to justice, much to the king's scandal in foreign courts."—*Walsingham on the year 1376.*

† "On which occasion all who had been banished, together with lord Latimer, by the aforesaid concubine, Alicia Pierce, (who shamefully cohabited with him to the end of his life) were restored."

‡ Walsingham, *Ibidem*, p. 581.

§ "During his entire illness, by his sick bed sat the wicked Alicia Pierce, who would suffer nothing to be done for his salvation. When she saw that his voice had failed him, this unblushing harlot took the rings from his fingers and deserted him. The only one who remained with the dying king was a priest, (all the others being intent on plunder), who besought of him, he not being able to speak, to confess his sins in thought, to repent and implore pardon for them, giving him at the same time, a crucifix to hold in his hand."—*Walsingham's Brief History*, page 192.

children. His sons were, Edward, prince of Wales; William who died without children; Lionel, born at Antwerp; John, born at Ghent; Edmond de Langly, and William de Windsor, his sixth, who died young; his last was Thomas, surnamed Woodstock, from the place of his birth.

CHAPTER XXV.

RICHARD II., surnamed Bourdeaux, from the place where he was born, was only son of Edward prince of Wales, known by the name of the Black Prince, and grandson of Edward III., who nominated him his heir and successor to the throne. He was crowned at the age of eleven years, at Westminster, on the 16th of July, 1377, by Simon Sudbury, archbishop of Canterbury.*

The merit of the father, whose memory was still dear to the English, and the promising disposition of the son, should, one would suppose, make this prince a favourite with the people, and gain for him the affections and confidence of his subjects. Still, notwithstanding these happy omens, his reign was unfortunate, and attended by all the troubles which seemed inseparable from the race of the Plantagenets. If we reflect that the most virtuous princes of another family, who have since reigned over that nation, have been equally ill treated by their rebellious subjects, the misfortunes of the kings of England cannot be ascribed to any fatality, or the inauspicious influence of an unlucky star; but to the turbulent disposition of a people, who have been always too powerful and too unprincipled to be good subjects. The conduct of this prince, cannot it be true, be approved of; his measures were too arbitrary to render him agreeable to his subjects, but not to that extent which could justify their proceedings towards him. In fact, the result of the violent and unruly conduct of the people, when they endeavour to make their kings do them justice, is generally more fatal than the grievances which they pretend to redress.†

Richard being incapable, on account of his youth, to govern alone, his uncles, the dukes of Lancaster and Cambridge were ap-

* Walsing. Hist. Brevia. Baker's Chronicle.

† It must be borne in mind by the reader, that the learned abbé composed his history under one of the most despotic monarchies in Europe, and that his political notions are not always unexceptionable.—*Note by Ed.*

pointed his guardians. In order to curb their ambition, a share in the government was given to other noblemen; but this multiplicity of governors having given birth to dissensions, concerning their pre-eminence and power (which each was desirous of assuming), the parliament thought prudent to appoint Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, to govern the king and the kingdom.

The king's ministers having appointed the earl of Ormond lord justice of Ireland, this nobleman governed the English province with moderation, and used every precaution to maintain peace and good order in those disturbed times, when the French and Scotch, taking advantage of the king's minority, attacked England on every side. He held the court of Common Pleas as usual, and established the seat of justice in the town of Naas, county of Kildare. He then gave up his office to Alexander Balscot bishop of Ossory, first treasurer and afterwards chancellor of Ireland, by whom it was filled till the month of November. This prelate was succeeded, as lord justice, by John de Bromwick, A.D. 1379, in whose time a law, founded on a petition sent from Ireland, was enacted by the lords and knights, assembled in parliament in England, against absentees. By this law, all who possessed estates or offices in Ireland, were obliged to return to that country; all who were absent under legal causes, were compelled to send deputies to defend their castles and estates, or surrender two thirds of their revenues for that purpose; all students and other absentees, should have an act of leave, signed with the great seal of England, whereupon they were exonerated, by their giving up a third of their income: because, as the law expresses it, the loss of Ireland would be of vital importance to the king and crown of England. In virtue of this decree, which was afterwards confirmed under Edward IV., the estate of Ballymaclo, in the county of Meath, was seized for the king's use, in the absence of William Carew; but that nobleman having presented a petition to the throne, his property was restored to him the year following. A memorial was sent to the same parliament, respecting the mines and mint of Ireland. The king, thereupon granted permission, for six years, to each proprietor, to work the mines on his own estates, and to draw all kinds of metals from them, including both gold and silver, on the condition of giving a ninth part to the crown and sending the rest to the mint in Dublin, paying there the usual tax. It was prohibited, under pain of confiscation, to send

any out of the kingdom, except to England, without special leave, under the king's great seal. A petition was also presented, praying for leave to carry on a free trade with Portugal, which was agreed to by the king of England.

The English government were continually devising means of extending their dominion in Ireland. Sir Nicholas Dagworth was commissioned to visit the lands which belonged to the crown, and to get the accounts of those who had been entrusted to receive its revenues, A.D. 1380. At the same time, Edmond Mortimer, earl of March and Ulster, was sent as lieutenant or viceroy to that country.* Some time before his arrival, the French and Spanish galleys, having laid waste the coasts of the English province in Ireland, were attacked by the English fleet, which blockaded them in the bay of Kinsale, where they killed four hundred of their crews and made the rest prisoners. Mortimer's administration was tolerably tranquil till his death, which took place the following year at Cork.

About this time the archbishops of Armagh and Cashel died.† Milo Sweetman, treasurer of the church of Kilkenny, a learned and prudent man, having been elected bishop of Ossory, set out for Avignon to obtain the pope's sanction, but Innocent VI., who was then pope, having disposed of this see in favour of another before his arrival, in order to compensate Sweetman, nominated him to the archbishopric of Armagh, which was vacant at the time. Milo governed this church for about nineteen years, and died at his estate of Dromyskin, on the 11th of August. He was succeeded by John Colton.

Philip Torrington, an Englishman, and monk of the order of St. Francis, was appointed to the archbishopric of Cashel, by pope Gregory XI. Walsingham,‡ and Ware, mention an embassy of his under Richard II., to Urban VI.; and a sermon he preached in London, on his return from Rome, in which he announced that the king of France, and all those who had adhered to the anti-pope, had been excommunicated, and concluded by observing that it was a favourable time and opportunity to declare war against that country. William, bishop of Emly, filled the office of vicar general of Cashel till the death of Torrington, which took place abroad. He was succeeded by Peter Hacket.

* Walsing. Hist. Brevis. ad an. 1379.

† War. de Archiepisc. Ardmach. et Casseliens.

‡ Hist. Brevis. ad an. 1379.

Edmond Mortimer, the viceroy, having died in the month of December, 1381, John Colton, then dean of St. Patrick's, and chancellor of Ireland, and afterwards archbishop of Armagh, was appointed to succeed him. He immediately took the usual oath, in the convent of the preaching brothers. It appears that he filled the office but for a short time, inasmuch as we discover in Pryn's remarks on the fourth institute, a mandate of the 29th March, addressed to Roger Mortimer, the king's lieutenant in Ireland, whereby he was commanded to convene a parliament to maintain good order in the government, and provide for the expenses of the war, A.D. 1382.

In the course of this year, Richard, king of England, married the princess Ann, sister to the emperor Wenceslaus.* This princess having arrived at Calais, was conducted to London, and after her marriage, was solemnly crowned at Westminster, by the archbishop of Canterbury.

Henry Crump, a Cistercian monk of Balinglass, in Ireland, having taken the degree of doctor of theology at Oxford, in 1382, publicly maintained in that university, that the institution of the four mendicant orders was not only not divine, but that it was also in opposition to the spirit of the general council of Lateran, held under Innocent III.;† and that those monks had made use of pretended dreams to obtain the sanction of pope Honorius. He was obliged, however, to retract what he had said respecting them, in the Carmelite convent at Staniford, in presence of William Courtney, archbishop of Canterbury. Crump was afterwards accused of heresy on the real presence, by William Andrew, a Dominican, who was first bishop of Achonry, and afterwards of Meath. According to Bale, this doctor wrote several tracts, namely, the Determination of Schools, a discourse against mendicants, and "Answers to Objections." He gave also a catalogue of all the foundations of monasteries in England, from the time of Birin, first bishop of Dorchester, to that of Robert Grosted, bishop of Lincoln, who died in 1253. This latter work assisted the author of Rhymes on the Life of St. Edith, and is still preserved in the Cottonian library.

About the end of this century, we discover an author in Ireland, named Magraith McGawan, a regular canon of the abbey of St. Ruadan, of Lurchoe, in the county of Tipperary, who wrote, in the Irish language, the genealogies of the saints of Ireland, and the

succession of the kings and nobles of the country, with a few cursory pieces. Ware mentions that he had this manuscript in his possession.

Philip Courtney, a relative of the king, was appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland in place of Mortimer, A.D. 1383. He was considered particularly fitted for the government of the country, possessing as he did several estates in it; but though he had letters patent, authorising him to retain that office for ten years, his unjust administration, proved him most unfit for it. He was arrested while in office, and severely punished for peculation and many flagrant acts of injustice, which he had been guilty of. During his administration the country was visited a fifth time by a plague.

Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, the great favourite of the day, was appointed lord Lieutenant of Ireland in place of de Courtney, A.D. 1384.* In order to rid themselves of this nobleman, the English parliament made over to him a debt of thirty thousand marks, due by the king of France, on condition that he would go to Ireland, after Easter, to recover lands which had been conferred on him by the king.† For this purpose the state undertook to furnish him, for two years, with five hundred soldiers, at twelve pence a day each; and a thousand archers, at six pence a day, for the conquest of those lands: "Super conquestum illius terræ per duos annos." The king moreover bestowed upon him for his life, absolute authority in Ireland, without any obligation to account for his administration, or the revenues of the country; besides authority to pass all public acts in his own name, and to appoint and change all officers, at his pleasure, even the chancellor, treasurer, and admiral, and to appoint his deputy, and other ministers. The extent of his power will appear by the letters patent annexed. But what is most surprising, these letters patent, whereby this governor was invested with privileges greater than any subject could aspire to, were sanctioned by the parliament of England: "Assensu prælatorum, ducum, et aliorum procerum et communis nostri Angliæ in parlamento." The man, however, on whom these favours were conferred, never set foot in Ireland.

* "To govern the whole of Ireland with the adjacent islands; and all camps, counties, boroughs, towns and seaports; together with all places which pay homage, &c., as we have held and possess them, and which some of our predecessors have held and possessed, and we now continue possessed of, &c." — *Walsingham on the year 1385, 1386.*

† *Walsingham Ypodigmat. Neustriæ ad an. 1385 et 1386.*

* *Walsing. Ypodig. Neustriæ. ad an. 1382.*

† *War. de Scrip. Hib.*

Gregory, bishop of Elphin, was removed in 1372, to the archbishopric of Tuam.* Having failed to attend the parliament, that was held at Tristledermot, in 1377, he was fined one hundred pounds. He died soon afterwards, and was succeeded by Gregory O'Moghan.

The earl of Oxford being appointed viceroy of Ireland, if not willing to undertake the functions of viceroy of that country, desirous to evince at least a semblance of respect for that high office, to which the parliament had appointed him, proceeded on his journey as far as Wales, in company with the king. But the friends finding it impossible to separate, the earl sent sir John Stanley to Ireland as his deputy, and set out with the king, on his return to England.† While Stanley was lord deputy in Ireland, the bridge of Dublin gave way, A.D. 1385.

A convent was founded at this time, at Clomin, in the county of Wexford, for Augustin hermits, by the Cavanaghs, who were descended from Dermot, the last king of Leinster, in the twelfth century. Some people affirm, according to Ware, that this house was given to the Dominicans.

The king having no children to succeed him, Roger Mortimer, earl of March, was declared heir to the throne of England, by an act of the parliament, held at Westminster, in 1386; as being the son of Edmond Mortimer and Philippa, daughter and heiress of Lionel, duke of Clarence, third son of Edward III.

Stanley was recalled on business to England, and Alexander Petit, bishop of Meath, was entrusted with the government of Ireland during his absence.

Gregory O'Moghan, who was appointed to the archbishopric of Tuam, by Clement VII., in 1387, during the anti-papal schism, was afterwards superseded by Urban VI., who nominated William O'Cormacain, to succeed him. According to the annals of Loghkee, Gregory was a truly religious and devout man. He is said to have died in consequence of his disgrace, in 1392.

Robert Vere, earl of Oxford and marquis of Dublin, was created at this time duke of Ireland, by the parliament, which excited much jealousy among the English nobles. The elevation of Delapool, son of a merchant, to the rank of duke of Suffolk, and chancellor of England, gave them additional displeasure.

The duke of Ireland was an accomplished

man. His haughtiness, however, and his contempt for the nobles, raised for him many enemies. In 1388, he was accused of having exercised his influence with the king, to oppress the nobility and people. Remonstrances on this head being made to his majesty, and not meeting with attention, the nobles flew to arms and met the duke of Ireland at Radcott bridge. To avoid falling into their hands, he swam across the river: and afterwards effected his escape to Holland, and thence to Brabant, where he wandered as a fugitive for a few years, and subsequently ended his days in abject misery at Louvain.* Thus frequently end the grandeur and elevation of the favourites of princes, of which no nation affords more examples than England. Stanley still remained as deputy in Ireland, while the king, who was continually in want of money, made new demands on every succeeding parliament under pretext of carrying on the war in that country, A.D. 1389.

At Ardart or Ardfert, the chief town of the county Kerry, a convent was established, A.D. 1389, for Franciscans, by the M'Maurices, otherwise Fitzmaurices, who were lords of Kerry or Lixnaw.†

According to Ware, three convents belonging to the same order, were founded in the county Tipperary; but the precise period of their foundation is not mentioned by either him or Wadding. The first was at Galbally, by an O'Brien; the second at Roscrea, by the widow of an O'Carroll; and the third at Ardfinnan, the founder of which is not known.‡

Robert Wikeford, archdeacon of Winton, in England, was appointed, in 1375, archbishop of Dublin, and consecrated, the same year, at Avignon, by Gregory IX. This prelate was twice chancellor of Ireland. Having governed the above see for fifteen years, he died in 1390, and was succeeded by Robert Waldby.

The earl of Oxford, who was duke and viceroy of Ireland, having died at Louvain, in 1392, as we have already observed, James, earl of Ormond, was appointed lord justice in his stead: Walby, archbishop of Dublin, being at the same time made chancellor, and the bishop of Chichester, treasurer. The first expedition undertaken by the earl of Ormond was against the M'Moyns, so called by Cox, who says that they were defeated at Tascoffin, in the county of Kildare, with a loss of six hundred men.

* War. de Archiepisc. Tuam.

† Walsingham, *ibid.*

‡ Walsingham, *ibid.*

* Allemand, *Hist. Monast. d'Irlande.*

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Ibid.*

The government of England began now to turn their thoughts seriously to the conquest of Ireland; but finding that the English province was poor, and thinned of its inhabitants by the continual wars with the natives, and that great numbers of Anglo-Irish, that had returned to England, whereby the king's revenues were diminished, and the power of the Irish rebels (such is the name given them by English writers,) was increased; it was thought prudent to put the law which was made against absentees in full force, and to publish a decree that all who possessed property in Ireland should live there. The parliament then began by sending assistance in men and money. The duke of Gloucester received the king's commands to go thither in person, in capacity of lord lieutenant, at the head of an army which he had assembled, and was, in presence of the expedition, created duke of Ireland. His majesty, however, having changed his mind, wrote to the duke to dissuade him from this voyage, saying that he himself would take the command of the expedition. This determination of the king is ascribed by some, to a reply which the princes of Germany made to his ambassadors, when the imperial crown was sought by them for their master. The German princes answered them that they did not think him fit to be emperor, since he was not able to preserve the conquests of his predecessors in France: to curb the insolence of his English subjects; or to conquer his rebellious people in Ireland. So sensibly did he feel the rebuke, that he undertook the expedition himself to Ireland, at the head of four thousand regular troops, besides thirty thousand archers, under the banner of St. Edward. He thus hoped to re-establish his reputation, and to banish his affliction for the death of his queen, Anne.

Sir Thomas Scroop was sent to Ireland in 1394, in the capacity of lord justice, to prepare the way for the expedition. He was followed by Richard, who landed at Waterford with a powerful army, which, however, performed no great exploit under him.* He was satisfied with the feigned submissions of a few Irish lords of the English province; and commissioned Thomas Mowbray, earl of Nottingham and marshal of England, to receive the homage and oath of allegiance of the Irish in Leinster; namely, O'Birne, O'Nowlan, O'Morrough, O'Morra, M'Morrough, O'Connor, and others. This homage was proposed and accepted on hard terms; these noblemen being obliged, under pain of heavy fines,

payable to the apostolical chamber, (namely, O'Byrne, twenty thousand marks, O'Nowlan ten thousand pounds, and the others in proportion), not only to persevere in their submission, but also, on an appointed day, to give up their lands and possessions in Leinster to the king, to belong thereafter to him and his successors; and to enter his majesty's service, and assist him in the war against their countrymen. As a remuneration for the loss of their lands, and a reward for their services, the king's pay, and pensions to some of their chiefs, were proposed to be given them, and they were to be permitted to make incursions on the lands of their countrymen in the other provinces, and to apply to their own use all that they could obtain by force of arms. Here, we behold estates, which, for many ages, belonged to their ancestors, converted into inconsiderable pensions during life for the owners; and robbery and usurpation of the lands of others, sanctioned. Such was the reformation of morals which their new masters introduced among the Irish. We find that of the pensions, that of eighty marks, which had been granted to Arthur M'Murrough, chief of the Cavanaghs, was the most enduring, no doubt through gratitude for the services which the English had received from his ancestor Dermot, who had introduced them into the country. It was continued to his posterity till the time of Henry VIII., "although," says Cox, "they had done nothing to deserve it;" an observation equally untrue and malicious. The king, after this, received some complimentary letters from Neal O'Neill, prince of Ulster; and others on his arrival at Drogheda, from the O'Donnells, O'Hanlons, M'Mahons, and a few more Irish chiefs.

The king of England was now able to enforce obedience; having with him, independently of the English colony, by whom a third of the island was occupied, thirty-four thousand regular troops. The Irish had not raised their standards, or kept any body of organized troops under regular leaders, consequently they were without discipline: each chief easily collected those who were immediately dependent on himself, but they were inexperienced and badly provided with arms, and it was not easy to unite different bodies under one head, or to assemble an army sufficient to check the progress of a force so numerous and well provided. The danger, therefore was considerable, and they were obliged to submit to superior numbers, which was the only alternative left them to avert the storm.

* Cox, Hib. Angl.

Richard being satisfied with the apparent submission of the Irish, entertained them by banquets and feasting; conferred the title of knighthood upon those who wished to accept of it, and disbanded his troops. In the month of February, he wrote a letter to his uncle, the duke of York, who was deputy in England during his absence, in which he observed, that there were three kinds of people in Ireland; namely, the wild or hostile Irish,* the rebel Irish, and his English subjects; that the rebels had, perhaps, cause to revolt, and that he therefore had pardoned them until Easter, and intended to grant them a general amnesty afterwards. He concluded by asking his advice on the subject. The duke, at the head of the council, answered the king, that their opinion had formerly been to pursue the rebels; that, however, his majesty being on the spot, he could observe matters more closely, and was therefore better able to judge of the measures which should be adopted; and that his inclinations for clemency were laudable provided the rebels were made to contribute towards defraying the expenses of the expedition, by obliging them to purchase his pardon within a given time.

Satisfied with this brilliant campaign, and having regulated the affairs of his Irish province, and appointed men of experience to fill the places of trust, Richard returned to England, according to Davis and Froissart, with much honour and little advantage, A.D. 1395. Although he had expended enormous sums in conveying his army to Ireland, he did not add a pound to his revenue, nor extend the frontiers of his English province one acre. The courts of law even, were still confined within the boundaries of the colony, where they had been acknowledged before his arrival in Ireland.†

Robert Waldby, a native of England, having been appointed by a bull from the pope to the see of Dublin, a predilection for his own country induced him to solicit his removal in 1395, to the bishopric of Chester in England. He was succeeded in the see of Dublin by Richard Northall, bishop of Ossory. This prelate who was a native of England, and of the Carmelite order, was famed for his erudition, preaching, and virtues, by which he attracted the observation of Richard II., who first appointed

him to the bishopric of Ossory, and afterwards to the archbishopric of Dublin. He enjoyed this dignity but a short time, having died in 1397. He was succeeded by Thomas Crawley.

Roger Mortimer, earl of March, and heir apparent to the crown of England, was sent to Ireland as lord lieutenant, after the king's return. The Irish, actuated by a principle, that forced obedience is revocable, and that submission obtained by violence could not bind them under any law, human or divine, recommenced their hostilities.* War having broken out, the Anglo-Irish took up arms. Sir Thomas Burke and Sir Walter Bermingham, with their followers, surprised the Irish, and killed six hundred of them, with their chief M'Con. Mortimer, assisted by the earl of Ormond, laid waste the territory of Wicklow, and made himself master of O'Byrne's castle. Seven knights were created on this occasion, namely, Christopher Preston, John Bedlow, Edmond Loundres, John Loundres, William Nugent, Walter de la Hide, and Robert Caddel. These victories were, however, amply revenged by the death of forty English chiefs, who were slain, together with their attendants, on Ascension day, by the O'Tools. The principal characters that suffered were, John Fitzwilliam, Thomas Talbot, and Thomas Comyn. Mortimer met, soon afterwards, with the same fate, at Kenlis, in the county of Kildare, where himself and the whole of his army were put to the sword by the O'Byrnes and other Irish. On the death of Mortimer, the administration of affairs devolved upon Roger Gray, while waiting the arrival of Thomas Holland, duke of Surrey, who was named to succeed Mortimer. This viceroy landed in Dublin in the month of October, accompanied by Thomas Crawley, who was appointed archbishop of that city, A. D. 1398.

As soon as the news of the death of Mortimer reached England, every one was filled with consternation. Richard II., determined to revenge the death of his relative and heir, undertook a second voyage to Ireland with an army equally formidable as before, being resolved to make the conquest of it complete. He landed at Waterford, and in his march to Dublin his troops suffered greatly for want of provisions and carriages, in a country that had suffered so long by continual warfare. The only thing memorable upon their march was, that they made the roads level in the territory of Idrone, county Carlow, which belonged to the Cavanaghs. The king cre-

* Such were the appellations which the English, made use of towards the Irish, who would not submit to, nor acknowledge their dominion, but kept themselves under arms and ready to oppose them.
† Histor. Relat.

* Chron. Manusc. Henrie de Marleburgh.

ated also some knights, among whom was Henry, son of the duke of Lancaster, afterwards king of England, under the name of Henry V. Being arrived in Dublin, while conferring with the council upon the measures which should be taken to reduce the country to subjection, he received an express from England, with the afflicting news that his kingdom was invaded by the duke of Lancaster, whom he had sent into exile some time before. By advice of the council, the two sons of the dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester, who accompanied him to Ireland, were confined in the castle of Trim, county Meath, and he then despatched the earl of Salisbury to Wales, in order to have an army raised against his arrival. But the unfortunate prince having delayed too long in Ireland, the army was scattered, by which his courage was quelled to such a degree, that he suffered himself to be made prisoner, carried to London, and confined in the tower, and then surrendered the crown to his rival. His conduct gave rise to the remark, that no prince ever gave up a kingdom with so much weakness, which had been governed with so much severity. A parliament was summoned in his name, by which several indictments were found against the unhappy prince, whereupon he was dethroned; the sentence being publicly pronounced by the bishop of Asaph, who had been commissioned for the purpose. Thus ended the reign of Richard II., through the ambition of his own family. He was removed from the tower of London to the castle of Leeds, in Kent, and thence to Pomfret. In him we find verified an observation made by one of his wisest but most unfortunate successors, viz., that the distance from the prison of a king to his tomb is but short. He died by a violent death, but as to its nature the opinions are many and various. Some say he was starved to death, others that he died of grief, and some again affirm, that he fell by the sword of Sir Pierce Exton, who entered his chamber, accompanied by eight other armed ruffians, and gave him the fatal blow.

In the tragical end of Richard II., we see a peculiar example of the divine vengeance on the race of the Plantagenets; this unhappy prince, although innocent, being destined to expiate the guilt of his fathers. The injustice and tyranny which were inflicted upon the Irish, by the English, under the orders of Richard and his progenitors, were not the only crimes that called for divine vengeance against them. The slaughter of Edward II., and usurpation of the crown by his son, Edward III., were evidently punished in the per-

son of Richard, grandson to the latter. After his death the divisions of the two houses, of York and Lancaster, embittered for near a century against each other, and exercising mutual cruelties, produced such desolation, that the repose of the kingdom and many thousand lives were sacrificed to their implacable fury.

CHAPTER XXVI.

HENRY, duke of Lancaster, eldest son of John of Ghent, who was fourth son of Edward III., was proclaimed king of England, under the title of Henry IV., by the parliament, which adjudged the crown to him and his descendants, A.D. 1399. This prince had some difficulty in giving colour to his usurpation. He was, it is true, descended from Edward by John, fourth son of that monarch; but the descendants of Lionel, his third son took precedence of him, so that he had not a strict claim by birth. Neither could he avail himself of the right of conquest as there had been no war. He was therefore obliged to found his pretensions on the concurrence and choice of the people, which was the plea made use of by his ambassadors at foreign courts. This want of strict title was the cause of the fatal wars between the houses of York and Lancaster, called the white and red roses.

Henry having been crowned at Westminster in the month of October, with the usual ceremonies, by the archbishop of Canterbury, turned his thoughts to the affairs of Ireland, and appointed Sir John Stanley lord lieutenant of the country, whither he repaired in the month of December following; he at the same time obtained supplies in England for three years, to support his interests in Ireland.

The early part of Henry's reign was filled with troubles. The vacillating barons who had forsaken Richard, soon began to manifest dislike to him, though placed upon the throne by them, and to form conspiracies, which he suppressed by putting many of their number to death. He marched at the head of an army, against the Scotch, who were making some hostile movements in the north. The Anglo-Irish, too desirous of displaying their zeal, under the command of the constable of the castle of Dublin, attacked a Scotch fleet near Strangford in Ulster, A.D. 1400; but were unsuccessful, having been all either killed or drowned.

About this time a handsome convent was established for the Dominicans, by Cornelius O'Ferral, bishop of Ardagh; and descended

from the noble tribe of the O'Ferrals of Annaly. This prelate was renowned for the extensive charities he bestowed, which procured for him the name of the Almoner.

Another convent for the same order was founded at Portumna,* a small town on the river Shannon, in the county of Galway, near Lough Derg, through which that river flows. It was built by an O'Maddin, a descendant of the ancient family of the O'Maddins of Siolanamchad: who also established one for Franciscans, at Milick, on the left bank of the Shannon.

The lord lieutenant having gone to England in the month of May, his brother, Thomas Stanley, was appointed deputy in the government of Ireland till the month of August, and the arrival of Stephen Scroop, deputy for Thomas, duke of Clarence, the king's son, who was appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland, whither he repaired soon afterwards. In the month of July, John Drake, mayor of Dublin, and the citizens made an excursion as far as Bray, on the borders of Wicklow, against the Irish rebels, and killed about 400 of them.

While the lord lieutenant was holding his parliament in Dublin, in the month of September, A.D. 1402, the Anglo-Irish were slaughtering one another. John Dowdal, sheriff of the county Louth, was murdered by Bartholomew Verdon, James White, Christopher White, and Stephen Gernon, who had committed robberies and other crimes, for which they were found guilty, and their lands confiscated. The king pardoned them afterwards, but restored their estates to them during their lives only.* In the month of October, Daniel O'Birne made peace with the lord lieutenant, for himself and his tribe, and as a guarantee for the treaty, he surrendered to the king the castle of Mackenigan, at present Newcastle, with all that belonged to it. M'Mahon, of Monaghan, and O'Reilly, of Cavan, did the same. The lord lieutenant gave to M'Mahon, during his life, the lands of Ferny, for an annual rent of ten pounds. O'Reilly engaged to continue loyal, according to his promise to Roger Mortimer, earl of March and Ulster, which is mentioned in an act passed in the 18th year of Richard's reign, A.D. 1403. In the month of May, Sir Walter Betterly, the governor of that part of Ulster which obeyed the English, was killed with thirty English lords, by the Irish. In the month of November, of this year, Thomas, duke of Clarence, returned to England, leaving the government of Ireland to

Stephen Scroop, whom he appointed his deputy till the following October, A.D. 1404.

The Irish were not the only people to whom the dominion of England was oppressive. The inhabitants of Wales bore with impatience the chains which that cruel nation had imposed upon them.* Owen Glendower, a Welch nobleman, who was both active and enterprising, represented to his countrymen that the division and civil war that then raged in England, afforded a favourable opportunity, which they ought not to lose, of shaking off her yoke and recovering their freedom. The project of Glendower met the warm approbation of his countrymen, who, influenced with a hope of succeeding, chose him for their king and confided to him the entire management of this enterprise. He lost not a moment in assembling his troops, and began his operations against lord Gray, for whom he entertained a personal enmity; laying waste with fire and sword the country where that nobleman resided. Lord Gray, for the purpose of arresting this hostile movement of the Welsh, assembled his people and marched to meet them; but his hopes of success were frustrated, he himself taken prisoner, and a great number of his troops slain. These advantages were auspicious to the Welsh, and encouraged them to make bolder attempts: and accordingly they entered the county of Hereford, with an army, where being met by the inhabitants, under Edmund Mortimer; they were again victorious. Mortimer was made prisoner, and his troops entirely defeated, with a loss of one thousand slain, among whom were most of their chiefs. Walsingham† narrates the conduct of the Welsh women, and their inhuman treatment of the English who had fallen. The gross and indecorous manner in which they acted will, however, hardly admit of being described; suffice it to say, that it was such as fully proves how deep a hatred of the English was engraven upon the hearts of the Welsh people.‡

John Colton, dean of the chapter of St. Patrick's, Dublin,§ who was chancellor and chief justice of Ireland, was appointed by the pope to the archbishopric of Armagh. He was sent afterwards to the court of Rome, with John Whitehead and Richard Moore, vicar of Thermon Feichan, on the affairs of Richard II. He died in the month of May, on his return, and was buried in the church

* Walsingh. Hist. Brevis, page 364, et seq.

† In Ypodig. Neustrisæ, ad an. 1402.

‡ Walsingham, page 557.

§ In Ypodig. Neustrisæ, ad an. 1402.

* Davis. Hist. Relat.

of St. Peter at Drogheda. Nicholas Fleming succeeded him in the archbishopric.

In the beginning of this century, Ireland produced several learned men.* Augustin Magraidan, a regular canon of the isle of All Saints, in the river Shannon, west of the county of Longford, was a prudent and learned man, and wrote the lives of all the saints of Ireland. He also continued a chronicle down to his own time, which had been already commenced by some brother of his house. Ware mentions his having had this work in his possession in manuscript, and that some additions were made to it after the death of Magraidan. Coll Deoran, a native of Leinster, who lived at this period, also wrote some annals that are still in manuscript. Patrick Barret, bishop of Ferns, has left us a catalogue of his predecessors in that see. James Young, notary of the city of Dublin, wrote some political maxims on government, which he dedicated to the earl of Ormond, then lord lieutenant. He also gave in writing, the voyage of Laurence Rathold, a lord of Hungary, to the purgatory of St. Patrick. Patrick Ragged, bishop of Cork, after assisting at the general council of Constance, wrote the acts passed therein. An Irish monk of the convent of St. James at Ratisbon, wrote various tracts on Irish saints, and on the affairs of Charlemagne.

James, earl of Ormond, having been appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland, convened a parliament in Dublin, in the month of April, A.D. 1405. The statutes of Dublin and Kilkenny were confirmed in it together with the charter of Ireland. Some prizes were taken in May, from the Scotch; two of their ships being captured, laden with merchandise, near Greencastle,† and a third near Dalky, together with Macgolagh, the commander. The merchants of Drogheda made incursions into Scotland also, and carried off some plunder with them.

The inhabitants of Dublin, roused by the example of their fellow countrymen of Drogheda, fitted out some ships, and committed several piracies against the Scotch. After this they plundered Wales, and carried away the shrine of St. Cubin, which they deposited in Christ's cathedral, Dublin, proving by such conduct their zeal in the service of the king, who was then at war with both Scotland and Wales. While the Anglo-Irish were thus engaged in plundering their neighbours, Oghard was burned by the Irish.

In the month of May, the deputy, accom-

panied by the earls of Ormond, Desmond, and the prior of Kilmainham, together with the English nobility of Meath, set out from Dublin, and invaded the estates of M'Morrough.* Both sides came to a bloody engagement, in which the Irish had, in the beginning, the advantage; but the English forces and discipline at length prevailed, and the Irish were obliged to surrender. O'Nowlan, with his sons, and many others, were taken prisoners. The deputy after this led his army towards Callan, county Kilkenny, routed a number of Irish who had collected in that district, and killed a great number of them. O'Carrol their leader was found among the slain. After this expedition, the deputy returned to England in the month of June, and James, earl of Ormond, was appointed lord justice by the nobility and council. In his time, Patrick Savage, an Anglo-Irishman who had great influence in Ulster, was made prisoner by M'Gilmory, a celebrated commander, who, after receiving two thousand marks for his ransom, put him and his brother Richard to death. This barbarous murderer was some time afterwards taken in a church belonging to the minor brothers at Carrickfergus, by some of the family of Savages, who made him expiate his cruelty with the loss of his life. The earl of Ormond, lord justice of Ireland, died at Gowran, in the county of Kilkenny.

Girald, earl of Kildare, was chosen by the council to fill the office of lord justice, A.D. 1406. About this time the inhabitants of Dublin and their allies, attacked on the feast of Corpus Christi, some Irish troops, who were ravaging the neighbourhood and suburbs of the city, and put them to flight, taking from them three standards. They then carried in triumph through the city the heads of those whom they had killed. The prior of the regular canons of Conal, in the county of Kildare, signalised his zeal in his country's cause, having, at the head of twenty Englishmen, surprised two hundred Irish, several of whom were killed. Stephen Scroop was made deputy, and held a parliament in Dublin in the month of January, which was afterwards adjourned to Trim, in the county of Meath. About the end of February, Cahal O'Connor Faly was killed by Meiler Bermingham. After the death of Torrington, archbishop of Cashel, the see remained vacant for four years, and the revenues were applied to the king's use. Leave was afterwards given to elect a prelate, and the choice fell on Peter Hacket, archdeacon of that

* War. de Script. Hib. lib. 1, cap. 11.

† Chron. Manusc. de Marleburgh.

* Chron. Henr. de Marleburgh.

church, over which he presided as archbishop for twenty-two years. He died in 1406, and was succeeded by Richard O'Hedian.

Thomas, duke of Clarence, the king's lord lieutenant in Ireland, landed at Carlingford in the month of August, 1408. This prince accepted the government on certain conditions, the principal of which were, that he should continue in office for seven years; that he should be provided with five hundred soldiers and a thousand archers for three years: that he should be paid one year in advance, and afterwards every six months; that he should have the nomination of his deputy, and the conferring of benefices; that the crown lands should be taken possession of again, and the law against absentees put into force.*

Lancaster repaired to Dublin after a few days, where he had the earl of Kildare and three of his family arrested for state reasons, and ordered that he should be confined in the castle of Dublin, till he paid three hundred marks for his ransom; while in the mean time the furniture and other effects belonging to the earl were plundered by the creatures of the viceroy.

History mentions that the duke of Lancaster was dangerously wounded in a conflict at Kilmainham, but without saying how or by whom. It appears, however, that he was resolved on being revenged, as he issued an order obliging all who held lands on condition of military service to assemble at Ross; and also convened a parliament at Kilkenny, but the result of these meetings is unknown. The lord lieutenant appointed Thomas Butler, prior of Kilmainham, his deputy, and returned to England in the month of March, 1409.

In the time of this new deputy, the king granted the sword and certain privileges to the citizens of Dublin, and changed the title of provost for that of mayor. About the same time Jenico de Artois, a native of Gascony, at the head of some English troops, assumed the part of a ringleader in Ulster, and slew eighty of the inhabitants in one engagement. The parliament met in the month of May, 1410, in Dublin, and in it the exaction of *Coyne and Livery* was declared to be felonious.

The deputy's first exploit was the taking of the castle of Mibraclide of Offerol; in place of which he built that of Mare. He then attacked the lands of the O'Byrnes, but without success. Out of fifteen hundred Irish who were in his army, eight hundred went over on the

field of battle to the enemy, so that, only for his Dublin troops he would have found it very difficult to escape from his embarrassment. John Derpatrick, a man of rank, was found among the slain.

The see of Tuam was filled at this time by William O'Connocain, who was succeeded in 1411, by one Corneile. Nothing is known of these two prelates, but that the latter was succeeded by John Baterly, who governed the church in question till 1436.

In the month of April, 1412, O'Connor Faly made incursions on the lands of the English in the county Meath, and carried off one hundred and sixty prisoners. At this period a single combat took place between O'Tool and Thomas Fitzmaurice, sheriff of Limerick; and of so deadly a character was the animosity between the combatants, that both fell a sacrifice to its fury.

Henry IV., king of England, after a reign of troubles, was beginning to enjoy the sweets of peace, when he was attacked by a fit of apoplexy, which terminated his life. It is said that during this attack, he caused the crown to be placed on his pillow, and that the fits of apoplexy becoming so violent, that every one present thought him dead, prince Henry, his eldest son, entering the room, seized on the crown. His father, however, recovering from a swoon, and finding that it was taken, asked who did it; being told that it was his son, he had him sent for, and asking why he acted so premature a part, by taking what did not yet belong to him, the prince replied, without the least emotion: "May you live my lord and father, and wear it yourself for many years; but having been told by all present, that you had gone to take possession of another crown, I took this, supposing that it belonged to me by right; I now confess that it still belongs to you, and not to me:" at the same moment placing it where he had taken it from. "Oh, my son," said the father, "may God, who knows how I obtained it, forgive me my sins." "I do not question by what right it belongs to you," answered the son, "I will think only of holding and defending it by the sword, when it will be mine, that is, by the same means whereby you acquired it." This king had, in truth, discovered the secret of maintaining his unjust possession of the crown, by following the same course which guided him in the pursuit of it, namely, the effusion of blood. He had six children by Mary, daughter of Humfrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford, Essex, and Northampton, four of whom were sons; namely, Henry, the eldest, prince of Wales

* Chron. Henric. de Marleburg.

and duke of Lancaster, who left children after him: Thomas, duke of Clarence, John, duke of Bedford, and Humfrey, duke of Gloucester, who died without issue. Henry IV. died in London in the fourteenth year of his reign, and was interred at Canterbury.

CHAPTER XXVII.

HENRY V., eldest son of Henry IV., and surnamed Monmouth, from the place of his birth in Wales, succeeded to his father's throne, and received homage and oaths of allegiance from the lords before his coronation; no example of which occurred before this time in England. In the month of April he was crowned at Westminster with the usual ceremonies, by Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury.

Although this prince had been wild and extravagant in his youth, he became a great king. He began his reign by checking the conduct of those who were the companions of his dissipation, and commanded that they should never approach him till they became reformed in their modes of living; while in order that they might not descend to acts of baseness from necessity, he allowed to each sufficient means of support. His council was composed of men of merit, and he protected the clergy against the parliament, which contemplated depriving them of their possessions.* Henry was ambitious of glory, and his ruling passion was the desire of walking in the footsteps of his great grandfather Edward III.; with the view of doing which he declared war against France, and laid claim to the crown of that country. So intent was he on this important object, that the affairs of Ireland were much neglected during his reign. Thomas, prior of Kilmainham, was entrusted with the government of the country, till John Stanley was appointed lord lieutenant. He landed at Clontarf, near Dublin, in October, 1413, and died at Ardee in the month of January following.† The nobles then appointed Thomas Crawley, archbishop of Dublin, a pious and learned man, lord justice. He had twice before this filled the office of chancellor.

The new lord justice held a parliament in Dublin in the month of February; in which

* Baker's Chron. of Engl. on the reign of Henry V.

† Chron. Manusc. Henr. de Marleburg. War. de Annal. Hib.

a tax for the public welfare was proposed, but rejected. The Irish, in the mean time, laid waste the English province. Jenico de Artois, who commanded in Ulster, determined to revenge the attacks which were made against the lands of Magennis; but he was completely defeated at Inor, where several of his men were killed, A.D. 1414. The Irish being encouraged by these successes, the lord lieutenant was obliged to take the field in person, and advanced towards Castledermod, where he held a religious procession, and offered prayers with his clergy for the success of his army, which was engaged with the O'Morras and O'Dempsys, near Kilkea, where the latter lost about a hundred men. This loss, however, was made up by a victory which O'Connor gained over the English in Meath, on the 10th of May, when Thomas Maureverar, baron of Skrine, with several others, were killed; and Christopher Fleming, and John Dardis made prisoners.

The English now saw the necessity of giving the government of Ireland to a man experienced in the art of war: and John Talbot, lord Furnival, was accordingly made lord lieutenant in the month of September.* On landing at Dalkey, he collected the troops, and placing himself at their head, visited the English province. He directed his march through the country of the O'Byrnes, O'Tools, and Cavanaghs; then passed through the possessions of the Morras, O'Connors Faly, O'Dempsys, O'Molloys, M'Geogheghans, O'Ferrals, and O'Reillys, and ended his route by going through those of the M'Mahons, O'Neills and O'Hanlons in the north. This march produced but little good; the viceroy had sufficient force to intimidate the Irish nobles, and oblige them to seek for peace with England, but not to reduce them to the condition of subjects, or extend the limits of the English dominion in the country. Notwithstanding this, the expedition was looked upon as having produced great benefit to the state, as was attested by the lords of the English province, in an address which they presented to the king on the subject. However true this may be, Talbot's army was badly paid and still worse governed, so that the English subjects suffered much from the licentiousness of the soldiery. The execution of *Coyn and Livery*, which had been so frequently prohibited, began now to be imperceptibly renewed.

A parliament was assembled in Dublin, in the month of August, A.D. 1415, and con-

* Davis, Hist. Relat.

tinued to sit for six weeks. The Irish still carried on their incursions on the possessions of the English; and shot Thomas Ballymore, Balliquelan, and many others. The parliament stated to have been convened in Dublin was adjourned in the month of May, 1416, to Trim, where it sat for seven days, and granted to the king a subsidy of four hundred marks of silver.

Nicholas Fleming was appointed to the archbishopric of Armagh, by pope Boniface IX., and consecrated on the 1st of May, 1404.* He drew up some provincial statutes, which are still extant. His death is said to have occurred about this time. He was interred in the church of St. Peter at Drogheda; and was succeeded by John Swayn.

Thomas Crawley died in 1417, at Farindon, in England, aged eighty years; and was buried at Oxford, in the new college, of which he had been the first warden.† According to Leland and Marleburgh, he was a man of singular merit. He was chancellor of Ireland under Henry IV., and lord justice under Henry V. His successor in the see of Dublin was Richard Talbot.

The king of England, who was still carrying on war with France, applied to his subjects in Ireland for assistance, and the prior of Kilmainham was despatched with an army of 1600 men, who landed at Harfleur, in Normandy, where they rendered him important services.

In the council of England it was decreed that the possessions of every archbishop, bishop, abbot, or prior in Ireland, should be seized, who would present to, or confer on the Irish rebels, any benefice, or would introduce them amongst the English at any parliament, council, or other assembly of the kingdom. All governors, too, were forbidden to confirm such benefices, or to grant any dispensation for possessing them, under pain of having them annulled.

Some complaints having been made to the lord lieutenant against Henry Cruce and Henry Betagh, two noblemen of Meath, he caused their lands to be laid waste, and their tenantry plundered. The earl of Kildare, Sir Christopher Preston, and Sir John Bedlew, were arrested at this time at Slane: they were removed to Trim, and confined in the castle of that town, on account of a misunderstanding which had arisen between them and the prior of Kilmainham, A.D. 1418.

The treaties which were so frequently made

between the Irish and English, were as often violated; the desire of increasing their possessions causing the latter constantly to encroach upon the properties of their neighbours. The Irish, indeed enjoyed no protection from the laws, but were looked upon, not as subjects, but as strangers and enemies, in the land which had given them birth. They were continually exposed to the unjust aggression of their adversaries, and therefore forced to violate their engagements, and break out into rebellion; their last and only resources being pillage and rapine. Under such circumstances it was that O'Tool entered the lands of Ballimore in 1419, where he obtained considerable booty, and carried off four hundred head of cattle. This enterprise, which was looked upon by the English as a breach of public faith, alarmed them greatly. Troops were marched; M'Morrough, chief of the people of Leinster, was arrested, and towards the end of May, the lord lieutenant, accompanied by the archbishop and mayor of Dublin, had the castle of Kenini razed to the ground. William Burke, too, at the head of an English cohort in Connaught, put five hundred Irishmen to the sword, and made O'Kelly prisoner. After these expeditions, John Talbot, lord lieutenant of Ireland, returned to England, loaded with the curses of his creditors, to whom he was indebted for the common necessities of life. His brother, Richard Talbot, archbishop of Dublin, was appointed deputy in his place.

The deputy convened a parliament at Naas, in the county of Kildare, which granted to the king a subsidy of three hundred marks. Thomas Butler, prior of Kilmainham, died in Normandy whither he had been sent at the head of sixteen hundred men, to the assistance of Henry. John Fitzhenry was nominated prior in his stead, who enjoyed the dignity for only a short time. He was succeeded by William Fitzthomas. The archbishop of Dublin made a sally on the Irish, thirty of whom he killed in an engagement at Rodiston.

In the month of April, A.D. 1420, James Butler, earl of Ormond, landed at Waterford as lord lieutenant of Ireland. He was the cause of a duel between two of his relatives, one of whom was killed upon the spot, and the other being dangerously wounded, was removed to Kilkenny. This earl held a council in Dublin, in the month of April, in which it was ordained that a parliament should be convened for the month of June. In the mean time, he exacted contributions from O'Reilly, M'Mahon and Maguire. The par-

* War. de Presul. Ardmach.

† War. de Arch. Dub.

* Davis, Hist. Relat.

liament met on the 7th of June, and sat for sixteen days; when having granted the king a subsidy of seven hundred marks, it was adjourned to the month of December. In this second session, which continued but for thirteen days, the king was allowed three hundred marks, and an arrangement was also made to pay the debts of John Talbot, late lord lieutenant. The parliament was again prorogued to the month of April.

James, earl of Desmond, had a convent built for Franciscan friars at Asketin, a small village on the river Delle, in the county of Limerick, where this earl had his castle. Wadding and Ware differ about the foundation of this convent; the former says it was in 1589, and the latter affirms that it was in 1420.

The castle of Colmolin surrendered to Thomas Fitzgerald, on the 28th of October, 1421. The parliament having met in the month of April, it was decreed that the archbishop of Armagh, Sir Christopher Preston, and others, should be deputed as an embassy to the king, to solicit a reformation in the government of Ireland. John Gese, bishop of Lismore and Waterford, presented to this parliament several accusations against Richard O'Hedian, archbishop of Cashel. They were reduced to thirty articles, the principal of which were, that this prelate directed all his attention to the Irish, that he disliked the English, that he conferred no livings on them, that he inspired the other bishops with the same sentiments, that he forged the seal and letters patent of the king of England, that he assumed the dignity of king of Munster, &c. It is, however, likely that the well established reputation of the prelate of Cashel, who was considered an exemplary man, caused these accusations to be looked on as calumnies, as no further mention has been made of them. Another petition was sent before the parliament, respecting Adam Payn, bishop of Cloyne, who wished to unite another see with his own: but that tribunal was too prudent to interfere with matters belonging to the church. It was forwarded therefore to the court of Rome, and the parliament continued their sitting for eighteen days more. The O'Morras attacked the people of the earl of Ormond, lord lieutenant of Ireland, near the monastery of Leix; and twenty-seven Englishmen of distinction lost their lives in the encounter, the chiefs of whom were Purcell and Grant; eighteen others were made prisoners. The remainder of this little army, amounting to two hundred, fled into the abbey of Leix. McMahon, of Ulster, at the same time, burned and plundered the country of Orgiel.

The earl of Ormond, in order to be revenged for the murder of his people, entered the estates of Morra with a powerful army, in the month of June, and put all he met to the sword, without regard to either age or sex, and compelled the remainder to beg for peace. He retook also the castle of Ley, which O'Dempsey had taken from the earl of Kildare, and restored it to the latter.

Mention is made at this time of Henry of Marleburgh an English priest, and rector of the church of Ballyscaddan, in the diocese of Dublin. Posterity is indebted to this ecclesiastic for the benefit he has conferred on them in leaving behind him a part of the annals of Ireland, brought down by him to 1421. Camden has subjoined to his *Britannia* an extract from them, at foot of the annals of Pembrige. The style of the extracts is not elegant; but as history is available for authors of every age, and is important to their undertakings, those annals have largely benefitted Hammer, Ware, Cox, and others who have written upon the affairs of Ireland, from the middle of the twelfth to the beginning of the fifteenth century.

During all this period Henry V., was victorious in France. Upon his marriage with Catherine of Valois, he was declared heir to its crown, and successor to Charles VI., to the prejudice of the dauphin, who, however, had afterwards the glory of retaking almost the whole of his kingdom from the English. Henry did not live long afterwards. He died at Vincennes near Paris, A.D. 1422, and left the regency of France to his brother, the duke of Bedford, and the government of England to his second brother, Humphrey, duke of Gloucester. Among the good qualities ascribed to this prince, it is said that he loved ecclesiastics as much as he did his soldiers, from which circumstance the name of prince of priests was given him,* a name which strengthens the opinion that historians give of his piety; for the enemies of religion always strive to make the ministers of it objects of contempt. It must be admitted, notwithstanding the good qualities which many of the kings of England possessed, that they ended generally with some act of barbarous inhumanity. An example of this kind is discovered in the conduct of Henry while he was besieging Montereau, that still held out for the dauphin. In order to inspire terror into the commander of the place, he caused to be hanged, in view of it, twelve French gentlemen of the first rank, who happened to be

* Baker's Chronicles of England.

† Ware's Annals of Ireland.

‡ Baker's Chronicles of England.

prisoners in his camp, an action by which public faith was violated, and which would be unpardonable in the most barbarous prince.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

HENRY VI., surnamed, of Windsor, the place of his birth, was only son of Henry V., and of Catherine of Valois. He was but eight months old when he succeeded to the crown of his father, and was afterwards proclaimed at Paris, as king of France; but he lost both crowns in the end.

The earl of Ormond was continued in quality of lord lieutenant of Ireland. The House of Commons had a petition presented to the king, informing him of the tumults which the Irish were guilty of in England.* These were men of English origin who had been established in Ireland, and who, in order to get clear of the tyranny and oppression of their leaders, abandoned their possessions and returned to the land of their fathers, where necessity forced them to commit murders, robbery, and others crimes. In consequence of the above petition, it was decreed that all those who were born in Ireland, should be obliged to quit England within a limited time, except the graduates of universities, ecclesiastics who were provided with benefices, or such as possessed lands where they were established, and whose fathers and mothers were born in England.

Edmund Mortimer, earl of March and Ulster, who succeeded the earl of Ormond, in quality of lord lieutenant, died soon after in his castle of Trim. He was succeeded by lord John Talbot, A.D. 1425. In his time the Barretts, a considerable tribe near Cork, bound themselves by a legal covenant, to yield obedience to the earl of Ormond, who was at the time a powerful lord in Munster.

At Dunmore, in the county Galway, a monastery was founded by the Berminghams, barons of Athenry, for hermits of St. Augustin. The registries of their order mention it to have been built in 1425.

Talbot's time of acting as lord lieutenant having terminated, the government devolved on the earl of Ormond, 1426. At this period, the duke of Bedford appropriated to himself by letters patent, all the gold and silver mines of Ireland, and the other domains belonging to the king, undertaking to pay a tenth part to the church, a fifteenth to the

king, and a fifteenth to the owners of the estates where they might be discovered.

Sir John Gray was appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland, A.D. 1427. He landed at Howth, in the month of July, and took the oath of office the next day, but the particulars of his administration are not known. He returned to England, in 1428, having appointed Edward Dantzy, bishop of Meath, his deputy. This prelate, who was treasurer of Ireland at one time, died in the month of January. John Sutton, lord Dudley, his successor as deputy, had a parliament called together, by which regulations for juries to investigate criminal prosecutions, were established, A.D. 1429. After this he returned to England, having named Thomas Strange as his deputy, 1432. Sir Thomas Stanley was appointed lord lieutenant after Sutton: and Sir Christopher Plunket and Richard Talbot, the archbishop of Dublin, were successively his deputies. The troops of Meath and Uriel were collected by Stanley, to impede the further incursions of the Irish upon the English province: and both armies met on Michaelmas day, 1435, when the Irish were defeated, with a loss of many lives, and Niall O'Donnell was made prisoner. John Batterley, an English theologian and Dominican, was bishop of Tuam till 1436; he was a learned man and eminent for his preaching*. He is said to have been the writer of many works, which are now lost. Thomas O'Kelly succeeded him in the see of Tuam. This bishop who had been in the see of Clonfert, gave the parish church of Clonkeen-Kerrill, county Galway, to the monks of the third order of Franciscans, where they became established.

After Stanley, the government was given to Lion, lord Wells. The law which compelled the Irish to return to their own country, was renewed in England: and it was prohibited to all of the king's subjects in Ireland to emigrate to England, A.D. 1438.

Robert Fitz-Geoffry Cogan having no heir to succeed him in his estates, which comprised half the kingdom of Cork, made them over to James, earl of Desmond, and gave him a letter of attorney to put him in possession, notwithstanding the pretensions of de Carew and de Courcy, who were unable to oppose that nobleman, he being too powerful for them at that time.

John Swayn, rector of the church of Galtrim, county Meath, was consecrated at Rome, as archbishop of Armagh, in the month of February, 1417. He was sent in 1421, by

* Rot. Parl. in Castro Dubliniens.

* War. de Præsul. Tuamens.

the parliament, with the chevalier Preston to England, to inform Henry V. of the state of Ireland, and to seek a reform of the abuses that prevailed there. This prelate, broken down by age, resigned the see of Armagh, in 1439, after governing it for twenty years, and retired to Drogheda, where he died soon afterwards. He was succeeded in the see of Armagh by John Prene. Richard Talbot, archbishop of Dublin, was appointed a second time lord chief justice of Ireland, A.D. 1440. He had a parliament convened, by which a law was made that neither purveyors nor victuallers should take provisions without paying for them, the proprietors, in such cases, being permitted to resist them. By the same parliament it was made high treason to harbour robbers, or impose the maintenance of the troops upon any of the king's subjects without their consent; and to obviate abuses that might arise from this enactment, the parliament made a law that provisions should be provided for the troops, and that every proprietor of land, who paid an annual rent of twenty pounds sterling, should furnish and maintain for the king's use an archer and his horse.

Richard O'Hedian, archdeacon of Cashel, was consecrated archbishop of that see in 1406, and was put in possession of its revenues two years afterwards. This prelate, finding no place where to lay his head, (as he expresses himself in the roll of the revenues of that church,*) demanded back the lands belonging to the archbishopric, which were neglected by his predecessor, and usurped by strangers. He had a house built for the vicars of the choir, and gave them the two small farms of Grange-Connel, and Baon-Thurlis-Beg, to increase their income. He also rebuilt some archiepiscopal houses, and re-established the cathedral church of St. Patrick. This prelate died at an advanced age, in the month of July, 1440, and was succeeded, after a vacancy of ten years, by John Cantwell. A convent for Franciscan friars was founded at this time, at Irrialagh, on the borders of lake Lane, in the county of Kerry, by Domnal M'Carty, lord of that district.

The see of Tuam was held in 1438, by Thomas O'Kelly, bishop of Clonfert, who was placed there by the authority of the pope. The annals of the monastery of the isle of All Saints, say he was as celebrated for his piety as his liberality. Having governed his see for three years, he died in 1441. His successor's name was John.

* "On his arrival he had not a single place where he could rest himself."

James, earl of Ormond, governed Ireland for some time as lord lieutenant; and was afterwards deputy in place of Lion, lord Wells, who was appointed by the court of England to the office of lord lieutenant. Whilst this earl was in office, he obtained the revenues of the see of Cashel for ten years, after the death of the archbishop, Richard O'Hedian. Ware assigns no reason for the long vacancy of that see. It must have arisen from some division concerning the choice of a prelate, or from a desire to reward the earl with its revenues. However, this be, the lord lieutenant nominated his brother, William Wells, deputy in room of Ormond, A.D. 1442. The new deputy held a parliament in Dublin, in which Richard Talbot, archbishop of that city, and John White, abbot of the abbey of St. Mary, were appointed commissioners, to go and represent to the king the wretched state of affairs in Ireland: and that by an unwise administration, the expenses of preserving that country to the crown of England, exceeded its revenues by fourteen hundred and fifty-six pounds a year.

James, earl of Ormond, was once more appointed lord lieutenant, A.D. 1443. He obtained leave of absence from the court, without being subject to pay the fine decreed against absentees, by a statute of Richard II. By the orders of the king he dismissed John Cornwallsh, who filled the office of chief baron, and conferred it on Michael Griffin.

John Prene, archbishop of Armagh, having governed that see for about four years, died in his house at Termon-Fechin, where he was interred in the church of St. Fechin, and succeeded in the diocese of Armagh, by John Mey.

At Kilcarbain, in the county of Galway, a convent for monks of the third order of St. Francis, was built by Thomas Burke, bishop of Clonfert, who granted to that order the chapel of Kilcarbain, which donation was confirmed by pope Eugene IV., in 1444.*

Opposite interests gave rise at this time to jealousy and mutual hatred between the Butlers and Talbots. They became incensed against each other to the highest pitch, and both public justice, and the public themselves, were affected by their discords. In the mean time, James, earl of Desmond, who had taken part with the Butlers, obtained the government of Waterford, Cork, Limerick, and Kerry, by letters patent. In order to reward

* War. de Antiq. Hib. Allemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irlande.

his services, for preserving peace in these districts, he got permission to absent himself from every subsequent parliament, by sending a proxy to represent him, and was permitted to purchase all the lands he should think proper, and of what quality soever they might be. The faction of the Talbots, however, gained ground among the people, notwithstanding the influence of the Butlers; and a petition, signed by several lords, was sent to the king, praying that the lord lieutenant might be recalled. He was represented as a man overcome with age and infirmity, and incapable of preserving the royal possessions in Ireland, much more of increasing them. He was also accused of having conferred the title of knighthood on some Irishmen who had been attached to him, and who seconded his views; of having exonerated certain noblemen, on paying sums of money, from attending their place in parliament; and of having confined the king's subjects in the castle of O'Dempsey, in order to extort money from them for their ransom.

It is probable that these complaints were attended to by the court, as the office of lord lieutenant of Ireland was conferred on John Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, A.D. 1446. The king granted to this nobleman the town and county of Waterford, with the title of earl of Waterford: the royal franchises, and the *droit d'aubaine*, (or right of inheriting the personal property of aliens at their death,) in the districts along the coast, as far as Youghal.

The lord lieutenant held a parliament at Trim, on the Friday after Epiphany, in 1447, in which several laws were enacted, amongst others, that all officers might travel in Ireland, without meeting with any interruption; that no tax should be levied on merchandize or provisions, except in towns, under pain of paying twenty shillings for every penny; that the men should shave the upper lip, under pain of being considered among the Irish enemy; that an Irish homicide, or robber, though naturalised, might be looked upon as an enemy, and consequently be put to death; and that the sons of labourers should be forced to follow the profession of their fathers. A law was also made against false coin, and the coin of O'Reilly; (by which it would appear that this nobleman had money coined). This law also referred to the gilding of harness and armour, the use of which was prohibited.

The lord lieutenant having settled his affairs in Ireland, appointed his brother, Richard Talbot, archbishop of Dublin, his

deputy, and returned to England, where he accused the earl of Ormond of high treason, in presence of the duke of Bedford, constable of England; but the king caused the accusation to be suppressed. At this time, the deputy published a tract in Latin, in Dublin, on the abuses of the government during the earl of Ormond's administration: "*De abusu regiminis Jacobi Comitis Ormondiaë, dum Hibernia esset locum tenens.*" It appears that Thomas Fitzthomas, prior of Kilmainham, was among the number of the earl of Ormond's enemies, being one of those who accused him of treason: and that in consequence, a duel, which was the established mode of deciding quarrels at that time, was to have been fought between them at Smithfield in London, but the king having interposed his authority, it did not take place.

Hitherto the English had been acting on the defensive in Ireland, and only carried on war along their frontiers; their army was poorly provided, and more a burden to their countrymen there, who were oppressed by maintaining them, than formidable to the enemy by their military achievements. It was therefore thought necessary to send over as a commander, a man of some celebrity, and Richard, duke of York, earl of March and Rutland, and heir to the crown of England, whose son reigned afterwards under the name of Edward IV., was considered the fittest person for this office. Independently of his great talents, he owned large estates in the country; he was earl of Ulster and Cork, lord of Connaught, Clare, Trim, and a considerable part of the county Meath. It was an act of policy too in the cardinal of Winchester, who was then at the head of affairs in England, to give the government of Ireland to the duke of York, and thus to deprive him of the regency of France, as he had thereby an opportunity of gratifying his friend, the duke of Somerset. The duke being appointed lord lieutenant, landed at Howth, near Dublin, in the month of July, 1449; but as he saw clearly into the views of those who had sent him to Ireland, he accepted of it on flattering conditions only, viz., that he should continue in office for ten years; that in order to support his dignity, he should have the receipt of all the revenues of his province, both regular and casual, without being obliged to render an account of them; that he should be supplied with money from England, as follows; four thousand marks for the first year, two thousand pounds of which should be paid in advance, and for the remainder of the time two thousand pounds a year; that he should be

permitted to let the king's lands as farms; to appoint and dismiss all officers at his will; to raise what number of troops he should think proper, and to appoint a deputy when he pleased, and return to England.

It does not appear that the duke of York brought many troops with him from England, or that he supported any in Ireland, as the money which had been promised him was too trifling, and too irregularly paid, as may be inferred from his letters to the earl of Salisbury on this subject, and particularly from that which he wrote to the earl of Shrewsbury, quoted by Campion,* according to the original, which he obtained through Sir Henry Sidney, lord deputy of Ireland, under queen Elizabeth. The style of this letter is very different from that of the present day, and merits well the attention of every reader, from its peculiar and very singular construction. The following copy is taken from Campion's history, in the Mazarine library in Paris, where it can be verified.

"Right worshipful, and with all my heart, entirely beloved brother, I commend mee unto you as heartily as I can."

"Ande like it you to wit, that sith I wrote last unto the king our soveraigne lord his highnes, the Irish enemy, that is to say, Macgeoghegan, and with him three or foure Irish captaines, associate with a great fellowship of English rebels, notwithstanding that they were within the king our Sovereigne lord his power, of great malice, and against all truth, have maligned against their legiance, and vengeably have brent a great town of my inheritance, in Meth, called Ramore, and other villages thereabouts, and murdered and burnt both men, women, and children without mercy, the which enemies be yet assembled in woods and forts, wayting to doe the hurt and grievance to the king's subjects, that they can thinke or imagine, for which cause I write at this time to the king's highnes, and beseech his good grace for to hasten my payment for this land, according to his letters of warrant, now late directed unto the treasurer of England to the intent I may wage men in sufficient number, for to resist the malice of the same enemyes, and punish them in such wyse, that other which would doe the same, for lack of resistance in time, may take example, for doubtlesse but if my payment be had, in all haste, for to have men of war in defence and safeguard of this lande, my power cannot stretch to keepe it in the king's obeysance, and very necessity will compell me to come into Eng-

land to live there, upon my poore livelode, for I had lever be dead, than any inconvenience should fall thereunto in my default, for it shall never be chronicled, nor remain in scripture, by the grace of God, that Ireland was lost by my negligence; and therefore I beseech you, right worshipful brother, that you will hold to your hands instantly, that my payment may be had at this time, in eschuing all inconveniencies, for I have example in other places, more pity it is to dread shame, and for to acquite my truth unto the king's highnes, as my dutie is, and this I pray and exhort you, good brother, to shew unto his good grace, and that you will be so good, that this language may be enacted at this present parliament for my excuse in time to come, and that you will be good to my servant Roger Roe, the bearer hereof, &c.

Written at Divelin, the 15th Juin.

Your faithful true brother,

RICHARD YORK."

Richard Talbot, archbishop of Dublin, brother of John Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, so well known in history for his military exploits, died this year, having held that see for thirty-two years, and was interred in the cathedral of St. Patrick. This prelate established six half prebendaries, and six choristers in that church,* and also a chantry in St. Michael's chapel, which he made a parish church. He was appointed to the archbishopric of Armagh by the dean and chapter, which he refused; he belonged to the privy council of both Henry V. and VI.; had been twice lord justice of Ireland, and once chancellor. His successor in the see of Dublin was Michael Tregury.

Although the duke of York, on coming to Ireland, found affairs there in a very bad condition, both from the wicked administration of those in office, and the frequent attacks which the king's subjects met with from the Irish, as we have already seen by this prince's letter to the earl of Shrewsbury; and though he was never able to force Macgeoghegan and his followers into their entrenchments; still, by his skill, rather than by force of arms, this prince quelled, in a great measure, the disorders which existed in the country. He convened two parliaments; one in Dublin in October, the other at Drogheda in April; in which several laws were enacted relative to good order, and the government of the state, and a fine was decreed against the bishops of Leighlin, Ossory, Down and Limerick, for not having attended the parliament held in Dublin.

* History of Ireland, page 99.

* War de Archiepisc. Dubliniens.

Campion, page 94, gives the copy of a letter of complaint from the inhabitants of the county of Cork to the earl of Rutland and York, in which they represent their misfortunes, as the necessary consequence of the civil wars which were continually breaking out between the noblemen of the kingdom, whereby the king's subjects were in danger of losing their possessions, as the weaker party were obliged to call in to their assistance the Irish, who had been driven out, and the latter were becoming powerful in the country, of which they already owned the greater part. In this letter we find a list of the principal noblemen in the district, and their incomes; they were as follows: Carew, of Dorzy-Haven, Barnewall, of Beer-Haven, Uggan, Balram of Emforte, Courcy of Kilbrehon, Mandevil of Barnhely, Sleyne of Baltimore, Roche of Pool Castle, Barry and others; it also adds, that Courcy, Roche, and Barry alone, still enjoyed some portion of the possessions of their ancestors.* This letter ends by entreating the viceroy to visit the country himself, or to send thither persons capable of checking these disorders; as, if a remedy were not applied, the petitioners would be constrained to lay their complaints at the foot of the throne.

At this time the duke of York had a son born in Dublin, to whom the earls of Ormond and Desmond stood sponsors; he was afterwards known by the name of George duke of Clarence.

Many religious houses were founded in this century in Ireland, though the dates of their foundation are unknown, the convents built for the Franciscans were, Kilmichael in Westmeath, by the Petits; Balinesagard, in the district of Annaly, now Longford, by the O'Ferralls; and Holy-Wood, or Sacro-Bosco, by the Audsleys. These three were of the third order. The O'Donnells, princes of Tirconnel, founded two houses for the same order; one at Kilmacrenan, near Donegal, for Franciscan friars; the other at Magheri-Beg, in the same country, for the third order. Conn O'Neill, prince of Tyrone, built a house at Dungannon, for this order also. Ware mentions a convent of Franciscans, founded at Ballinacswenny in Tirconnell, by one M'Sweeny, lord of the district. The Dowels founded a convent for Dominicans at Tuilsk, in Roscommon. A convent was founded at Morisk, at the foot of Mount St. Patrick, for Augustin her-

mits, by the O'Maileys, lords of Umaille, in the county of Mayo. A convent for Carmelites was built at Rathmullian, in the district of Donegal, by M'Sweeny, lord of Fanid, and another at Kaltragh, in the county of Galway, by the Berminghams, barons of Athenry.

During the Duke of York's administration in Ireland, he was always mindful of the interests of the English in that country: he quelled the disturbances that prevailed, and had castles built on the frontiers of Meath, Louth, and Kildare, to check the incursions of the Irish. So great was the esteem in which he was held by his countrymen in Ireland, that several followed him to England, to support his claims to the crown.

The duke of York, having returned to England in 1451, appointed the earl of Ormond his deputy in Ireland, Sir John Talbot being made chancellor at the same time. Ormond was afterwards appointed lord lieutenant, and went immediately to England, leaving the government of Ireland to John Mey, archbishop of Armagh, as deputy, A.D. 1453, which displeased the court, and the earl was ordered to return, as the presence of a military governor was requisite in the country, to impede the progress of the rebel Irish, who were continually making inroads on the English province. Ormond's affairs, however, not allowing him to leave England, the earl of Kildare was entrusted with the government, A.D. 1454, till the arrival of Sir Edward Fitzzeustace, who was made deputy to the duke of York. He held a parliament in Dublin, in which several laws were enacted respecting the abuses that were creeping into the government.

The duke of York beheld with mortification his enemy, the duke of Somerset, in the highest favour at the court of England. He presented several petitions to the king, against him and Suffolk; but his remonstrances made no impression on this weak prince, who was more fitted for the cloister than the throne, and who had given himself up to the controul of his queen, Margaret, daughter of the titular king of Naples and Sicily. Margaret was a woman possessed of more resolution and of superior mind to her sex in general; and finding the king imbecile and unfit to govern, aided by Somerset, and others of her party, she undertook the administration of the kingdom. It was not the greatness of Somerset that gave umbrage to the duke of York. This prince, who was well aware of his own right to the throne, had already formed the design of restoring his family on

* They might with more truth be called the usurpations of their ancestors.

the ruins of the house of Lancaster, to which Somerset was bound by the ties of blood and interest. In order to remove this obstacle, the duke consulted his friends, amongst whom were the earl of Warwick, and his son, the earl of Salisbury. These noblemen having formed their plans, thought proper to supply the deficiency of remonstrance by force of arms, in order to effect the removal of Somerset. The duke of York accordingly caused troops to be levied in Wales, and the north of England, with whom he marched towards London; and was met by the king, queen, and Somerset, at the head of an army at St. Alban's, where the first blood was shed in the quarrel of the two Roses, A.D. 1455. Henry's army was defeated, and Somerset, who was the nominal cause of the war, with the earls of Northumberland and Stafford, found among the slain; the number of whom amounted to five thousand men. Henry was made prisoner, but treated with every respect, and led in triumph to London, by York and Warwick. They there obliged him to convene a parliament, in which the duke of York was declared guardian and protector of the kingdom.

Thomas, earl of Kildare, was at that time deputy for the duke of York in Ireland. This nobleman, zealous for the public welfare, convened the parliament twice in the city of Dublin, and once at Naas, in which regulations appertaining to the government were enacted.

John Mey, judge of the episcopal court of Meath, was nominated in 1444, by pope Eugene IV., to the archbishopric of Armagh. Having held that see for about twelve years, he died in 1456, and was succeeded by John Bole. About this time, John, surnamed by some de Burgo, archbishop of Tuam, died. The year of his death is not exactly known; but we find that Donat O'Murphy, succeeded him, A.D. 1458.

The army of the duke of York was considerably weakened by the retreat of Andrew Trollop, who commanded the Calesians, on the eve of a battle with the king, for which the prince had collected all his forces. He was therefore obliged to seek an asylum in Ireland: where he continued for some time, and through his deputy, the earl of Kildare, had a parliament assembled in Dublin, and subsequently at Drogheda. In the interval a parliament was convened at Coventry in England, where the duke was declared a traitor, together with his son, Edward earl of March, Richard earl of Salisbury, Richard earl of Warwick, the lord Clifford, and the other confederates; and their estates and goods were all confiscated for the king's use.

The earl of March sailed soon after from Calais, to invade England. He landed at Sandwich, and on his march to Northampton, his forces were increased, every step they advanced, by additional friends. An engagement took place between them and the king's army, which lasted for two hours, and in which ten thousand troops were slain on both sides. King Henry was taken prisoner a second time; and the queen and her son, the prince of Wales, saved themselves with difficulty. This new success raised the courage of the duke of York, who was still in Ireland: and he set out immediately for London, where he caused a parliament to be convened in the king's name. He then advanced his claim to the crown, and expatiated upon all that his family had undergone for the house of Lancaster. It was then agreed that Henry should wear the crown during his life, and that the duke should be his successor. The prince though he now believed that his right was well established, thought that other battles were necessary to render it the more secure. Parliamentary decrees seemed to him of little avail, when unsupported by an army. The queen and the new duke of Somerset, who had withdrawn to Scotland after the battle of Northampton, were already on their march with a formidable army, composed of Scotch and northern English, amounting to about eighteen thousand men, to renew the war. The duke of York therefore having committed the king to the care of the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Warwick, advanced to meet the queen with an army much inferior in numbers, consisting only of five thousand men; but placing too much reliance on the valour of his troops, and his good fortune, which had never yet forsaken him, he fell into an ambuscade in the plain of Wakefield, where he lost the victory and his life. The young earl of Rutland, his son, who was only twelve years old, strove to excite the pity of lord Clifford, by imploring him on his knees to spare his life: but was stabbed in the most inhuman manner by this barbarian, without any regard for either his birth, age or tears. The earl of Salisbury was made prisoner, and afterwards beheaded: the duke of York was insulted even in his grave. By orders of the queen a paper diadem was placed upon his head, and it was thus exposed on a pole upon the walls of the city from which he had taken his title.

Four religious houses of the order of St. Francis, were founded at this time in Ireland; namely, three for Franciscan friars, and one for Observantines. At Enniscorthy, on the river Slaney, in the county of Wex-

ford, a convent for conventual Franciscans was founded by Domgal Cavanagh, lord of the country. At Inishircan, that is, the isle of Hircan, in the bay of Baltimore, there was a convent for Franciscans built by Florence O'Driscol, lord of the town of Ross, the island of Baltimore and Inishircan.* At Bantry, in the county of Cork, a convent for Franciscans was founded by O'Sullivan, Beare, lord of that place. Nehimie O'Donoghoe built a convent at Moyon, at the mouth of the river Moy, in the county of Mayo, for Observantine friars, in which he took the habit, and became vicar general of the order. There was also a house founded for Dominicans at Glanore, in the county of Cork, by the Roches.

The public revenue was very moderate at this time in Ireland, the whole kingdom being still in possession of the Irish, except the English province, and some towns on the coasts of Ulster; and the English were even obliged to pay tributes to the Irish, to preserve peace with them. Cox gives a list of these payments, which he calls scandalous, and of the districts which contributed their portions. The barony of Lecale paid O'Neill, of Clanneboy, twenty pounds a year; the county of Uriel forty pounds to O'Neill; the county of Meath sixty pounds to O'Connor; the county of Kildare twenty pounds to O'Connor; the exchequer paid eighty marks a year to M'Morrough; the counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary forty pounds to O'Carroll; the county of Limerick forty pounds to O'Brien; and lastly, the county of Cork paid forty pounds to M'Carty of Muskerry. Cox complains bitterly of the Irish for taking advantage of the disturbances in England, and usurping extensive estates, as they had previously done under Richard II., and also as he further observes, for holding without any right, the greater part of Ulster, and many districts in Munster and Connaught.†

* The very ancient and noble family of the O'Driscols derives its origin from Ith, paternal uncle of Milesius. In the division of lands by the children of Milesius in Ireland, after the conquest of this island, a territory then called Corkalugh, forming part of the country since called Carbery, near Ross and Baltimore, was assigned to Lughaid, son of Ith. His descendants afterwards took the name of O'Driscol. They supported themselves honourably in Carbery, till the revolutions, which took place under Elizabeth, and the war which the Irish carried on against that princess, in which the O'Driscols distinguished themselves in their country's cause.

† If we adopted the notions of English authors, we should be led to believe that the Anglo-Irish were

CHAPTER XXIX.

AFTER the battle of Wakefield, in which Richard Plantagenet, duke of York, lost his life, the house of York seemed to have fallen for ever; but Edward, earl of March, who inherited his father's great qualities, as well as his claims to the throne, having assembled an army of twenty-three thousand men, on the frontiers of Wales, came to an engagement with the king's forces, commanded by the earls of Pembroke and Ormond, at a place called Mortimer's Cross, near Ludlow.* The battle was bloody, and the victory for some time doubtful; but at length the royalists took to flight, leaving three thousand eight hundred men dead upon the field of battle, besides several prisoners, among whom was Owen Tudor, a Welsh nobleman, who had married queen Catherine, widow of Henry V., and mother of Henry VI., and who, by orders of the earl of March, was sacrificed to the manes of his father, the duke of York. After this action, the earl marched directly to London, where he was proclaimed king, under the name of Edward IV., in consequence of the act of parliament, by which his father Richard had been declared successor to the throne. He was, however, forced to make good his title by the sword. Henry and Margaret had still a considerable army in the north of England, which Edward thought necessary to conquer before he assumed the crown. He marched therefore against them, and defeated his rival in the famous battle of Towton. This battle, which lasted two days, was remarkable for the number of men of rank who fell on both sides. The loss sustained by the two armies is said to have amounted to thirty-six thousand seven hundred and seventy-six men killed upon the spot; the cause of this fearful carnage being a prohibition which Edward had issued throughout his camp the day before the action, neither to give nor ask for quarter, A.D. 1461. After this victory, Edward was crowned with great solemnity, on the 28th of June, at Westminster, under the name of Edward IV., and in November following, king Henry and his son, Edward, were declared to have lost all right or claim to the crown.

the aborigines of Ireland. It would seem that the usurpation of the lands of others, was looked on as a virtue among these strangers, and that it was held a flagrant act of injustice for the ancient Irish to recover by arms part of what they had been so unjustly deprived of, two or three centuries before.

* Baker. Chron. War. de Annal. Hib. Higgin's Short View.

Thomas earl of Kildare, was appointed by the council in Ireland to fill the office of lord justice till the court should nominate a lord lieutenant.

The king made several promotions this year; in England he created his brothers George and Richard dukes, the former of Clarence, the latter of Gloucester;* in Ireland he raised two persons to the rank of barons: namely, William St. Lawrence, lord baron of Howth, in the county of Dublin, and Robert Barnwall, lord baron of Trimlestown, in the county of Meath.† St. Lawrence was descended from Almeric Tristram, who, in 1177, had changed his name from Tristram to St. Lawrence, on account of a battle he gained against the Danes on St. Lawrence's day, having made a vow to transmit that name to his descendants, should he be victorious.

George, duke of Clarence, the king's brother was appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland for life, A.D. 1462. Sir Rowland Fitezeustace was his first deputy, but was replaced by the earl of Desmond. The earl of Ormond was beheaded at Newcastle, and his family fell into disgrace during this reign for their attachment to the house of Lancaster. Mints were established in Dublin, Trim, Drogheda, Waterford, and Galway, for coining four-penny and two-penny pieces, &c.; and it was decreed that English money should increase a quarter in value in Ireland, that is, that nine pence should pass for twelve, and so in proportion. This was the first time that any difference was made between Irish and English money.

A convent for Franciscan friars was founded at Monaghan, in Ulster, this year, by Felim M'Mahon, a lord of the country.‡ Edward White, an English nobleman, and a Protestant, having obtained this house afterwards from queen Elizabeth, had it pulled down, and built a fine castle for himself, from the materials.§ We find also another convent dedicated to St. Michael, at Athenry in the county of Galway, belonging to the Observantine monks. It was begun by an earl of Kildare, but completed by some other benefactors.

The lord lieutenant held a parliament, A.D. 1463; which was adjourned several times. Previously to its dissolution, the privileges of the members of parliament, for forty days before, and forty days after each session, were established; the salaries of officers of justice regulated, and the value

of coin that was clipped or broken. He held a parliament at Trim, A.D. 1465, in which several statutes were enacted; amongst others, that the Irish residing in the English province should dress in the English manner; that they should take English names, and the oath of allegiance, under pain of having their properties confiscated; that they should make use of the bow and arrow like the English; that an under officer, called a constable, should be appointed in every borough; that foreign vessels should be prevented from fishing on the coasts of the rebels, under pain of confiscation, and that those who did so on the coast of the English province, should pay a tax.

At Kilcrea, in the county Cork, a convent for Franciscan friars was built about this time, by Cormac, son of Thadeus M'Carty, lord of the country, who was buried in it. A convent for the third order of St. Francis, was also founded at Glancarm, on the sea shore, in the county of Antrim, by Robert Bisset, a Scotch nobleman.

The earl of Desmond finding his influence diminished with the king, was obliged to resign his place to John Tiptoft, earl of Worcester, treasurer and constable of England, A.D. 1467. This new deputy, a learned and eloquent man, convened a parliament at Drogheda, in which it was enacted that the governor should have the liberty of travelling into the adjacent islands; that no bulls should be bought at the court of Rome, for the possession of livings; that the pardon granted by the king to purveyors, should be considered void; that the courts of exchequer and common pleas should be removeable at the will of the governor, on giving twenty-eight days' notice; and that the earls of Desmond and Kildare, together with Edward Plunket, should be attainted of high treason, for having formed alliances with the hostile Irish, and supported them against the king's subjects, by providing them with arms and horses, in violation of the laws of the prince, and the statutes of the kingdom. In consequence of this act, Thomas Fitzjohn Fitzgerald, earl of Desmond, was beheaded at Drogheda on the 15th of February.

There is a diversity of opinions respecting the nature of the crime, which led to the tragical end of the earl of Desmond.* It was most generally ascribed to the hatred which the queen Elizabeth had conceived against this nobleman, the cause of which must be explained. After the victories gained at Towton and other places, over the house

* Baker, Chron. England.

† Nichol's Rudiments of Honour.

‡ War. de Antiq. Hib. c. 26.

§ Allemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irlande.

* Relat. Giraldinorum.

of Lancaster, Edward IV. had reason to consider himself in peaceful possession of the throne. He was one of the handsomest princes in Europe, and not insensible to the charms of the female sex; and being at the time twenty-three years of age, it was proposed to him to marry, as necessary, both to preserve the house of York from becoming extinct, and to secure the crown in his own family. Warwick was accordingly sent to France, to negotiate a marriage between him and the princess Bona, sister to the queen, and daughter to the duke of Savoy. The embassy was successful, and the proposal accepted; but in the mean while, Edward, forgetful of the engagement which Warwick had contracted in his name, sacrificed his honour to love, by marrying Elizabeth Grey, widow of Sir John Grey, who had fought against him, and was killed in the battle of St. Alban's. This alliance, which drew upon Edward the contempt of foreign princes, and the hatred of many of his own subjects, was the cause of his subsequent misfortunes. The attachment of the earl of Desmond to the house of York having induced him to serve in all the wars against the house of Lancaster, he became a favourite with Edward, who asked him one day, what the people thought of his marriage? The earl took the liberty of telling him that it was universally disapproved of, on account of the great inequality in rank, between him and the queen; that a young king who had gained a crown by his arms, should have allied himself to some sovereign prince, who might be powerful to assist him in any emergency, and, in fine, that it would be prudent to repudiate Elizabeth, and marry one of his own station. This advice, which was more in accordance with human policy, than Christian principles, was soon communicated to the queen. She resolved to take revenge, and the anger of an injured woman is implacable. She had at first recourse to secret measures, to injure the earl in the king's esteem; and at length found means to affix the king's private seal to an order, which she sent to the earl of Worcester, at that time deputy in Ireland, to have Desmond beheaded; an order which was put into execution, to the great surprise of every Irish nobleman. The revolt of the five sons of Desmond, who flew to arms to revenge their father's death, obliged the king to examine into the affair; Worcester was recalled to England, where he was tried, and though he produced in his own defence, the order he had received, sealed with the king's seal, he was sacrificed to the manes of Desmond.

By this act the king put a stop to the revolt of Desmond's sons, and in addition to his forgiveness, he conferred the palatinate of Kerry on James Fitzthomas, the earl's eldest son. He afterwards gave him the town and castle of Dungarvan, with special privileges, which were enjoyed by his descendants, till the reign of Elizabeth.

Cox endeavours to throw a doubt on this history of the earl of Desmond,* by saying that it is founded on a vulgar tradition. The English usually try to turn things to their own advantage, a disposition which is particularly manifest in the writings of Cox. Though the earl of Desmond was of English origin, he was not sufficiently English for the notions of this historian; being one of those degenerate Englishmen, who began to feel compassion for an unjustly oppressed people, whose properties they had usurped, and kept possession of.

The earl was more interested than any other person, says this historian, in condemning the king's marriage with Elizabeth; since if he had approved of it, he should also have sanctioned the marriage of his nephew Thomas, fifth earl of Desmond, with Catherine Ni-William M'Cormock; that is, Catherine, daughter of William M'Cormock, his doing which it appears, would militate against the title of earl, with which the uncle was invested, only after the forced resignation of it by his nephew; the latter having yielded it to his uncle, to stop the persecution of his family, who were displeased with his marriage, which they considered degrading. In order, therefore, to secure the earldom, Desmond, the uncle, according to Cox, was induced to condemn the king's marriage, and consequently that of his own nephew. We easily perceive the forced construction which Cox puts upon the earl's conduct; but what analogy is there between the marriage of a king and that of a private individual? The unequal alliance made by the king of England, affected the entire state, whilst the public welfare was in no manner affected by the marriage of the earl of Desmond. This earl's highest title was that of nobleman, and he allied himself to M'Cormock, who was a M'Carty, the ancient proprietor of part of the extensive estates, which were at that time in possession of Desmond; and whose alliance, though he had become his vassal,† by the dreadful re-

* Hlb. Anglic. ad an. 1467.

† Both at that time and subsequently we see ancient proprietors forced to become the farmers of their own lands, and pay an annual rent for them to those who had usurped them.

volution which deprived him of his property, was not unworthy of him who possessed it unjustly. However this be, Cox ascribes the earl of Desmond's misfortune to the exaction of *Coyne and Livery*; but there is no mention of this in the statute of the parliament of Drogheda, quoted by this author, in virtue of which he was convicted of high treason, with the earl of Kildare and Edward Plunket. As this nobleman's fate too differed from that of the others, it must have proceeded from another cause.

In the month of February, the court granted ten pounds sterling a-year to Edmund Butler, lord of Dunboyne, out of the confiscated estates of the earl of Ormond, together with certain privileges, and the estate of Castle Richard, in the county of Meath, during life, for having made Conn O'Connor prisoner, and given him up to the deputy, and other services rendered by him to the state.

A convent for Franciscan friars was built in 1414, at Kilconnel, in the county of Galway, by William O'Kelly, lord of that country. Wadding says that this convent was reformed by the Observantines in 1467.

Thomas, earl of Kildare, having cleared himself of the crimes of which he had been accused in the parliament of Drogheda, was first appointed lord justice of Ireland, and afterwards deputy to the duke of Clarence, A.D. 1468. He convened two parliaments, one at Drogheda and the other at Naas, in the county of Kildare, which was adjourned to Dublin. Regulations for trade and various other purposes were made in them.

John Bole, abbot of our Lady of Navan, in the county of Meath, was promoted to the see of Armagh, which he governed for about thirteen years. After his death, which took place in 1470, this see remained vacant for four years, during which the temporal affairs belonging to it were attended to by Richard Lang, bishop of Kildare. Charles O'Mellan, dean of the cathedral of Armagh, wrote a letter to Pope Sixtus IV., in the name of the chapter, in which he requested that Richard might be appointed their archbishop; but this was refused by the pope, who nominated John Foxalls to the see. He, however, died in England the year after his consecration, without having seen his diocese, and was succeeded by Edmund Connesburgh.

In 1471, the death of Michael Tregury, archbishop of Dublin, also occurred; he was a man of profound erudition, and left several works quoted by Bale, and Pitseus. He died at an advanced age, at Tawlaght,

a country residence belonging to the prelates of this see. His body was removed to Dublin, and buried near St. Stephen's altar, in the cathedral of St. Patrick, where his tomb may still be seen with an inscription upon it. He was succeeded by John Walton.

Some houses were founded at this time for Augustin hermits; one at Callan, in the county of Kilkenny, by the earls of Ormond; another at Athdare, county of Limerick, by an earl of Kildare; and two in the cities of Cork and Limerick, the founders of which are not known. Father Lubin places a convent of this order at Clonmine in the diocese and county of Cork, which was built near the river Avon-More, on the estate of the O'Kelleghes, (in case he does not confound Clonmine with Clomin, in the county Wexford, where, as we have already remarked, there was a convent belonging to this order.) Ware places in 1473 the foundation of a house at Donegal, for the Observantine monks, by Hugh Roe O'Donnell, prince of that country. According to this author there was formerly a very fine library attached to it.

At this time, a military society was instituted in Ireland, by a decree of parliament, for the defence of the English province. It was composed of thirteen members, of acknowledged honour and loyalty, in the counties of Kildare, Dublin, Meath, and Louth; namely, three for each of the other counties, and four for Meath. In the appointment of this society, Thomas, earl of Kildare, Rowland Eustace, lord of Pont-lester, and Sir Rowland Eustace, were nominated for the county of Kildare; Robert, baron of Howth, the mayor of Dublin, and Sir Robert Dowdal, for the county of Dublin; Preston, lord of Gormanstown, in the county of Meath, Edward Plunket, seneschal, Alexander Plunket, and Barnaby Barnwell, for that of Meath; the mayor of Drogheda, Sir Lawrence Taaf, and Richard Bellew, for the county of Louth. According to their regulations, the members were to meet every year in Dublin, on St. George's day, to appoint one of their number captain for the following year; this captain was to have one hundred and twenty horse archers, at six pence a day each, for their maintenance and pay, besides forty horsemen, and the same number of pages at five pence a day, and four marks a year; whose duty was to arrest rebels, and those against whom warrants would be issued. In order to support this corps, which consisted of two hundred men, the parliament granted twelve pence

in the pound, as an import and export duty on merchandise. They enjoyed likewise the privilege of making rules for the good government of their society, and the election of a new member in cases of death. This was the origin of St. George's fraternity, which was suppressed in the tenth year of the reign of Henry VII.

William Sherwood, bishop of Meath, was appointed deputy to the duke of Clarence, in 1475. He held a parliament in Dublin, by which it was prohibited, under pain of treason, to send for bulls to Rome.

The nobles were commanded to attend parliament in their robes, under pain of being fined, and the barons of the exchequer to appear in court in their dresses of ceremony. It was decreed that an Englishman should be allowed the right of reprisal against the family or sept of an Irishman who was not subject to the laws, from whom he might have sustained any injury; but it was prohibited, under pain of felony, to take by force any pledges in opposition to the common law. George Nevil, duke of Bedford, was deprived this year in England, of the dignity of duke, for not possessing sufficient property to support the title.

The title of viscount, till now unknown in Ireland, was conferred at this time, by the king of England on Sir Robert Preston, who was first made knight of the Garter, in 1470.* He was baron of Naas, in the county of Kildare, in virtue of the marriage of one of his ancestors with the heiress of William Loundres; and was created viscount Gormanstown, in the county of Meath, in 1477. Roche, otherwise de la Roche, or *De rupe*, lord of Fermoy, in the county of Cork, was created viscount Fermoy, the same year.

The duke of Clarence had his deputies still in Ireland, A.D. 1478. Sherwood was succeeded in that office, by Henry Grey, lord of Ruthen, who was succeeded by Robert Preston, the viscount of Gormanstown, and the latter by Gerald, earl of Kildare, who held a parliament at Naas, in which some regulations were made relative to the government.

Edmond Connesburgh, archbishop of Armagh, resigned his see in 1479, and was succeeded by his coadjutor Octavianus de Palatio.

At this time, a convent was founded at Lislaghtin, in the county Kerry; in all likelihood the same that Wadding places in an island of the Shannon. This house was

founded by John O'Connor, of the noble family of the O'Connors Kerry, for Observantine monks.

Richard, duke of York, the king's son, being appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland, after George, duke of Clarence, the earl of Kildare was continued in the office of deputy for four years, by a patent from him, sealed with the king's privy seal. This earl undertook to maintain peace and loyalty throughout the English province, on condition of being provided with one hundred and twenty horsemen, and six hundred pounds sterling a year, for their support; and in case that the Irish revenues were not equal to this, the English government was bound to supply the deficiency. This deputy held a parliament which prohibited the exportation of birds of prey without paying a duty; a decree was also published, prohibiting the inhabitants of the English province to hold any intercourse with the Irish. It was a singular occurrence, that Conn O'Neill, who had married the deputy's daughter, was naturalised by this parliament in a country which had given birth to him and his ancestors for many centuries, before.

About this time, John Cantwell, archbishop of Cashel, died. This prelate was professor of law, and a graduate of the university of Oxford. He governed his diocese with wisdom. He held a synod at Limerick in 1453, the canons of which are still extant, and convened a second in 1480, at Fethard, composed of the bishops of his province. He had the Dominican convent repaired, and increased the revenues of the vicars of the choir of Cashel, where he ended his days in 1482, and was succeeded by David Creagh.

Such was the state of Ireland during the reign of Edward IV. The intestine commotions by which England was torn, not allowing him to extend his views to that country, its affairs were to a great extent neglected and abandoned to the feeble protection of the society of St. George. He had gained his crown by the sword, and maintained it by the frequent battles which he fought with the partisans of Henry VI.: and was sometimes compelled to yield to superior force, and seek an asylum in foreign countries. Henry was at one time restored, and Edward declared an usurper by the parliament. The latter prince, however, again returned, aided by the duke of Burgundy, and two thousand Dutchmen; and joined by his faithful subjects, marched immediately to London, where he seized upon the unfortunate Henry, and sent him back to the tower. His right was now once more acknowledged by that parliament, which, but six

* Nichol's Rudiments of Honour.

months before, had declared him an usurper; facts which prove the instability and inconsistency of that tribunal. Even this did not terminate Edward's difficulties. He was again forced to take the field; and defeated Warwick at the battle of Barnet, in which that earl lost his life. He was also victorious over queen Margaret and her son Edward, in the battle of Tewksbury, which was the last effort of the house of Lancaster. Young Edward, only son of Henry VI., having fallen into the hands of his enemies, was stabbed, in the most brutal manner, by the dukes of Gloucester and Clarence. The duke of Somerset and many other noblemen were also put to death. He was the third duke of his family who fell, in the cause of the house of Lancaster. Soon after this the duke of Gloucester buried the dagger, still reeking with the blood of the son, in the bosom of the father, who was prisoner in the tower. Thus ended the unhappy life of Henry VI., whose innocence and piety could not preserve him from the punishment due to the crime of his grandfather, Henry IV., who had usurped the crown.

Edward IV., did not long enjoy that tranquillity which his last victories had gained him. He died in the forty-first year of his age, and was interred at Windsor, in the new chapel, which he himself had caused to be built. George, duke of Clarence, was accused, some time before, of high treason, and sent to the tower, at the instigation of his brother, the duke of Gloucester, by whose orders he ended his days miserably, having been drowned in a butt of malmsy wine.

Edward IV., left two sons and seven daughters. The elder of his sons, named Edward, who was but eleven years old at his father's death, was to have succeeded him on the throne.* He was at that time at Ludlow, in Wales, under the guardianship of his maternal uncle, Sir Anthony Woodville, and other friends of the queen; whose wish it was that he should be brought to London, attended by a strong guard, in order to be crowned. Richard, duke of Gloucester, the late king's brother, was then in the north of England, and solely occupied with a design upon the throne. He had already effected the death of his brother George, duke of Clarence, in the tower of London, and being desirous of getting the young prince Edward, who was an obstacle to his ambition, into his power, he succeeded by his intrigues in removing all suspicion from the prince's mind, who set out for London, unguarded, and

attended only by a few noblemen of his retinue. Gloucester repaired, with his favourite, the duke of Buckingham, to Northampton and Stony-Stratford, through which places the prince should pass, and carried him away by force from those who were in care of him. He then seized on the persons of lord Richard Gray, Sir Thomas Vaughan, and Sir Richard Hall, in presence of the prince. He had Woodeville, lord Rivers, arrested at Northampton; and sent a prisoner to the north, with lord Richard, and Thomas Vaughan. He then brought young Edward to London, where, having assembled the great council, he had himself appointed protector of the young prince and of the kingdom. The queen foresaw the danger which threatened her family through the conduct and intrigues of Gloucester; and fled precipitately with her son Richard, and the princesses, her daughters, to Westminster abbey; but as no asylum can be secure against tyranny, Gloucester found means to get young Richard also into his power, under the pretext of placing the two princes in a place of safety, till all disturbances would have subsided. They were carried in apparent triumph, through the city, to the tower, which unfortunately was to them a prison instead of a palace, as they never left it more. Richard placed himself at the head of the government, and was crowned together with his wife, in July, 1493, under the name of Richard III.

This tyrant, intent upon securing to himself the throne he had usurped, thought it prudent to make no change in the government of Ireland; he left it, therefore, in possession of Gerald, earl of Kildare, who convened some parliaments, in which nothing interesting occurred. Gerald was afterwards appointed deputy to the earl of Lincoln, who was nominated lord lieutenant, A.D. 1484: and held a parliament in Dublin, which granted him a subsidy of thirteen shillings and four pence a year, upon every plough land, to defray the expenses of his services against the Irish. O'Connor, it would appear, participated in these services, as he got part of the reward, viz., forty pence for every plough land in the county of Meath.

The archbishops of Dublin and Tuam both died this year. The former was John Walton, who obtained, by order of parliament, the restitution of some lands which belonged to the archbishopric of Dublin, and which had been sold by his immediate predecessors, Talbot and Tregury. This prelate held the see for six years, but having lost his sight, and being reduced to a state of infirmity, he resigned it, reserving at Swords a competency

* Baker, Chron. on the year 1483.

for his support. He was succeeded by Walter Fitz-Simmons. Donat O'Murray, a regular canon of the order of St. Augustin, was nominated to the archbishopric of Tuam. John Bole, archbishop of Armagh, wrote a circular letter to this prelate and his suffragans, informing them that he would shortly visit the province of Tuam, inasmuch as the archbishops of Armagh, as primates, claimed at all times the right of visiting the other provinces every seven years. This prelate added some establishments to the church of St. Nicholas, in Galway; he was succeeded in the see of Tuam, by William Shivy.

Some writers appeared in Ireland during this century.* William, surnamed Waterford, wrote a book on religion, which he dedicated to cardinal Julian in 1433. A canon of the order of St. Augustin, at Loghkey, in the county Roscommon, left the annals of Ireland to his own time, written in Irish and Latin. Ware mentions having seen that part of his work, which begins with the year 1249, and ends with 1408. John of Ireland flourished in 1460. According to Antonius Alfonsus Fernandus, and Michael Plodius, he wrote a book called the Bunch of Flowers, having taken from the sacred writers the most valuable thoughts on each subject of his work. It is probable that these writers have confounded this John, with Thomas of Ireland, of whom we have already spoken, who wrote a book called the "Flowers of the Doctors," in the thirteenth century, which was printed in Paris in 1664. John of Ireland, a Dominican, is said to have been the author of a book called "Scala Dei," or "the Ladder to Heaven." Philip Norris, having taken the degree of doctor in theology, at Oxford, returned to Ireland, his native country, where he was made prebendary of Yagostown, which depended on St. Patrick's church in Dublin. He was afterwards dean of that cathedral, in 1457. Like Richard of Armagh, he wrote against mendicants, and inveighed strongly against them in his sermons, which brought disgrace upon him. According to Bale, he left many works, namely, declamations, lectures on the holy Scriptures, sermons to the people, a treatise against mendicants in health, &c.

In England, the duke of Gloucester, not content with having deprived his nephews of their birth-right to the crown, sacrificed them to his cruelty, and had them put to death. He also caused his favourite, the duke of Buckingham, who had taken up arms against him, to be executed. The only enemy that

Richard had now to fear, was the earl of Richmond, the last of the house of Lancaster, who was, in a manner, prisoner at the court of Brittany. This prince, however, had correspondents in England. Having received some assistance in money from Charles VIII., king of France, he sailed from Harfleur with two thousand men, and, after seven days, landed at Milford, from which place he marched towards Hereford, where he was joined by the Welsh, and other friends, who flocked to his standard, and in a few days collected a considerable force. Richard having received intelligence of the success of Richmond, marched, at the head of a powerful army, to meet him, and gave him battle in the plain of Bosworth, which proved fatal to Richard, who lost in it both the crown and his life. Lord Stanley, in the thick of the fight, having discovered the crown upon the ground, took it up and placed it on the head of Richmond; which together with the acclamations of the troops, shouting, "Long live the king," gave to the earl an additional title, by a sort of military election.

CHAPTER XXX.

AFTER the battle of Bosworth, Henry, earl of Richmond, was crowned at Westminster, king of England, under the name of Henry VII.* He was of the house of Lancaster, being great grandson to John, earl of Somerset, who was born before the marriage of John of Ghent, fourth son of Edward III., with Catherine, his third wife, widow of Swinford; but who by an act of parliament, under Richard II.,† was made legitimate. In order to secure himself more firmly upon the throne, Henry added a third title to the right of conquest and the claims he derived from the house of Lancaster, by marrying the princess Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward IV., and consequent heiress to the house of York and the crown, A.D. 1485. This happy union put an end to the feuds of the two roses, which had cost England so much blood. This prince confined the earl of Warwick, called Edward Plantagenet, only son and heir of George, duke of Clarence, and the last male child of the house of York, in the tower of London. He was the first king of England

* Wad. Tom. 4, Annal. Min. ad an. 1395.

* Polyd. Virgil. Ang. Hist. lib. 26, page 1433.

† Baker, Chron. Higgins's Short View.

who established a body guard, in imitation of the kings of France. He appointed a captain over them, and allowed them pay; and the corps has been continued by his successors.

The king having appointed the duke of Bedford lord lieutenant of Ireland, Gerald, earl of Kildare, retained the office of deputy.* Henry also allowed the chancellor, treasurer, and other officers, whom he knew to have favoured the cause of the white rose, to continue in office; he wished to make them feel that he reposed confidence in them, and at the same time, that he was above that weakness which generally arises from fear and suspicion. He was not, however, unmindful of his friends. Thomas Butler, whose family had been long in disgrace for their attachment to the house of Lancaster, was restored by an act of parliament, to his wealth and honours, and after taking the usual oath was admitted into the privy council of the king. It appears that the Desmond family was restored at the same time, as it is mentioned that Thomas Coppinger, seneschal of St. James, earl of Desmond, in the liberties of Kerry, administered justice in his name.

A dispute arose this year between James Keating and Marmeduke Lumley, respecting the priory of St. John of Jerusalem, called the priory of Kilmainham, near Dublin.† Keating having been accused to Peter d'Aubusson, grand master of the order, in the island of Rhodes, of having mortgaged or sold several ornaments belonging to the house, (amongst others, a bit of the true cross,) and of having made over, or encumbered with pensions, the revenues of the priory, was deprived of his office by the grand master, who nominated Lumley in his stead. The latter having arrived at Clontarf with the intention of taking possession of his new dignity, Keating and his attendants prevented him, by taking him prisoner, and obliging him to give up his credentials and every thing respecting his nomination; to compensate him for which Keating gave him the commandery of Kilsaran, in the county of Louth. Lumley, indignant at this treatment, wrote to the king and grand master, and on his complaints Keating was excommunicated, by which he was so exasperated, that he deprived Lumley of his commandery, and confined him, contrary to the request of the archbishop of Armagh, in prison, where it is probable he ended his days. Keating

kept forcible possession of his priory for nine years; but was at length expelled with ignominy and disgrace. He was succeeded by James Vale.

There was a convent of Franciscans in the large island of Arran, at the entrance of the bay of Galway.* Wadding states, that, according to the annals of Ireland, this convent was built in 1485, in the island of saints, which is the same as the isle of Arran.

Wadding mentions likewise the convent of Kilcullen, built in 1486, for Observantine friars, of the order of St. Francis, by Rowland Eustace, who was lord justice and for some time chancellor and treasurer of Ireland.† He says there were tombs, not only of the founder, but of several other noblemen, in the church and chapels. At Dungarvan, a small seaport in the county of Waterford, a convent was built, according to Ware, by an earl of Desmond, for Augustin hermits. Father Lubin informs us that it is mentioned in the registries of the order, 1448.

Although Henry's strongest claim to the crown lay in his marriage with the heiress of the house of York, he did not treat the queen with the respect due to her; but manifested his indifference towards her, by delaying the ceremony of her coronation, till he was compelled to have it performed by the murmurs of the people, who were always attached to the house of York. The number of malcontents increased, and pretenders to the crown were set up, who disturbed a great part of his reign. The impostures of Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck, both supported by Margaret, sister of Edward IV., widow of Charles, duke of Burgundy, and the implacable enemy of the house of Lancaster, form some of the most peculiar features in the history of the English nation.

The king having some suspicion of the earl of Kildare's loyalty, who was his deputy in Ireland, wrote to him to repair to England, under pretext of consulting him on some matters respecting the welfare of the state. The earl, who dreaded some disagreeable result from this order, showed the king's letter to the parliament that were assembled in Dublin: whereupon the nobles wrote to the king, representing to him that the presence of the deputy was necessary in some matters of importance, and entreating of his majesty to dispense with his voyage for the present. The ecclesiastics who signed this letter, were the archbishops of Armagh

* War. de Annal. Hib. ad an, 1485.

† War. de Annal. Hib.

* War. de Antiq. Hib. c. 26.

† Allemant, Hist. Monast. d'Irl. p. 284.

and Dublin, the bishop of Meath, four abbots and a prior, all ecclesiastical lords who sat in parliament; the temporal lords were, viscount Gormanstown, and the barons of Slane, Delvin, Killeen, Howth, Trimlestown, and Dunsany. During this time, a faction was forming in favour of the White Rose. The person pitched upon to carry out its objects, was Lambert Simnel, son of a shoemaker or baker, who had been educated at Oxford, by a priest called Richard Symon, a man of learning. This young man had a prepossessing and noble aspect, and a lively understanding, and was to personate young Edward, earl of Warwick, son of George, duke of Clarence, in order to lay claim to the crown. This project, however, was for two reasons impracticable; first, the real Edward was in the tower; secondly, the right which Henry had acquired by his marriage with the heiress of Edward IV., excluded every other claimant. These circumstances did not prevent Simnel from acting the part of a prince. He was brought to Ireland, and presented to the deputy, the chancellor, the treasurer, and other noblemen of the English province, who received him with distinguished regard. He was acknowledged by all but the archbishop of Armagh, the bishop of Clogher, the Butlers, the baron of Howth, and the inhabitants of Waterford. The king being informed by the baron of Howth, of the triumphal entry of Simnel into Ireland, gave orders to have the real earl of Warwick taken from the tower, and led under a strong guard, through the streets of the city, to St. Paul's church, in order to undeceive the people. In the mean time, the duchess of Burgundy sent over two thousand men to Simnel, under the command of colonel Swart.

This army landed in Dublin, in the month of May; and the earl of Lincoln and lord Lovel repaired thither also; whereupon the supposed Warwick was solemnly crowned in the cathedral of the Trinity, called Christ's church, after a sermon preached by John Payne, bishop of Meath, who made known his right to the crown, in presence of the deputy, the chancellor, treasurer, the earl of Lincoln, lord Lovel, and several other noblemen, both spiritual and temporal, of the English province. A crown which had been found on a statue of the blessed Virgin, in a church bearing her name, was used for this ceremony. The new king was led through the city, followed by the acclamations of the people, to the castle, where a magnificent banquet was prepared. The parliament, and courts of justice were holden,

lawsuits carried on, statutes enacted, and all the acts of the council gone through in the name of this pretended prince. These acts were all, however, annulled in the time of Poynings, when deputy, in a parliament held at Drogheda, in 1494.

In the month of June, 1487, lord Thomas Fitzgerald, chancellor of Ireland, in order to unburthen himself, resigned his office to Rowland Eustace, baron of Portlester. Shortly after this, a fleet was prepared, by order of the council, for the expedition to England, and the pretender and his army, commanded by the earl of Lincoln, set sail, attended by lord Lovel, the ex-chancellor lord Thomas Fitzgerald, colonel Swart, a German, and other noblemen. On their landing in Lancashire, they were joined by Sir Thomas Broughton, who commanded a body of troops. With this reinforcement they marched towards Newark, where they met the king at the head of his army, and having come to an engagement, the victory was undecided for three hours, but at length declared in favour of Henry. Several lives were lost on the Pretender's side; the principal were those of John de la Pole, earl of Lincoln, Francis, viscount Lovel, lord Thomas Fitzgerald, Maurice Fitzthomas Fitzgerald, Sir Thomas Broughton, Plunket, son of baron Killeen, and colonel Swart, besides four thousand soldiers. Simnel was among the number of the prisoners: and having confessed his crime, the king, with unexampled clemency, granted him his life, and gave him a situation in his falconry, which he held till his death. After this victory, Henry marched towards the north, where he discovered more partisans of Simnel, amongst whom was the earl of Lincoln. Some of these he had put to death as an example; others he made pay large sums of money, and pardoned the least guilty. He then returned to London, where he was joyfully received, and in the month of November, on St. Catherine's day, his queen, Elizabeth, was crowned with great pomp, at Westminster.

In Ulster, Hugh M'Mahon taking advantage of the disturbances in the state, assembled his vassals, and committed dreadful devastation on the lands of the Anglo-Irish in the county Louth, from which he carried off large herds of cattle, and other goods. It is said that twenty-eight villages were burned in this expedition. Some parts of the province were visited, at this time, by rains and storms, which tore up trees by their roots, and threw down churches and houses.

About this time, Henry VII. wrote to the mayor and citizens of Waterford, expressing to them his satisfaction for their loyalty to him, and exhorting them to persevere in it. He gave them permission to seize upon the vessels and merchandise belonging to the inhabitants of Dublin, and others who traded with them, and turn them to their own advantage; some time afterwards he granted them privileges and immunities, as a reward for their fidelity.

The earl of Kildare, and other ministers of state, who had abetted the cause of Simnel, being informed of his defeat, sent a deputation to the king, avowing their crime, and imploring his forgiveness. The king, gratified with their submission, wrote to them, and having reprimanded them slightly, granted them a pardon, of which their future conduct should be a guarantee; while as a proof of his perfect reconciliation, he continued the earl in the government of Ireland, and gave him orders and instructions relative to the times. The king had indeed cause to suspect the fidelity of the people, and to dread, that, on the first opportunity, some sparks of rebellion would burst forth; but he did not deem it prudent either to employ rigorous measures, or send troops to Ireland to put down the remains of the York faction;* and lest he should weaken the colony, which was with difficulty maintained in a corner of the island, against the attacks of the old inhabitants, he confined himself to receive the submission of the guilty. For these purposes he sent Sir Richard Edgecombe with a commission to make his subjects renew their oath of allegiance, and to secure their fidelity for the future, by announcing to them his forgiveness. This minister, accompanied by a guard of five hundred men, arrived with five vessels, in the harbour of Kinsale, in the month of June, and as he was averse to come on shore, lord Thomas Barry went on board his ship, paid him homage for himself and his barony, and took the oath of allegiance. At the solicitation, however, of lord Courcy and the inhabitants, Edgecombe entered the town the day following, where Courcy did him homage in the church of St. Meltock; and with the inhabitants, took the oath of allegiance. After dining, he set sail for Waterford, the citizens of which he complimented for their fidelity to their king, of whose protection he assured them. He then sailed for Dublin, where he arrived on the 5th of July, and was honourably received by the mayor and citizens, at the gate of the

Dominican convent, which had been assigned for his residence during his stay. The earl of Kildare was absent at the time, on an expedition against the Irish; but having returned after a few days, Edgecombe, attended by the bishop of Meath, the baron of Slane, and other lords, waited upon him in the abbey of Thomas-court, where he resided. He there presented to him his letters from the king, his master, with manifestations of displeasure, and after a private conference, they separated without coming to any conclusive arrangement. The lord deputy went to his castle of Maynooth, and Edgecombe returned home.

In the beginning of these disturbances, the king obtained a bull from the pope to excommunicate the rebels; and by a similar authority, Edgecombe caused a general absolution to be proclaimed in Christ's cathedral on the following Sunday, for all those who should continue in their obedience to his majesty. The lord deputy having returned to Dublin, was absolved from his excommunication, during the divine service, and paid his homage to Edgecombe, in the large hall of the abbey of Thomas-court; the king's commissioner then announced his majesty's pardon, by putting a gold chain around the neck of the deputy, on the part of the king, in token of his perfect reconciliation. The form of an oath of allegiance was then drawn up, to be taken by the nobility and clergy; it was signed by Walter Fitzsimons, archbishop of Dublin, and his predecessor John Walton, John Payne, bishop of Meath, Edmond Lane, bishop of Kildare, John Purcell, abbot of Thomas-court, near Dublin, Walter Champflour, abbot of our Lady's, and John Cogan prior of Holm Patrick. Every thing having been settled to Edgecombe's satisfaction, he gave a magnificent banquet to the earl, and all the nobility, in the Dominican convent, and next day received in the Toulse, the oath of allegiance from Thomas Meyler, mayor of Dublin, and all the citizens, of which he took a copy, sealed with the seal of the city. He went afterwards to Drogheda, and from that place to Trim, where he received the submission and oaths of the inhabitants. Their example was followed by Nicholas Herbert, prior of St. Peter's of Newtown, near Trim, Richard Nangle, abbot of Navan, and James, abbot of Castlemartin, of the order of Bectiff. On Edgecombe's return to Dublin, he received the submission of Octavianus, archbishop of Armagh, Philip Bermingham, chief justice of the king's bench, and Thomas Dowdal, master of the rolls.

* Hib. Anglio. on the reign of Henry VII.

There were two persons not included in the pardon granted by Edgcombe to the king's subjects in Ireland; Keating, prior of Kilmainham, of whom we have already spoken, and Thomas Plunket, chief justice of the court of common pleas; they being considered as the instigators of Simnel's rebellion. The lord deputy and nobles solicited pardon for them from the commissioner. It was, however, granted only to the latter: Keating so far from obtaining forgiveness, was deprived of the office of governor of the castle of Dublin, which he had taken by force, and Richard Archbold, the old governor, was restored. Edgcombe having terminated his commission, returned to England, to give an account of his success to the king.

The lord deputy and council deputed the bishop of Meath to express to his majesty their gratitude for the favours he had just granted to his people in Ireland, and to convince him of their submission, in order to remove every imputation which their enemies might cast upon their conduct. This prelate acquitted himself so ably in this undertaking, that he prevented the archbishop of Armagh, though the king's favourite, from obtaining the office of chancellor, lest the jealousy which subsisted between him and the deputy might be renewed, and thus disturb that tranquillity so lately restored to the state.

Some time afterwards the deputy marched at the head of his troops, towards Kinalyach, in Westmeath, to check the incursions of Magheoghegan upon the English province, and surprised the castle of Bileragh. He laid waste the district of Moycashel, and carried away considerable booty, A.D. 1382; but was repulsed some time afterwards, by the Magheoghegans, and pursued to his castle of Maynooth, where he escaped their fury.

Henry VII., suspecting the loyalty of his subjects in Ireland, whom he knew to be attached to the house of York, made several of them come to England; namely the earl of Kildare, the viscounts Gormanstown, Fermoy, and Buttevant, the barons of Athenry, Kinsale, Delvin, Howth, Trimlestown, Slane, Killeen and Dunsany. These noblemen were presented to the king at Greenwich. Having given to each a reprimand in private, he was reconciled to them, and entertained them at a banquet. In order, however, to mortify their pride, Lambert Simnel, whom they had crowned some time before, performed to them the office of cup bearer. After this they had the honour of accompanying the king to a solemn procession at Greenwich. They then took leave of his Majesty, who dismissed them

with presents, and other demonstrations of his protection and friendship. It is mentioned that he made a present of three hundred pounds sterling to the baron of Howth.

Whilst these noblemen were at court in England, Maurice Bockagh, (the lame), earl of Desmond, was making war against his neighbours: he gained a victory over Morrough O'Carrol, who was killed in the action, with Moel-Murry, his brother; and a second over Dermot M'Carty, son of Thadeus, who was also killed. It is said that this earl was no loser by his troubles, as he added the estates of those with whom he made war, to his own possessions. It was thus that these new comers raised themselves at the expense of their neighbours.

Octavianus, archbishop of Armagh, convened a synod in the month of July, in the church of our Lady, at Atherdee, at which John Payne, bishop of Meath, Edward Courcy, bishop of Clogher, William O'Ferrall, bishop of Ardagh, George, bishop of Dromore, Donald O'Fallon, bishop of Derry, Menelaus M'Cornycan, bishop of Raphoe, and Walter Blake, bishop of Clonmacnoisk, attended. A difference arose at this synod, between Thomas M'Brady, and one Cormock, respecting the jurisdiction of the bishopric of Kilmore, which was left to the decision of the bishops of Meath, Clogher, and Ardagh; but their opinion is not recorded. They both, however, appeared six years afterwards, at the synod of Drogheda, each with the title of bishop of Kilmore.

It does not appear that the bishopric of Kilmore is very ancient.* It is not mentioned in the division of the bishoprics of Ireland, which took place in 1152, at the synod where cardinal Paparo presided. The first bishop of this district, who is to be met with in history, was Flanus O'Conacty, who died in 1231. This prelate and his successors were sometimes called bishops of Brefny, the ancient name of the district, and sometimes bishops of Triburna, an obscure village where they resided. Towards the middle of the fifteenth century, Andrew M'Brady was appointed to this bishopric; and dissatisfied with finding the episcopal see established in so inconvenient a place, he removed it, with the consent of pope Nicholas V., to the parish church of St. Felim, in a village called Kilmore, a short distance from Cavan. He erected this church into a cathedral, with thirteen canons and a dean: which establishment was confirmed the year following, by pope Calixtus III., so that since the above period, the diocese and the

* War. de Episc. cop. Kilmor.

bishops who governed it, have taken the name of Kilmore.*

Prince Arthur, eldest son of Henry VII., born in 1487, was declared prince of Wales in 1490. This year was remarkable in Ireland for tempests and frequent rains, which continued during the summer and autumn, and produced sickness, to which many fell victims.

At this time, six muskets were sent from Germany to the earl of Kildare; and were made use of by his guard, while they stood sentinel in his apartments. They were considered a rare present at that time since it is said, that fire arms were not then known in Ireland, (A.D. 1491.) Baker asserts, however, that Edward III., had them at the siege of Calais.†

Warm disputes, which ultimately led to a war, arose about this time between Conn-More O'Neill and Hugh Roe O'Donnel, two powerful princes in Ulster, one in Tyrone, the other in Tirconnel. These disputes were caused by a tribute which O'Neill demanded from O'Donnel, as if the latter held his estates under him. O'Neill first sent a letter written in the Irish language, which, from its singularity, and its being too laconic to tire the reader, may be introduced here: "*Cuir hogom me kiese, no mar à cuirhuir—*;" that is, "send me my rent, or if not—" To this O'Donnel replied in the same style, saying: "*Neel kiese à gut orm, agus da meh—*:" that is, "I owe you no rent, and if I did—" O'Neill was irritated by this reply, and hostilities began on both sides. Although the earl of Kildare strove to act as mediator between the two princes, they came to an

engagement, and many lives were lost on both sides; O'Neill had the advantage, but his death, which took place soon afterwards, and the advanced age of O'Donnel, which obliged him to give up the principality to his son Conn, put an end to this war.

The duchess of Burgundy, an intriguing woman, and the implacable enemy of the house of Lancaster, was still intent on her endeavours to disturb the reign of Henry VII. She first caused a report to be spread, that Richard, duke of York, brother and heir of Edward V., had not been put to death, but that, having escaped from the tower, he was still alive. She then sought for a young man who might be capable to act his part; and discovered one Peter Osbeck, afterwards known by the name of Perkin Warbeck, a native of Tournay, and son of John Osbeck, who filled the office of controller in that city, and Catherine de Faro, who was acquainted with the English language, and had, perhaps, taught it to her son. The duchess looked upon this young man as perfectly qualified for her views. She kept him with her some months, in order to initiate him into the manners of the court, and make him acquainted with every thing relative to the house of York; and taught him to assume the manners, and support the dignity of a prince, the part of which he was about to act. It is asserted too that he really resembled the prince, whom he was to personate. The better to conceal her designs, the duchess sent him afterwards to Portugal well equipped, and attended by persons to watch all his actions, till she should think fit to send him to Ireland.

Henry VII., who was well acquainted with Margaret of Burgundy's proceedings, thought prudent to change his ministers in Ireland, and put persons attached to his interests into office. He therefore nominated Gaspar, duke of Bedford, lord lieutenant, in place of the earl of Kildare, and Walter Fitzsimons, archbishop of Dublin, his deputy. Sir James Ormond, natural son of John, earl of Ormond, was appointed treasurer, in place of Eustace, lord of Portlester, who had filled that office for thirty-eight years, (A.D. 1492.) The new treasurer arrived in Ireland in the month of June, attended by a cohort of English troops. He had an altercation immediately with the earl of Kildare, which was followed by a battle disastrous to the families of the Butlers and Fitzgeralds, and to the colony in general, as the Irish took advantage of it, to lay waste the frontiers of the English province.

On the 22d of June, the same year, is

* Andrew M'Brady, first bishop of Kilmore, was of the noble family of the M'Bradys of Lochtee. The sept of the M'Bradys is a branch of the tribes of the Hy Brunes of Connaught, of which O'Connor was chief. They were anciently known by the name of Carbhullis, and according to Gratianus Lucius, owned the territory of Cabria, in Brefny, now the county of Cavan, as we have seen in the previous part of this history. It was in the thirteenth century that this family changed the name of Carbhullis, for that of M'Brada or Brady, from one of the chiefs, and that the name of Cabria was changed to Lochtee, at present a barony in the county of Cavan; the patrimony of this noble family, till the revolution caused by the tyrant Cromwell. This family gave several bishops to the church; Ware reckons five of Brefny, one of Ardagh, and one of Meath. It is probable that the latter embraced the reformed religion, as he was nominated by queen Elizabeth, to replace William Walsh, bishop of Meath, who was dispossessed, thrown into prison, and subsequently banished from the kingdom, for his attachment to the old religion.

† Chron. Engl. page 126.

fixed the birth of Henry, second son of Henry VII., and his successor on the throne, under the name of Henry VIII., so well known in history for his debaucheries, and the changes he effected in religion.

In the month of September, some of the state officers in Ireland were again changed; Alexander Plunket was nominated chancellor, Thomas Butler was appointed master of the rolls, and Nicholas Turner, chief justice of the court of common pleas. About this time, the earl of Ormond and the prior of Canterbury were sent on an embassy to the court of France; but were, however, recalled as soon as their master heard that Charles VIII., was about to form an alliance with Anne of Brittany.

The drought in Ireland this summer was so great, that the cattle died for want of water. It also caused contagious disorders, by which many lives were lost.

It was now time to bring forward Perkin Warbeck, (whom we left in Portugal,) to perform the part of Richard, duke of York, for which he was intended; and so well did he acquit himself, that it was doubted for some time whether he was in reality Richard, or an impostor. The duchess of Burgundy gave orders that Perkin should sail from Lisbon, for Cork, in Ireland, where he was honourably received by the citizens, and particularly by John Waters, an eminent merchant, and mayor of the city, in whose house, it is said, he was instructed how to act. The young pretender wrote immediately to the earls of Kildare and Desmond, to assist him against king Henry; but before their answer could be received, Charles VIII., invited him to go to France, where he was received in the kindest manner. He remained there till peace was concluded between that prince and the king of England, at the siege of Boulogne, after which Perkin withdrew to Flanders, where he was likewise well received by his supposed aunt, the duchess of Burgundy. This year was remarkable for the voyage of Christopher Columbus, and his discovery of the new world, which Seneca seems to have predicted in his *Medea*.*

Henry VII., to whom Columbus first applied, neglected, it appears, both his own interest and glory, by refusing the offer which this great man made to him in his projected voyage, and which Ferdinand of Castile contrived to turn to his own advantage.

* "Ages will arise in after years, when the Ocean will loose her chains, and the great globe will open; when the sea will develop new orbs, and that Thule will not be the extreme region of the earth."

The deputy of Ireland held a parliament in Dublin, in the month of June, 1493, in which some laws that had been enacted at the instance of Eustace of Portlester, were repealed. Matters having taken a change, and the partizans of the house of Lancaster being in office, Portlester himself was commanded to appear before the court exchequer, and render an account of his bad government while he filled the office of treasurer. The city of Waterford was restored to its ancient privileges and freedom, of which it had been deprived, and the crown lands were ordered to be recovered, which had been sold after the first year of Henry VI.'s reign. This parliament being dissolved in the month of August, the lord deputy resigned his commission to Robert Preston, viscount of Gormanstown. The new deputy summoned a meeting of the nobility and leading persons of the counties of Dublin, Meath, and Kildare, to Trim. On this occasion, the chancellor, with the earl of Kildare, the bishops of Meath and Kildare, the barons of Slane, Delvin, Killeen, Howth, Trimlestown, Dunsany, &c., were assembled. Articles for preserving the peace and welfare of the state were signed, amongst others, that no individual should make war unless authorized by the king or his deputy; that the extortions and taxes with which the people had been burdened, should be abolished, and that all vagrants, robbers, and murderers should be brought to condign punishment. Robert Preston then convened a parliament at Drogheda, the statutes of which were, however, declared null and void by a subsequent parliament, which was held the year following, in the same city, by the deputy Poynings, for the following reasons, viz.: that the duke of Bedford, lord lieutenant of Ireland, to whom Preston was deputy, had resigned his office before this parliament had been convened: that the parliament was not composed of members from the whole province, but from four counties only; and lastly, that, in the letters patent which the king had granted to the deputy, no mention was made of any power to convene parliaments.

In the month of October, Fitzsimons, archbishop of Dublin, ex-deputy in Ireland, went over to England to give the king an account, not only of his own administration while deputy, but also of the state of affairs in Ireland at the time. The earl of Kildare having learned that his enemies in England were injuring him in the king's opinion, went over also in November, to clear himself of the crimes which had been imputed to him. He was followed by the deputy, who con-

fided the care of government to his son during his absence, and by Ormond, the treasurer, who prevented his vindication from being received, and had him sent back to Ireland a prisoner, to be tried.

Sir Edward Poynings was at this time, A.D. 1494, appointed lord deputy of Ireland. His principal business was to suppress the revolt of Perkin Warbeck's partizans. He arrived there in the month of September, effected great changes amongst the state ministers, and put Englishmen by birth in their places; he nominated Henry Dean, bishop of Bangor, chancellor of Ireland; Sir Hugh Conway, treasurer; Thomas Bowring, chief justice of the king's bench; John Topcliff chief justice of the common pleas, and Walter Ever, chief baron of the exchequer. This deputy brought a thousand men with him to Ireland, with whom, and the other troops of the English province, he entered Ulster, under pretext that some of Perkin's adherents had taken refuge among them. It appears extraordinary that he should have been attended in this expedition by the earl of Kildare and Sir James Ormond, who had been deprived of the office of treasurer. He laid waste the districts of O'Hanlon, Magennis, and others. The earl of Kildare was suspected and accused of having conspired secretly with O'Hanlon, to destroy the deputy, but was afterwards declared innocent. The earl of Kildare's brother having, in the mean time, taken possession of the castle of Carlow, the deputy was obliged to give up what he had seized on in Ulster, to bring assistance to that place. For this purpose he made peace with O'Hanlon and Magennis, and marched direct to Carlow, which he besieged, and made himself master of in ten days.

The king, who kept a continual watch over the duchess of Burgundy, and the suppositious duke of York, sent his spies to Flanders, by which means the whole secret of the party was discovered, and several of the conspirators executed in England.

The archbishop of Dublin being at court, the king, who confided in him, frequently interrogated him respecting the state of affairs in Ireland. This prelate was one day present at a discourse delivered before the king; who having asked him what he thought of it, the prelate answered, with a freedom worthy of the ancient philosophers, that "if his highness was satisfied, he was so likewise," but that, at the same time, he thought his highness was too much flattered. "In good faith, father of Dublin," replied the king, "I think so too."

Poynings convened the celebrated parliament of Drogheda, in November, in which many statutes were enacted which are quoted by Ware, Cox, and others. Among them was one against the exaction of *Coyne and Livery*, and one against those who protected traitors; it was also expressly forbidden to all persons, under pain of high treason, to excite the ancient Irish to make war upon the English, but the most celebrated statute, which was called Poynings' law, made it illegal to convene any parliament in Ireland without informing the king, and apprising him of the motives for the meeting, and the laws which were to be passed in it; and further receiving the approbation of his Majesty and council, obtained under the great seal of England, for such meeting, and that every parliament convened otherwise than on these conditions, should be null and without effect.

This statute was not favourable to the Anglo-Irish, whose interests had already become different from those of the English. It was passed by a parliament, the chief men of which were, the deputy, chancellor, treasurer, and other influential ministers, themselves Englishmen by birth. The statute, however, was not always carried into effect, but was frequently suspended in the succeeding reigns.

Many other regulations that have not been printed were made in this parliament. Subsidies were granted to the king, and power given to the treasurer to govern the province in case of the death or resignation of the governor, till the king's pleasure should be made known. The knights of St. John of Jerusalem were allowed to recover the lands which had been disposed of by Keating, or his predecessor Thomas Talbot, and the grants which had been made by the kings subsequent to Edward II., were ordered to be revoked. By another act of this parliament, the earl of Kildare and his brother James were accused of high treason, on account of their intercourse with O'Hanlon, their having seized upon the castle of Carlow, and exacted *Coyne and Livery*, and lastly, for having entered into a secret treaty with the king of Scotland: the earl, however, cleared himself in England of all these crimes, and was restored to favour. The military society of St. George, which had been established in 1479, by an act of parliament, under Edward IV., was now suppressed.

Perkin Warbeck, who withdrew to Flanders, with the duchess of Burgundy, A.D. 1495, filled with the extravagant notion of his assumed greatness, and instigated by

his patroness, set sail for England with near six hundred men. On his arrival upon the coast of Kent he was badly received, and lost more than a hundred and sixty of his followers, who were made prisoners, and afterwards executed. He then sailed for Ireland, in hopes of meeting with a more favourable reception. Having remained some time at Cork and the neighbourhood, and finding it impossible that his adherents could support him against the superior forces of the deputy and other English ministers, he went over to Scotland, where he was honourably received, and with the consent of James IV., who was then king, married Catherine, daughter of Alexander, earl of Huntly, who was allied to the crown.

The king of Scotland, who had some cause of displeasure against Henry VII., availed himself of this opportunity to declare war against him. It is said that he was encouraged by letters which he received from the emperor Maximilian, Charles VIII., and Margaret of Burgundy, in favour of the impostor. However this was, he entered England in a hostile manner; but not finding among the English any partizans of the pretended prince, he laid waste the county of Northumberland, and returned to Scotland.

Poynings, having governed the English province in Ireland with prudence, and enacted wise laws, which were not, however, obeyed beyond the limits of the province, was recalled in the month of January, to receive the reward of his labours. The king, who was pleased with the services he had rendered him, made him a knight of the order of the Garter.

Henry Dean, bishop of Bangor, chancellor of Ireland, and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, was appointed in the month of April, 1496, lord justice of Ireland, in place of Poynings; William Ratcliff, vice-treasurer, and John Pimpe, secretary of war; and in the month of June following, Richard Nugent, baron of Delvin, was appointed general of the troops and commander-in-chief, for the defence of the counties of Dublin, Kildare, Meath, and Uriel or Louth.

Octavianus, archbishop of Armagh, convened a synod, in the month of July, at Drogheda, the acts of which have been lost.

On the return of Hugh O'Donnell from Scotland, he attacked and defeated O'Connor near Sligo. He then laid siege to the castle, but was forced to raise it on the approach of the Burkes of Clanrickard, who laid waste the frontiers of Tyrconnel.

New accusations were preferred against the earl of Kildare in England, where he

was arrested and thrown into prison, which caused the death of his wife Alicia, daughter of Rowland Eustace, baron of Portlester. He was accused in presence of the king, of having burned the church of Cashel, but was saved by the ingenuousness of his answers. His enemies then said that all Ireland was not able to govern him. "Is it so?" said the king, "he is then the fittest person to rule Ireland," and he immediately appointed him lord lieutenant by letters patent, dated 6th of August, and restored him to his dignities and possessions. He, however, detained Gerald, eldest son of the earl, as a hostage, to secure the loyalty of the father, who proved himself afterwards a faithful subject.

The earl having returned to Ireland with Elizabeth St. John, whom he had just married, and having received, according to custom, the sword of his predecessor, marched towards Thuomond against O'Brien, passed through Limerick, and took the castle of Felyback, which belonged to Finin-Mac-Nemara. He next took the castle of Ballynice, and other fortified places; after which expeditions he returned to Dublin, and was reconciled to Octavianus, archbishop of Armagh.

Dean, bishop of Bangor, having been recalled to England, Walter, archbishop of Dublin, was appointed chancellor in his stead. The king, by the advice of the lord lieutenant, resolved to grant a general pardon to all the noblemen who had been engaged in the affair of Perkin Warbeck, lest despair might instigate them to excite new disturbances; he therefore granted a general amnesty to the earl of Desmond, the archbishop of Cashel, the bishops of Cork and Waterford, and several of the principal men of Munster. He also had the liberties and charters of Youghal restored and confirmed, and extended its privileges.

The king of Scotland having made some efforts in favour of Perkin Warbeck, was forced to beg a peace from Henry VII. That king, however, would listen to no overtures till the king of Scotland would first give up the impostor from under his protection. Under this gloomy state of things, Perkin saw that he must leave Scotland. The king who was too generous to deliver him over to his enemies, supplied him with money to enable him to do so. He accordingly embarked with his wife and family for Ireland, A.D. 1497, and having arrived in Cork, found some friends there, who, however, were unable to render him any important services. In the mean time, an invita-

tion was sent to him by the people of Cornwall in England, who were ready to sacrifice every thing in his cause. He accordingly set sail, in the month of September, with his family, and about one hundred and twenty soldiers, and arrived at Whitesandbay, in Cornwall, although the inhabitants of Waterford despatched four vessels in pursuit of him. On his landing, he assumed the name and title of Richard IV., king of England, and was joined at Budmin, by a few thousand men, with whom he besieged Exeter.

The defence which the inhabitants made, being equal to the courage of the assailants, and Perkin seeing that the bravery and good will of his men were superior to their strength, and that the king's army was on its march; resolved to withdraw, and seek an asylum at Beaulieu, in Hampshire. He afterwards, however, surrendered himself a prisoner, and was brought to the tower, from which he escaped; but having been retaken and arrested in an attempt to escape a second time, he was hanged at Tyburn, with his friend John Waters, mayor of Cork.

The earl of Kildare was continually occupied in discharging the duties of his office. He convened a parliament at Trim, in the month of August, 1498, in which it was decreed, amongst other things, that all the custom-house laws which were enacted in England, should be adopted in Ireland.

A dispute happened at this time between Henry O'Neill, and his two nephews, Tyrlogh and Conn, respecting the principality of Tyrone, which the former, in opposition to their interest, usurped, after killing their father, Conn O'Neill. The earl of Kildare, who was the maternal uncle of these young noblemen, espoused their cause, and at the head of an army, entered Ulster, where he was joined by O'Donnel, Maguire, and other allies of Tyrlogh O'Neill. With this combined force he laid siege to Dungannon, forced Niall M'Art O'Neill, who was the commander, to surrender the castle, and set the prisoners at liberty, as well as to give hostages. Henry O'Neill having been killed, young Conn took possession of Tyrone, the patrimony of his ancestors, and the earl of Tyrone took the castle of Omev.

After the expedition to Ulster, the earl marched in October, towards Cork, where he placed a garrison, as he had reason to suspect the loyalty of its inhabitants. He obliged them and the citizens of Kinsale to take the usual oath, and made them give hostages. It appears that young Henry, second son of Henry VII., was appointed to

the office of lord lieutenant of Ireland, since, on the earl's return from Cork, he convened a parliament in Dublin in the month of March, and assumed the title of lord deputy to that young prince. Richard Talbot, who had governed the priory of St. John of Jerusalem in Ireland for some time, was recalled, and Robert Evers, an Englishman, was nominated prior, by the grand master of Rhodes.

Some religious houses were founded at this time in Ireland. Ware mentions the convent of Rosserelly to have been established in the county of Galway, in 1498, for Observantine monks, by an English lord called Gannard. At Invert, in the county of Antrim, there was a convent founded for the third order of Franciscans, by a Scotch nobleman. One also for the same order was founded at Dungannon in Tyrone, by Conn O'Neill, prince of that district. A house was established for them about the same time, at Clonrahan, in the county of Roscommon, by O'Connor Roe, an Irish nobleman, of the illustrious tribe of the O'Connors of Connaught.

Ireland produced some writers about this period. Philip Higgins, a Franciscan, wrote some sacred poems: he died in 1487. Pandarus, who is thought to have been the author of a book called, "Salus Populi," flourished at the same time. He treats in it on the cause of the miseries with which Ireland was afflicted, and points out a mode by which they might be remedied. Charles Maguire, a native of the county Fermanagh, and canon of Armagh, flourished at this time also. He was a learned philosopher, a deep theologian, and well versed in history. He wrote the annals of Ireland down to his own time, and died in 1495, at the age of sixty years. Donald O'Fihely, a native of the county Cork, wrote also the annals of his country to his own time, in the Irish language, which he dedicated to Florence O'Mahony. Ware mentions having seen them in manuscript in London.

The lord deputy undertook an expedition into Connaught, A.D. 1499, and seized upon the castles of Athleagh, Roscommon, Tuilsk, and Castlereagh, in which he placed a garrison. About this time, Tirlagh O'Brien, prince of Thuomond, after the death of Gilduff, had a dispute with Sir Pierce Butler, respecting the boundaries of their estates. It was terminated by a sanguinary conflict, in which Butler and his men were put to flight, leaving several dead upon the field of battle.

The lord deputy held a parliament at

Castledermod, in the month of August, which granted to the king and his successors, a tax of twelve pence in the pound, on all kinds of merchandise that were imported, except wine and oil. In this parliament it was enacted, that the nobility, when riding, should, like the English, make use of saddles, and attend parliament in their robes. Subsidies too, were permitted to be levied upon the people and clergy for the king's use.

The adherents of the house of York being still dissatisfied, sought means, after the death of Perkin, to rescue the natural son of Richard III. from prison, and make him undertake a similar part as Perkin; but the conspirators were discovered, and their attempts tended only to shorten the days of that young man.

The lord deputy returned to Ulster this year, to quell some sedition which had been raised against his nephew, Tyrlogh O'Neill. He took the castle of Kinard, in which he placed a garrison, and gave the command of it to Tyrlogh, A.D. 1500. The king, who was always inclined to mercy, pardoned the inhabitants of Cork, in the month of August, and extended their privileges by a new charter. This generous act was followed by one equally barbarous and cruel on the part of David Barry, archdeacon of Cork and Cloyne. He assassinated his brother, William Barry; but his crime did not long escape punishment; he was arrested, and put to death by Thomas Barry, and his body, after having lain twenty days in the earth, was taken up, and publicly burned, by order of the earl of Desmond.

Domnal O'Fallon, of the order of St. Francis, and bishop of Derry, died at this time, having governed that see for fifteen years; he was the most celebrated prelate of the church of Ireland in his time, for his erudition and preaching. He particularly excelled in the latter, which he exercised with applause, throughout the island, for thirty years.

A general peace prevailed in 1501, in the provinces of Leinster and Munster, whilst Connaught and Ulster, became a prey to sedition. The fort of Sligo, in Connaught, was scaled and taken by the troops of Rory, son of Tirlagh O'Connor, surnamed Curragh. The discord which prevailed between the nobility of Ulster, caused several of them to perish by the sword. The O'Neills gave battle to the Scotch, by whom they were attacked. It was fatal to the latter, who lost four of their captains, of the tribe of the M'Donnells, and about sixty soldiers.

William Shiroy or Joy, who was appointed

to the see of Tuam by the pope, in 1485, governed it for sixteen years and a few months. He died, A.D. 1501, and was succeeded by Philip Pinson.

This year was remarkable for two marriages that were celebrated in England. Arthur, the king's eldest son, and prince of Wales, married at the age of fifteen, the princess Catherine, daughter of Ferdinand, king of Spain, on the fourteenth of November; and on the 25th of January following, Margaret, the king's eldest daughter, and sister to Arthur, was given in marriage to James IV., of Scotland.

Prince Arthur died on the 2nd of April, having lived but four months and a half after his marriage, which was never consummated.* His young widow was given, six months afterwards, with the mutual consent of their parents, to his brother Henry, who was then but twelve years old; a dispensation being sought for their marriage. The death of Arthur was soon followed by that of his mother, queen Elizabeth, whose virtues made her an ornament to her sex, and the age in which she lived.

About this time there was a great mortality among the cattle in Ireland, and frequent seditions broke out in Ulster, which were accompanied by murders. In the month of April, 1508, the earl of Kildare was ordered to repair to England, both to give an account of the state of affairs in Ireland, and to receive fresh instructions relative to the government of the country. The earl having ended his business at court, was sent back with honour, and continued in his rank of deputy. He resumed on his return the reins of government, which he had confided in his absence to William Fitzsimons, archbishop of Dublin.

Towards the end of Autumn, the lord deputy undertook an expedition into Ulster, where he destroyed the castle of Belfast. He next entered Carrickfergus, and placed a garrison in the castle; the command of which he confided to one Staunton, and then returned to Dublin.

At this time, Theobald Burke, lord of Muskry Cuirk, in Munster, was killed in a skirmish by Donagh O'Carrol, and Cornelius O'Dwyer. About the same time, Malachy O'Kelly, and some of the Burkes, who had

* Cæterum Henricus septimus de medicorum concilio caveret ut gravis quedam Matrona in eodem cum illis thalamo sociata, videret, ne carne conjungerentur, eò quòd Arthurus decimum quintum ætatis annum vix dum attingens, ex lento præterea morbo laboraret, cujus tabe post quintum mensem confectus, ex hac migravit. Sanderus de Schis. Anglic. lib. 1, page 2.

taken his part, were defeated in Connaught, by Ulysses Burke.

On the 18th of February following, after the death of his brother Arthur, Henry, duke of York, was created, according to custom, prince of Wales and earl of Chester. Ten days afterwards, Gerald, son of the earl of Kildare, was appointed treasurer of Ireland, and took the oath in presence of the deputy and council, in Dublin.

David Creagh, a native of Limerick, and archbishop of Cashel, died at this time, and was succeeded by Maurice Fitzgerald. During the episcopacy of David, the earl of Kildare, caused St. Patrick's cathedral, in Cashel, to be burned; but it is a strange fact, that the complaint which the bishop made of it to the king, was rejected, although the earl acknowledged himself guilty. When asked why he had committed so great a sacrilege, he replied, swearing by his God, that he had done so, thinking that the prelate was in the church. The king, it seems, found sufficient merit in his answer, not only to grant him his pardon, but likewise to repose confidence in him, by appointing him deputy of Ireland.

Philip Pinson, an Englishman, of the order of St. Francis, and lecturer in theology, was appointed to the archbishopric of Tuam, by the pope, at the solicitation of Henry VII.* This prelate never went thither, having died of the plague at Rome, three days after his election. Two years after the death of Philip, the archbishopric of Tuam was given to Maurice O'Fihely, or Mauritius de Porter, a man celebrated for his learning. He is mentioned by John Camus, in the following words:—"Maurice à Porter," says he, "a native of Ireland, of the order of St. Francis, was celebrated for his profound knowledge in theology, logic, philosophy, and metaphysics. It is impossible to give an idea of his polite, and at the same time, holy and religious conversation. Having taught the sciences, with general approbation, during many years, in the university of Padua, he was nominated by pope Julian II., to the archbishopric of Tuam, whither he repaired, Italy being, at the time, a prey to the calamities of war. He died, however, soon after his arrival, deeply regretted by the learned world, having just attained his fiftieth year. He left many monuments of his learning, in manuscript, which were not published, on account of his premature death." Francis Gonzaga also makes mention of him.† "Maurice, an Irishman," says he, "revived the doctrine of John Scot,

by his commentaries on 'Universality.' He published also a dictionary of the holy scriptures." Possevinus speaks of him in the following manner:—"Maurice, an Irishman, a minorite and archbishop of Tuam, composed a dictionary of the holy scriptures, which was first printed at Venice, in 1603, by John Anthony and James Francis, by order of the most illustrious Mathew Zane, patriarch of Venice; but what remains of it at present does not go beyond the letter E. inclusive. Besides this, he explains, by commentaries, the whole doctrine of Scot, part of which was printed at Venice, by Simon de Luere, in 1500. In his exposition of Scot, the theorems were published at Venice, in 1514, by Lazare Soard. His "Enchiridion of the Faith," was published 1509, by Octavianus Scotus." John Grace also published a work of this author, entitled "Reportata." It is said that he wrote the "Life of John Scot," with a book of distinctions, which belongs to the Franciscans at Ravenna. He is thought to have been author of an abridgment of truth, in verse, and a work on Porphyrius, published at Venice, in 1519. Nicholas Maguire, bishop of Leighlin, wrote a chronicle at this time, which was of much benefit to Thadeus Dowling, in composing his Annals. He also wrote the Life of his predecessor, Milo, and began other works, which his death prevented him from completing.

Some houses were founded at this time for the third order of Franciscans. The convent of Kil O'Donnel was built in the beginning of this century by O'Donnel, prince of Tyrconnel. There were two other convents belonging to this order, in the same district; one at Killybeg, a sea port, built by M'Sweeney Banach; the other at Fanegara, by M'Sweeney Panid, both Irish noblemen.‡

Ulysses Burke, commonly called M'William, lord of Clanricard, in Connaught, made great preparations this year, for some expedition, the object of which could not be discovered. He made a league with other lords of his name, with Tirlagh O'Brien, prince of Thuomond, Mebrony O'Carrol, of Eile, and other noblemen in the south, with whom he began his campaign. Intelligence having been sent to the deputy, he collected all his forces and advanced towards Connaught, attended by several of the Nobles of Meath; namely, viscount Gormanstown, the barons of Slane, Delvin, Killeen, Howth, Trimlestown, and Dunsany. John Blake, mayor of Dublin, with his archers, and the inhabitants

* War. de Archiepisc. Tuam. War. de Script. Hib. in 35, cap. Solini.

† De Origin. Francise. part. 1, p. 88.

* In Appar. Sacro.

† War. de Antiq. Hib. c. 26. Alemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irlande.

of Drogheda; O'Donnel, O'Reilly, O'Ferral, bishop of Ardagh and lord of Annaly, (Longford) besides other chiefs, also joined the deputy. Both armies having met, on the 19th of August, A.D. 1504, within a few miles of Galway, at a place called Knock To, or Knock Tuah, which implies the "Mount of Axes," the action began, and the ground was disputed for some hours, with equal loss on both sides; but the Connaught army having at length lost ground, were routed, with the loss of two thousand men; and the deputy was victorious. His loss is not known. According to the book of Howth, says Ware, that of the vanquished amounted to nine thousand men; and in the white book of the exchequer, it is alleged, that not one Englishman was wounded in the deputy's army. Ware, however, rejects both statements, as incredible. After this victory, the deputy laid the country waste, and made himself master of the towns of Galway and Athenry, and carried off considerable booty. He also took the two sons of Ulysses prisoners; but the father escaped by flight. On his return, the earl distributed thirty barrels of wine among the soldiers who fought with him. It is affirmed by some, that this battle, in which so many lives were lost, was caused by a private dispute that occurred between the deputy and Clanricard. However, this may be, the king rewarded the deputy, by making him a knight of the garter.

Fitzsimons, archbishop of Dublin, was sent over to England, some time after this, by the deputy and council, to give to the king an account of his success, and on other matters of state. This prelate acquitted himself in the discharge of his commission, to the satisfaction of all parties.

A plague raged in Ireland, during this year, and was particularly malignant in Ulster. It interrupted the synod which the archbishop of Armagh had convened, first at Drogheda, and afterwards at Ardee. The plague was followed by a famine, caused by continued rains in the summer and autumn of 1505. The year following, a disastrous fire, caused by lightning, consumed the town of Trim, at that time the most considerable in Meath. In October, 1508, the lord deputy convened a parliament in Dublin, in which subsidies were granted to the king, by taxing the lands according to their produce.

The deputy proceeded on another expedition into Ulster, at the solicitation of his relations, the O'Neils, to assist them in recovering the forts of Dungannon and Omey, which had been seized upon by their enemies, A.D. 1509. The fort of Dungannon surrendered

before his arrival in Tyrone. He proceeded then against Omey, which he took by assault, and had it razed to the ground, after restoring Arthur, son of Conn O'Neill, to liberty, who had been a prisoner in the fort.

At this time, a convent for Observantine Franciscans was founded at Cruleagh, or Balli-Rourk, in the district of Leitrim, formerly Brefny, by O'Rourk, lord of that country.*

This was the last year of the reign and life of Henry VII. He was first attacked by the gout, and afterwards by a cold, and disease of his lungs; and died at Richmond palace, on the 22d of April, in the fifty-second year of his age, and twenty-fourth of his reign. He was interred with pomp, at Westminster. This prince was considered wise and valiant, and ranked among the best kings that have ruled over England. If we except a few acts of cruelty, which he had, perhaps, thought necessary to maintain himself upon the throne, he was naturally inclined to clemency. For the fair sex he manifested indifference, and for every bodily pleasure, to which persons in his station too generally think themselves entitled. His respect for religion appears from the confidence which he placed in the clergy, whose advice he followed in his most important undertakings. He was, from his youth, frugal without avarice, though this vice, gained strength in his latter years, to the injury of his subjects, which must be ascribed to his weakness. Finding his death approach, however, he ordered by his will, that all the money which his officers had raised unjustly in his name, should be restored.

CHAPTER XXXI.

HENRY VII. being dead, his only son, Henry, in whose person were united the claims of the houses of York and Lancaster, succeeded to the throne of his ancestors, on the 22d of April, 1509, at the age of eighteen years.† Having performed the funeral ceremonies of his father, he married Catherine of Arragon, his brother Arthur's widow, on the 3d of June following, (a dispensation being obtained from pope Julian II.,) and was solemnly crowned with her, on the 24th of the same month, in St. Peter's church, Westminster, by William Warham, archbishop

* War. de Antiq. Hib. c. 26. Alemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irlande.

† Polydor. Virgil. Anglie. Hist. lib. 27.

of Canterbury, to the great satisfaction of the whole kingdom.*

Henry applied himself so assiduously to study in his youth, that he was considered the most learned prince in Europe. On coming to the throne, he chose the most grave and wise among the nobles to be his counsellors: by whose aid he matured still more his capability for government, and submitted his authority to their prudence, on many occasions. The greatness of this prince's mind, the beauty of his person, his munificence, courage, and other great qualities, seemed to promise a happier and more brilliant reign, than that of which he has left so awful and disgusting a picture to posterity. The beginning of his reign, when kings generally display their best qualities, by performing acts of clemency, in order to make favourable impressions upon their people, was, however, stained by the death of Delapool, earl of Suffolk: that nobleman, who was detained a prisoner for a considerable time under the preceding reign, having died on the scaffold, by order of the new king. His treasures soon became exhausted in tournaments, balls, masquerades, and other amusements suited to a young prince, who wished to immortalize himself by the splendour of his court: and finding himself forced to supply the deficiency of his finances, sacrilege, and usurpation of the goods of others, were, ere long, resorted to by him.

On his accession to the throne, Henry found the earl of Kildare entrusted with the government of Ireland, as deputy. Not wishing to make any change in this country, that prince appointed him, by letters patent, to exercise the functions of lord justice; having informed him of the death of his father, Henry VII., and his own succession to the crown. All the other state officers he likewise confirmed in their respective posts, in consequence of which Henry VIII. was proclaimed in Dublin, and all the other towns in the English province, king of England and France, and lord of Ireland.

The earl of Kildare undertook an expedition this year, A.D. 1510, into Munster, in which he was unsuccessful.† Having collected the troops of Dublin, Meath, Kildare, and Louth, and being joined by Hugh O'Donnel, prince of Tyrconnel, he directed his march towards that province, where he took some strong places in the district of Desmond, and laid the whole country waste, without meeting any opposition; but his

army being loaded with their spoils and plunder, he was attacked in his retreat, at Monetrar, in the county of Limerick, by the enemy, headed by James, eldest son of Maurice, earl of Desmond, Tirlagh O'Brien, prince of Thuomond, and M^cWilliam of the family of the Burkes. The action was bloody, and the loss was very considerable, particularly on the side of the royalists, who owed their safety to the darkness of the night, which concealed them from their pursuers.

Robert Evers, prior of St. John of Jerusalem, in Ireland, after an administration of thirteen years, was recalled at this time, A.D. 1511,* by order of the grand master, resident in the island of Rhodes, for which no cause is given by historians. They merely mention that he was appointed to the commandery of Slebich, in the county of Pembroke, in Wales, and that he was succeeded in the priory of Ireland, by John Rawson, an Englishman, who was afterwards made a member of the king's privy council.

At this time Walter Fitzsimons, archbishop of Dublin died. He was a graduate in canon and civil law, a subtle philosopher, and profound theologian.† He had been grand chorister of St. Patrick's cathedral, from which situation he was raised by pope Sixtus IV. to the archiepiscopal dignity; had held the office of deputy under the duke of Bedford, viceroy of Ireland, and was afterwards chancellor. This prelate having governed the church of Dublin for twenty-seven years, died at Finglass, two miles from the city, and was interred in St. Patrick's cathedral. After the death of this prelate, Richard Skerrett, prior of Christ's cathedral, took, according to custom, possession of the crozier, of which he was the guardian, in virtue of his benefice, to give to his successor, whose name was William Rokeby.

Caher, or Charles O'Connor, prince of Offaly, was assassinated at this time, near the Franciscan convent of Monaster-Feoris, in the district of Offaly. A son was born this year to Henry VIII., and Catherine of Arragon. He was called Henry. His death, which took place a few days after his birth, was the cause of great sorrow, particularly to his parents.

The earl of Kildare marched at the head of his army into Ulster, A.D. 1512, where he took, and razed to the ground, the castle of Belfast, which had been recently re-built. History makes no mention of the earl's having

* Baker, Chron. on the reign of Henry VII. War. de Annal. Hib. reg. Henry VIII., cap. 1.

† Higgins' Short View.

* Ware, *ibid.* cap. 3.

† War. de Archiepisc. Dubliniens.

* James was not on the side of the king.
O'Brien - 6th Nov. 1510.

met with resistance in this expedition; he therefore burned and pillaged the country with impunity, and carried away considerable booty, which he distributed amongst his soldiers.

We must mention in this place the names of two great writers; Thomas Brown, a secular priest, who wrote the life of Nicholas Maguire, bishop of Leighlin, to whom he was chaplain;* and Thomas Fich, a regular, and sub-prior of Christ's church, Dublin, who wrote a book on the affairs of that church, called the "White Book."

There were other writers also at this time, Philip Flatishbury, of John's-town, near Naas, in the county of Kildare, according to Stanihurst,† wrote some chronicles, at the request of Gerald, earl of Kildare. Ware, who has compared these chronicles with those written by Pembrige, alleges that they are the same, and that Flatishbury made only a transcript of them with some additions. George Cogley, notary and register of the bishopric of Meath, wrote a catalogue of the prelates of that see, from Simon Rochford, who was the first English bishop of it, to the time of Hugh Inge of whom this author was contemporary.

A monk of the Cistercian order, belonging to the abbey of Duiske, in the county of Kilkenny, wrote the Annals of Ireland, by order of his abbot, Charles Cavenagh, which he continued till the time of the suppression of monasteries. He inserted them afterwards in the registry of the charters of this abbey.

Two convents for the third order of St. Francis, were founded this year in Ireland; one at Slane, in the county of Meath, by Christopher Fleming, baron of Slane, and his wife Elizabeth Stukely; the other at Bunamargy, in the county of Antrim, by a M'Donnell, of the house of Antrim.‡

Jealousy, the certain and usual source of discord, still prevailed between the Fitzgeralds of Kildare, and the Butlers of Ormond. These noblemen having embraced opposite parties in the wars between York and Lancaster, their greatness depended on the success of those rival houses.§ Ormond beheld with displeasure, the government of Ireland vested in the house of Kildare; of which feeling the deputy was aware, but yet was not sufficiently guarded against his artifice. Ormond wrote a polite letter to

him, representing that the public having accused him of being opposed to his government, he was desirous of coming to an explanation upon the subject. For this purpose he proposed to meet him in Dublin, in order to clear himself in his presence, at a public assembly, of these false imputations. Kildare readily acceded to it. Ormond set out on his march, at the head of an army, for Dublin, and took up his quarters in the abbey of Thomas-court, one of the suburbs of the city. The deputy and council were not less alarmed than the inhabitants of Dublin, at the approach of these troops, who committed dreadful excesses upon their march. Ormond, however, appearing to have nothing hostile in view, sent to inform the deputy of his arrival; told him he was ready to perform all that he had promised in his letter; and that no uneasiness need be apprehended on account of the troops. He knew, he said, that evil-minded persons had cast imputations on his conduct; but he trusted to be able to exculpate himself on the first opportunity in the opinion of his highness. The earl of Kildare, who was flattered by this communication, sent word to the earl of Ormond to repair, on a day appointed, to St. Patrick's Cathedral, that they might treat together; but instead of seeking measures of reconciliation, the earls began their conference by reciprocal abuse, and their example was followed by the people. The citizens had an altercation with the troops of Ormond, respecting the tyranny and oppression they exercised in the city and the suburbs. In the mean time, a company of armed archers entered, who increased the confusion, by endeavouring to kill the earl of Ormond, as the principal cause of the disturbance. The earl, seeing the danger he was in, hastened into the chapter house, and shut himself up, by closing the door after him. He was pursued by the earl of Kildare, who promised, on his word of honour that nothing mischievous should occur to him. Ormond, however, having asked him for his hand, as a security for his life, a hole was cut in the door, and the two noblemen shook hands through it, as a token of being reconciled. This ludicrous scene is mentioned by Cox and Holingshed, an English writer. The church having been profaned in this sedition by the blood of some persons who had been killed, and disrespect manifested for the images, which were pierced with arrows, a legate was deputed by the pope to have the whole affair investigated. As a penance, and to expiate the sacrilege thus committed, he

* War. *ibid.* cap. 4.

† War. de Scrip. *Hib.* cap. 7.

‡ War. de Antiq. *Hib.* c. 26. Allemand, *Hist. Monaast. d'Irlande.*

§ Cox, *Hib. Anglic.* p. 232.

commanded that the lord mayor should walk barefooted through the city, preceded by the holy sacrament, carried in procession, on Corpus Christi day, which penance was duly performed by that magistrate.

The earl of Kildare, who was continually intent on great designs against the Irish, collected all his forces, and began his march in August, 1513, toward Eile, the country of the O'Carrolls;* but having fallen sick at Athy, he was removed to Kildare, where he died on the 3d of September. His body was brought to Dublin, and honourably interred in Christ's cathedral, to which he had been a benefactor. The army being disheartened by the death of their general, dispersed immediately; and thus ended the projects of this great man, in the midst of his career, at a time he promised himself most glory and success.

Gerald, son of the deceased earl of Kildare, being treasurer at that time, was appointed lord-justice by the council, in place of his father, in virtue of the law enacted by parliament, in the preceding reign. He was afterwards appointed deputy by letters patent from the king. Crompton was made chancellor, and Christopher Fleming, baron of Slane, treasurer. The other offices were filled up with all possible despatch.

Whilst the lords of the English province were regulating their affairs of state, the Irish were making incursions on their lands: the O'Morras and O'Reillys were up in arms, and Donald M'Guillin took the fort of Dunluse, in Ulster, by assault.

This year was remarkable for the death of two celebrated members of the church of Ireland, namely, the archbishops of Tuam and Armagh.

Maurice O'Fihely, or *De Portu*, was born near Baltimore, in the county of Cork.† He embraced the order of the Minor Franciscans, and was educated at Padua, in Italy, where he became celebrated for his erudition, and took the degree of doctor in theology. He was promoted to the see of Tuam by Pope Julian II.‡ in which character he attended the two first sessions of the council of Lateran. He came to Ireland the year following, and having fallen sick on his arrival in Galway, he died in the month of May, at the age of fifty years, and was interred in the convent of his order. We have already spoken of his learning and literary productions. He was succeeded in the see of Tuam by Thomas O'Mullaly or Lally.

* War. *ibid.* cap. 5.

† War. de Archiepisc. Tuamens.

‡ Biny, Concil. l. 9.

Octavianus De Palatio, a native of Florence, and doctor in canon law, was nominated to the archbishopric of Armagh in 1480, by Pope Sixtus IV.* He governed that church, and held several synods during thirty-three years. His death took place at an advanced age, and he was interred in the church of Drogheda. His successor was John Kite.

In order to check the inroads which the Irish were making on the English province, the earl of Kildare advanced with his army into the district of Leix, and defeated the O'Morras, A.D. 1514; he then passed through Brefney, where he attacked the O'Reillys, killed Hugh their chief and razed the castle of Cavan to the ground; after which he burned the surrounding country, and returned home loaded with spoil.

Kildare having been obliged to go to England on some affairs of moment, A.D. 1515, William Preston, viscount Gormans-town, was appointed lord justice during his absence.† On his return, he convened, by orders of the king, a parliament in Dublin, in which the liberties and prerogatives of the church and kingdom were confirmed, and subsidies were granted to the crown. The custom was then abolished, which authorised an appeal in suits of law, from Ireland to England, in virtue of the privy seal, unless the plaintiff became responsible to the court of chancery in Ireland, for the costs and expenses of the lawsuit, in the event of a verdict being granted in favour of the defendant.

William Rokeby, archbishop of Dublin, was appointed chancellor of Ireland, by letters patent from the king; which office he held till his death.

Thomas Butler, earl of Ormond, died in London, in the month of August. He had been ambassador to France, and member of the privy council; and took his seat in the English parliament, in precedence of the barons. He was the richest of all the king's subjects: and besides his plate and jewels, left forty thousand pounds sterling, in ready money. Having no male children, he bequeathed all the property he possessed in England, amounting to thirty thousand pounds sterling, per annum, to his two daughters, Ann and Margaret, the elder of whom had been married to Sir James St. Leger, and the second to Sir William Bollen, son of Geoffry Bollen, mayor of London, by whom she had Sir Thomas Bollen, so

* War. de Archiepisc. Ardmach.

† War. *ibid.* c. 7.

well known under Henry VIII. The earl's property in Ireland, with the Ormond title, reverted to Pierce Butler of Carrick, his heir in a collateral line; but the king, some time afterwards, made him resign it in favour of Sir Thomas Bollen, and created him earl of Ossory. Bollen having died without an heir, the title of Ormond was restored to Butler, who thereupon resigned that of Ossory.

The lord deputy was continually intent on conquering the Irish. In 1516 he entered the district of Imayle in the county of Wicklow, at the head of his troops, where he killed Shane O'Tool in battle, and sent his head to the mayor of Dublin.* He then marched into the territory of Eile, against O'Carrol, where he was joined by such of the nobility of Leinster and Munster, as were of English descent; amongst whom were Pierce Butler, earl of Ormond, and James, eldest son of the earl of Desmond. With these reinforcements he penetrated still farther, and laid siege to the castle of Lemevan, which he took, after a siege of eight days, the garrison having abandoned and dismantled it. Inflated with pride and confidence from these successes, he marched with all possible diligence towards the town of Clonmel, situated on the river Suire; the inhabitants of which terrified at his approach, surrendered on certain conditions. The campaign being thus ended, he returned home with hostages and prisoners. The following year, 1517, Kildare carried the war into Ulster. He entered the district of Lecale, and surprised the fort of Dundrum, from which the English had been driven by the Irish, some time before.† He took Phelim M'Gennis prisoner, in an engagement in which he lost several of his men, and burned the neighbouring villages. He then marched to Tyrone, which he laid waste, and burned the fort of Dungannon; and having enriched himself with booty in this expedition, returned to Dublin.

A desire for plunder induced the inhabitants of Dublin to collect in bodies at this time. They went out of the city well armed to ravage the territory of Imale, in the county of Wicklow, but were soon put to flight with considerable loss, by the sept of the O'Tools, who pursued them to their very gates. The coldness of the weather caused hostilities to cease for some time; the frost being so intense that the rivers were frozen over, and supported the heaviest carriages, a circumstance which seldom occurs in Ireland.

Henry VIII. had three sons by Catherine

of Arragon, who died in their infancy; and likewise a daughter called Mary, born at Greenwich, A.D. 1517, who afterwards became queen of England.* The education of this princess was confided to Margaret, niece of Edward IV., a virtuous lady, and mother of Reginald, afterwards cardinal Pole. Mary was declared princess of Wales, and heiress to the crown, by the king her father, who sent her, attended by a brilliant court to Wales, to assume the government of that principality. She was sought for in marriage by many of the neighbouring kings and princes A.D. 1518. One of the conditions of the peace concluded by Henry with France, after the battle of the spurs, and the taking of Therouane and Tournay, was, that the dauphin of France should marry the princess Mary, who was then only two years old, so soon as she should be marriageable.

The inheritance of Thomas Butler, earl of Ormond, was warmly disputed between Pierse Butler of Carrick and Sir James Ormond, each of whom declared himself his heir. Although the right of Pierse was indisputable, his grandfather, Edmond Butler, having been cousin-german to the deceased earl, Thomas; still, James Ormond, natural son of John Butler, brother to the last earl, and a popular character, who had held for some time the office of treasurer of Ireland, took possession of the entire property, leaving nothing to the lawful heir, who had married Margaret, sister of the earl of Kildare. The dispute was at length terminated by the death of James Ormond, who was killed between Dromore and Kilkenny by his opponent, who by this means recovered his right.

Rokeby, archbishop of Dublin, and chancellor of Ireland, convened a provincial synod in Dublin, the canons of which are to be met with in the registry of the bishopric of Ossory. Some differences having arisen between Arthur O'Neill, a prince of the house of Tyrone, and O'Dogharty, O'Neill marched into the peninsula of Inis-Owen, the country of O'Dogharty, where he put all to fire and sword.

The great authority of the earl of Kildare, who was still deputy in Ireland, created enemies for him, who left nothing undone to render him suspected by the court of London. He was accused, A.D. 1519, of having governed unjustly, and particularly of having enriched himself, by appropriating the revenues and lands of the crown to his own use,

* Ware, *ibid.* cap. 86.

† War. *ibid.* cap. 9.

* Sander. de Schis. Anglic. Edit. Ingolstadt. lib. 1, p. 4, et seq.

and of having tried to conciliate the friendship of the Irish, so as to attach them to his interests. The influence of Cardinal Wolsey was made use of, to oblige him to go to England, in order to clear himself of these charges. Previous, however, to his departure, he substituted in his place, with the king's permission, Maurice, son of Thomas Fitzgerald of Lackagh, his relative, with the title of lord justice. The earl having presented himself at court, his case was examined into before the council: during which investigation, he married Elizabeth Grey, daughter of the marquis of Dorset. This alliance having procured him friends in England, he was restored to the king's favour, whom he accompanied to France, and was present at the interview between the kings of France and England, which took place near Calais, between Ardres and Guisnes, at a place called the field of the Cloth of Gold, from the splendour of the meeting of the two princes.

At this time cardinal Wolsey possessed the unbounded confidence of the king: * having from being a man of obscure origin, become the most powerful subject in the kingdom. This prelate, called Thomas at his baptism, was the son of a butcher at Ipswich in Suffolk. He was educated at Oxford, in Magdalen college, where he evinced a particular fondness for study. His fortune was first raised by the marquis of Dorset, who gave him a living. His second patron was John Naphant, treasurer of Calais, who presented him to Henry VII., which monarch having a matter of importance to negotiate with the emperor Maximilian, entrusted Wolsey, who was then his chaplain, with his despatches. So promptly was this commission performed, that Wolsey had returned to England, when it was supposed he could scarcely have arrived at the imperial court. The king was so pleased with the success of his envoy, that he conferred upon him the deanery of Lincoln, and subsequently made him his almoner, which office he held on the accession of Henry VIII., to the throne. The favour of this prince he secured to himself so well that he was appointed a member of his council, and successively bishop of Tournay, Lincoln, archbishop of York, and lastly, cardinal and legate, chancellor of England, and bishop of Winchester. He was abbot of the convent of St. Alban's, and possessed likewise the revenues of the episcopal sees of Bath, Worcester, and Hereford, which he held like farms from foreign titular bishops, who did not reside in the kingdom; besides

several priories and other benefices. So great was the splendour to which he attained, that he kept an almost incredible number of officers and servants in his household; and when sent by the king as an ambassador to the court of France, he brought with him, in his train, twelve hundred horses, eighty chariots, sixty mules, and other parts of his retinue in proportion. Splendour cannot be supported without wealth, and Wolsey was insatiable in his pursuit of it. Man generally possesses many passions, but one usually preponderates, in which the others seem to centre. The cardinal's ruling passion was ambition. He aspired to nothing less than the papal chair, for which object he sought to obtain the friendship and influence of Charles V.* This emperor, who looked upon him as necessary to aid him in carrying his plans into effect, began to display much regard towards him by a frequent correspondence, and in the letters which he wrote, he signed himself, "*Charles your son and relation.*" The emperor gave him cause to hope that he would use his influence, to have him elected to the see of St. Peter, on the death of Leo X., provided, however, that he would influence the king of England to unite with him in a war, offensive and defensive, against France. The cardinal endeavoured to fulfil these conditions, but finding his hopes frustrated, upon the death of pope Leo, by the election of Adrian VI., at the recommendation of Charles, whose preceptor he had been, he thought it prudent to dissemble for a while, and await the death of Adrian. He then discovered that this prince had no longer the same regard for him, and that, after Francis I., had been taken at the battle of Pavia, he wrote to him but seldom, and in a hand different from his own, subscribing himself simply, "*Charles.*" He accordingly formed a plan of being revenged, by espousing the cause of France; which was the real motive for the pains which Wolsey took to procure the divorce of Catherine of Arragon, queen of England, and maternal aunt of Charles V. As we shall have frequent occasion to speak of the cardinal, we have thought this digression necessary, in order to elucidate his character, and make it known. In the sequel we shall witness his fall and ruin.

Wolsey having represented to the king that his affairs in Ireland were too much neglected, and that it was of absolute necessity to confide the government of it to a man of impartiality, wholly unconnected with the factions by which that country was torn, and

* Baker's Chron. on the Reign of Henry VIII.

* Sanderus, *ibid.* lib. 1, page 8.

which caused so much blood to flow, recommended and caused Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey, to be appointed, less, however, it is said, through love for this nobleman, than hatred for the earl of Kildare.

The earl of Surrey, lord admiral of England and Ireland, and knight of the garter, having been nominated lord lieutenant of Ireland, A.D. 1520, landed in Dublin, the week before Pentecost, with his wife, daughter of Edward duke of Buckingham.* He was escorted by one hundred men as a guard, and a thousand soldiers, cavalry and infantry. This viceroy had no sooner assumed the reins of government, than he received intelligence that Conn Backagh O'Neill, prince of Tyrone, was advancing, at the head of an army, to devastate the county of Meath, which was not in a state to defend itself.† Hoping to signalise the beginning of his administration by a victory, the governor collected the provincial troops, with those he had brought from England, and marched towards Slane; but O'Neill had already returned to Ulster. Paulus Jovius asserts that the prince of Ulster had four thousand cavalry and twelve thousand infantry, and that the viceroy, not deeming it prudent to attack him, endeavoured to conciliate him by presents. The truth is, that O'Neill made his peace with the king by letters, and was restored to favour.

Surrey wrote to Wolsey in the month of September, to inform him that some soldiers who were taken as pirates upon the coasts, were thrown into prison; but complained to him that his commission did not authorise him to have them put to death. In order to make the cardinal his friend, he informed him that the earl of Kildare was fomenting a rebellion in Ireland, and that he had written for that end some letters to O'Carroll; and that the country would be lost if he were permitted to return. He added, that so great was the scarcity of provisions in Ireland, that a soldier could not subsist himself on four pence a day, and asked that a penny might be added to their pay.

This address from the deputy to Wolsey, was, perhaps, the cause of a letter which the king wrote to him in the month of October following.‡ This prince, who began to discover that it was imprudent, and even unjust, to endeavour to make the Irish pass for enemies in their own country, informed him that in order to keep peace with them, and introduce a form of government amongst them, it

was necessary to grant them the privileges of the law. He then sent him a more extended commission, with the power of creating knights, and ordered him to confer the degree of knighthood upon O'Neill and other Irish noblemen; and also to propose a marriage between the son of the earl of Ormond, and the daughter of Sir Thomas Bollen. Lastly, the king sent O'Neill a gold collar, as a pledge of his friendship, and wrote to the deputy to endeavour to induce him to go to court.

Maurice, son of Thomas Fitzgerald of Lackagh, of whom we have already spoken, was killed in an engagement, by the O'Morras of Leix; the cause of which is not mentioned by historians. Maurice, earl of Desmond, having died, James, his son and successor, repaired to Waterford to the lord deputy, who laboured with success to effect a reconciliation between the houses of Desmond and Ormond.

Two convents were founded at this time in the county of Antrim, for friars of the third order of St. Francis; one at Masserin, by O'Neill, another at Limbeg, by M'Donnel of Antrim.*

The O'Byrnes, of Wicklow, having taken up arms, the earl of Surrey marched against them with a formidable army, A.D. 1521; but he had no difficulty in reducing a light armed, and inexperienced soldiery, his army being superior both in numbers and military discipline. He disbanded the company of Bulmer, consisting of fifty horsemen, for having shown marks of cowardice in this expedition.

The deputy convened a parliament in Dublin, in the month of June, in which laws were made relative to the state of affairs at that time.† It was enacted that the burning of houses or ricks of corn, either through design or premeditated malice, should be subject to the same punishment as felony. The exportation of flocks and of wool was prohibited under the penalty of a fine and confiscation. It was enacted likewise, that from the small number of subjects in the counties subject to the laws of England, a man worth ten marks a year might be appointed a juror on public trials. This parliament, which was several times prorogued, terminated its sittings in the month of May following.

The deputy having received intelligence in Dublin, that the O'Morras, O'Connors Faly, O'Carrolls, and other Irish chieftains, were threatening the frontiers of the English province, gave orders to have his forces col-

* Ware, *ibid.* cap. 12.

† Cox, *History of Ireland*, on the reign of Henry VIII.

‡ Cox, *History of Ireland*, page 209.

* War. de Antiq. Hib. Allemand, *Hist. Monast. d'Irlande.*

† War. *ibid.* cap. 13.

lected. He intended both to repel the enemy and revenge at the same time the death of Maurice, son of Thomas Fitzgerald, who had been killed the preceding year by the O'Morras. The deputy was soon joined by the militia of Dublin and Drogheda, under the command of the mayors of those cities, and several noblemen followed by their vassals, to whom a few Irish nobles, with their light cavalry, were also added. All these troops being joined to the forces which the deputy had brought from England, and supported with some pieces of cannon, which were not at that time made use of by the Irish, formed an army that was more than equal to put down men that were badly armed. Notwithstanding this, the English make a boast of their victories. All things being prepared the deputy marched at the head of his army towards the district of Leix. The Irish troops were divided into companies, headed by their respective chiefs. This was done apparently with a view of harassing the enemy, as they were not strong enough to face them in a body. One of these detachments made a vigorous attack upon the baggage of the enemy, and put a body of English who were guarding it to flight; but being promptly relieved by the enemy, the Irish lost the glory of this action, and the hope of a rich spoil. An accident which occurred to the deputy, proved the danger he would incur, by penetrating the district of Leix. As he was passing a defile at the head of his army, a musket shot was fired at him which, but for his helmet, must have been fatal. The man who fired it was put to death upon the spot. The deputy not finding himself secure, turned his arms towards Offaly, and laid siege to a monastery, called Monaster-Feoris, where O'Connor kept a garrison. The walls of the convent could not long withstand the battering of three pieces of cannon, and the garrison, alarmed at this new mode of carrying on a siege, escaped during the night, and abandoned the place to the deputy, who left a detachment to guard it. With the rest of his troops he laid the neighbouring country waste. Little booty, however, was found in it, as O'Connor took care to have all the corn, cattle, and every thing necessary for the subsistence of an army, carried away.

In the mean time, O'Connor, with O'Carrol and other allies, made incursions into Meath, either to create a diversion or to be revenged for the tyranny that was exercised over them, and thereby prevent the English in that country from uniting with the deputy. However this may have been, they found themselves, on their return, in front of the

English army, whose superior numbers were a just cause of alarm. They resolved therefore to act on the defensive, and to fight retreating; by which both parties sustained considerable loss. Among the English, Edward Plunket, lord of Dunsany, in that county, whose descendants have since borne the title of barons of Dunsany, was found among the slain.

About this time, Aodh, or Hugh O'Donnel, prince Tyrconnel, returned from a pilgrimage to Rome, and made a truce with the king of England. He wrote some letters on this occasion to the deputy, promising to assist him against his enemies. The deputy received his proposal gladly, calculating upon his alliance and that of O'Neill, who provided him with four hundred horse, and twelve hundred light armed troops. An expedition was now undertaken against O'Malahlin of Clonlolan, a powerful nobleman, descended from the kings of Meath.* O'Neill and O'Donnel were the chiefs of two rival houses in Ulster, as M'Carty and O'Brien were in Munster. These noblemen were often known to sacrifice every thing, even the welfare of their country, to their private resentments. O'Donnel, finding his neighbour and friend ready to fall, under the united efforts of the deputy and Tyrone, thought it prudent, notwithstanding the peace he had lately concluded with the former, to cause a diversion in favour of O'Malahlin; and for this purpose he invaded Tyrone, whereby O'Neill was forced to abandon his ally, in order to defend his own patrimony, by which means the enterprise against O'Malahlin proved abortive.

A war broke out at the same time in Munster, between Cormac Mac-Carthy of Muskerry, commonly called Cormac Oge Lader, and James, earl of Desmond.† William Rokeby, archbishop of Dublin, and other commissioners, were deputed to settle their differences, and repaired for that purpose to Waterford, but their efforts failed, as Desmond would hear of no settlement, but continued to pillage and lay waste the lands of M'Carty. The latter was a brave and powerful nobleman; and being joined by Mac-Carty Riagh, the O'Mahonys, and other lords of Carbury, he met the earl near the monastery of Morn, otherwise More, or Ballinamony, which was a commandery belonging to the order of Malta, between Mallow and Cork. A sanguinary engagement took place in September, between these noblemen and

* Camd. Brit. page. 754.

† Ware, *ibid.* c. 13.

the earl, which was fatal to him; his uncles John and Gerald were made prisoners, and more than a thousand of his men fell on the field of battle, the earl, however, saved himself by flight.

John Kite, a native of London, having held the commission of legate or ambassador for Henry VIII., in Spain, was appointed to the archbishopric of Armagh, in 1513, by pope Leo X.* This prelate, says our author, was celebrated for his hospitality and the goodness of his table. He resigned the see of Armagh in 1521, and was succeeded by George Cromer.

About this time, William Rokeby, the archbishop of Dublin, died.† He was first nominated to the bishopric of Meath, in 1507, by Julian II., and admitted, the same year, into the council of Henry VII. In 1511 he was removed to the archbishopric of Dublin, by the same pope, and was afterwards made chancellor of Ireland. He convened a provincial synod, the statutes of which are in the Red Book of the church of Ossory. His body was interred in St. Patrick's cathedral, and his heart brought to England, and deposited in the tomb of his ancestors. His successor in the see of Dublin was Hugh Inge.

The earl of Surrey, lord deputy of Ireland, finding it impossible to reduce the Irish, or support himself honourably in the government of the country, for want of money, (the treasury in England being exhausted) solicited cardinal Wolsey to have him recalled, which request was granted him. He returned to England with all his family, and the troops he had taken with him. By order of the king, Piers or Peter Butler, earl of Ormond, his friend, was appointed deputy in his stead. Surrey was kindly received, on his return, by the king, and appointed to the command of his fleet, in the war against France. Ormond, finding that the Irish forces were considerably weakened by the departure of the English troops, and dreading an invasion from the Scotch, requested the cardinal to order that six ships of war should cruize between Ireland and Scotland, to act as a check upon that people.

CHAPTER XXXII.

WE have now arrived at the period of the fall of religion in many of the states of Europe, and of the glory of Henry VIII. king of England. If it be painful to behold an ambitious and profligate monk oppose him-

self to a religion, which he should, from his station, have supported even with the loss of life; it is, on the other hand, edifying to see a king acting the part of a divine in its defence.

Before the beginning of the fifth century, all the nations of Europe were united in the same worship, the same sacrifice, the same sacraments, and in subordination to the same head in matters of religion. Though there were a few sects who differed in some points from the common faith, such as the Vaudois in the valleys of Piedmont, the Lollards in England, and the disciples of John Huss in Bohemia; still they were but obscure characters, whose influence could make little impression against the unity in religion, and submission to the legitimate authority of the church, which prevailed at the time. Martin Luther, of Wirtemberg in Saxony, and a friar of the order of St. Augustin, was more successful. Being jealous of the preference which Leo X. had given to the Dominicans, by allowing them to preach certain indulgences, he began in 1517, to excite controversies, and refute those indulgences, together with other points of the Catholic tenets in religion. Being condemned in a bull issued by the pope in 1520, he no longer kept any terms with the holy see. He was, as he himself acknowledges in the preface to his works at Wirtemberg, alone in the beginning, and diffident of succeeding, but finding himself supported by Andrew Carlstad, archdeacon of Wirtemberg, and Philip Melancthon, professor of Greek in that university, who embraced his doctrine, and protected by his sovereign, the elector of Saxony, he removed the mask, and used his pen in publishing the most heinous and calumnious attacks upon the spouse of Jesus Christ, and the pope, whom he termed Antichrist. In 1525, he married Catherine Boren, a nun, who found means to escape from her convent, in defiance of the solemn vows of chastity they had both made, when embracing the monastic life; imitating therein Carlstad, who had married some time previously. Their example was followed in this respect, by most of the early preachers of the Protestant religion. These new reformers first took the name of Evangelicals; as heretics always boast of the authority of the Scriptures and the holy fathers, and by forced interpretations, make them appear to favour their own views. They were afterwards called Protestants, in 1529, from the protest made by six princes of the empire, and fourteen towns, when the diet of Spires had published a decree against them.*

* War de Archiep. Ardmach.

† Idem. de Archiep. Dublinens.

* Sleidan, lib. 6. Osiander. lib. 2, cap. 9.

Luther was specially protected by Philip, landgrave of Hesse, to whom this false apostle gave permission to keep two wives at the same time, and his doctrine spread itself through the north of Germany, the kingdoms of Denmark and Sweden, and a part of Poland. Avarice and cupidity had a considerable share in their sudden conversion.* Frederick I. having dethroned his nephew Christiern II. began his reign in Denmark, in 1522, and introduced Lutheranism into that kingdom, through the ministry of Bugenhagen, a Lutheran of Pomerania. All the bishops who would not subscribe to the reformed tenets, were dispossessed, and others nominated in their stead, whose power and revenues were considerably lessened. The same system took place in Sweden in 1523. King Christiern was expelled by Gustavus Eric, through the influence of Peter Nevicius, a Lutheran.† The Lutheran religion was established in the country by the new king, with the intention of appropriating the revenues of the church to his own purposes. They were therefore seized upon, and a law enacted, by which the properties of bishops became dependant on the king's will. Dantzic was the first city in Poland which received the doctrine of Luther, and in so tumultuous a manner was this effected, that the common council was suddenly changed by the patrons of the new religion. The churches were profaned and stripped of their ornaments, the priests and other religious persons shamefully abused, the mass abolished, and every thing changed through the fury of these innovators. It was thus they had their gospel preached by the populace in other towns of Germany.

In this manner did the doctrine of Luther spread itself in the north, whilst Zuingle, a priest of Zurich, Ecclampadius, a monk of Basle, in Switzerland, and a few others, preached a different doctrine, which drew upon them the censures of Luther, who termed them fanatics, heretics, and blasphemers, men possessed by the devil, and who sinned against the Holy Ghost, &c. John Calvin, a priest, and native of Noyon in Picardy came to their assistance. He embraced the doctrine of Zuingle, which he reformed by the addition of some articles respecting the real presence, predestination, free will, &c. "Whilst the Lutherans," says Heylin, an English Protestant writer,‡ "were acting their part in Germany, another party began to appear in Switzerland, headed by Zuingle.

They did not consult together, and all pursued different ways, particularly in what related to transubstantiation and the real presence; on these points neither they nor their disciples could agree. Calvin having got precedence to Zuingle, added some articles to the doctrine of the latter, respecting predestination and freedom of the will, &c. so that their differences having increased, the breach became irreparable, and the cause was followed up on both sides so warmly, that they sought less after the truth than the victory. The religion having been again changed in 1528," continues Heylin,* "in the canton of Berne, by Viret and Farellus, two Zuinglian preachers, the same thing was attempted in Geneva, where they insinuated themselves into the minds of the people to such a degree, that the bishop and clergy, who were opposed to their proceedings, were forced, by a rising of the people, to leave the city." A few fanatics, under the name of reformers, are generally sufficient to impose upon the populace, and drive them to acts of outrage, as they are easily seduced by appearances, and are not upon their guard against that spirit of ambition and revolt, against legal authority, by which these false teachers are actuated and urged on. "They changed," says Heylin, "the doctrine and discipline established in the church, overthrew the government of the state, and renounced, under the pretext of liberty, that allegiance which they had promised to their prince. Their conduct was, however, approved of by Calvin, who afterwards came to settle among them." Our author speaks in the same place, of the ecclesiastical discipline of Presbyterianism, introduced by Calvin into the church of Geneva, and thence extended to wherever Calvinism was received; "a discipline, (says he,) which was engendered in rebellion, born in sedition, and nurtured by faction." He says again, speaking of these reformers:† "Rather than see their discipline rejected, and episcopacy left unannihilated in all Christian churches, they determined to depose kings, to destroy kingdoms, and overthrow the fundamental constitution of states. Their ambition led them to commit these excesses, by affecting a sort of supremacy in their parishes, and creating lords in the inheritance of God, under pretence of placing Jesus Christ upon his throne. This passion for pre-eminence induced them to use violent invectives against the bishops, whom they not only refused to

* Heylin. Cosmog. edit. 5, page 106.

† Idem. Cosmog. page 140.

‡ Cosmog. lib. 2, page 36.

* Cosmog. lib. 2, page 136.

† Cosmog. lib. 1, page 137.

receive, but expelled all those who acknowledged them from their churches. This ambition in the ordinary ministers of parishes, was artfully fomented by some of the higher clergy, and the lay patrons, who all had their own respective interests in view; some to increase their fortunes by despoiling the bishops, and others to apply to their own use the tenth of the benefices, of which they were only the depositaries. Such was the artifice made use of to spread the doctrine of Calvin.

This new doctrine, which, from its author, was called Calvinism, was received into Switzerland, and some provinces of France, parts of Germany, Hungary, Bohemia and Poland, the united provinces of Holland, and Scotland, where it was introduced by John Knox and his associates.

The Catholic theologians* testified their zeal in refuting these new teachers. The first and principal writers against Luther, were Eckius, Cochläus, and Faber, in Germany; Silvester de Prieris, general of the Dominicans in Italy; the theologians of Paris and Louvain, in France and Flanders; Fisher, bishop of Salisbury, and Sir Thomas More, in England. But the most celebrated antagonist of this heresiarch was Henry VIII., who wrote a book against the Babylonian captivity, entitled the "Assertion of the Seven Sacraments," which he dedicated to pope Leo X. This work gained him the glorious title of *Defender of the Faith*, which his holiness conferred on him by a bull, dated St. Peter's, Rome, the 11th of October, and signed by twenty-seven cardinals and bishops.

Leo X. died in the December following. He was succeeded by Adrian VI., a native of Holland, who had been preceptor of Charles V., and was elected whilst viceroy in Spain, before the arrival of Richard Pacey, dean of St. Paul's, London, whom Wolsey had sent to interfere in his own behalf.

Though the earl of Surrey brought back his troops to England, tranquillity prevailed in the English province, A.D. 1522. It was not so in the north of Ireland, where two powerful and rival princes, O'Neill and O'Donnel, were continually at war. After some engagements, O'Neill invaded the district of Tirconnel, where he committed dreadful devastations, and burned Ballyshannon castle, the principal place in that district, situated at the mouth of Lough Earne, whilst O'Donnel was desolating Tyrone, from which he carried away many prisoners.

The English who had settled in Ireland,

not content with their first usurpations, sought incessantly the opportunity of extending their possessions, at the expense of their neighbours. M'Giolla Phadraig, or Fitzpatrick, lord of Ossory, and neighbour to the Butlers, having had some cause of displeasure against Peter Butler, earl of Ormond, who was then deputy, sent his complaint to the king of England, threatening to declare war against him in case he should refuse to punish Red Peter. The faithful messenger, meeting the king on his way to mass, spoke to him in the following words, which are mentioned in the book of Howth and are too remarkable to be omitted: "Stop, my lord king," said he; "my lord, M'Giolla Phadraig has sent me to tell you, that if you do not chastise Red Peter, he will declare war against you."

At this time the plague depopulated Limerick and its environs;* David Comin, mayor of the city, was among the number of those who fell victims to it. He was succeeded in office by Nicholas Arthur. This year was remarkable for the taking of the island of Rhodes, which surrendered on Christmas day, to Soliman XI., emperor of the Turks, after a vigorous defence of some months, by the knights of St. John of Jerusalem.

The earl of Kildare having returned from England, A.D. 1523, invaded by the permission of the earl of Ormond, who was deputy, the territory of Leix, attended by his troops, and the inhabitants of Dublin, under the command of John Fitzsimon, mayor of the city. Having burned a few villages, he fell into an ambuscade, which had been prepared for him by the O'Morras, in which he sustained a heavy loss, but considered himself fortunate in having escaped with a portion of his army.

The old enmities which formerly prevailed between the earl of Kildare, and Ormond, his brother-in-law, broke out anew about this time. James Fitzgerald had not a little contributed to this. He was the favourite of Kildare, and having met, near Ballymore, with Robert Talbot of Belgard, who was going to spend the Christmas at Kilkenny with the deputy, of whom he was suspected to have been the spy, he murdered him. Ormond, who was justly incensed by this cruel act, committed through hatred towards himself, sent his complaints to court against Kildare, whom he accused of various crimes.

Maurice Fitzgerald, archbishop of Cashel, died this year.† He was nominated to that

* Ware, *ibid.* cap. 14.

† Ware, *de Arch.* Cassill.

see in 1504, by pope Julian II. He convened a synod at Limerick, the statutes of which were inserted in the registry of Thomas Purcel, formerly bishop of Lismore and Waterford. His successor was Edmond Butler. In this year also Gerald Cavanagh died. He was chief of his tribe, and descended from the kings of Leinster; and was much esteemed among the Irish. His heir, Maurice Cavanagh, succeeded him in his estates; who having died with his two sons, Dermot and Donogh, Charles Cavanagh succeeded to their inheritance.

The court of London did not forget the accusations that were made, the preceding year, by the deputy against the earl of Kildare, A.D. 1524.* It is said that, at the solicitation of the marquis of Dorset, Kildare's father-in-law, the king appointed commissioners, with full power to examine into the affair. The commissioners were, Sir Ralph Egerton, Sir Anthony Fitzherbert, and James Denton, dean of Lichfield; who arrived in Dublin in the month of June, and having heard the case of both earls, Ormond was superseded, and Kildare appointed to succeed him. The earl having taken the oath usual on these occasions, the sword of state was carried before him by his relative, Conn O'Neill. They then repaired to the abbey of St. Thomas, after which the commissioners, with many noblemen, were sumptuously entertained by Kildare.

After this the commissioners returned to England, bringing James Fitzgerald, whom we have already mentioned, a prisoner with them. This nobleman was given up to cardinal Wolsey, the implacable enemy of the Fitzgeralds. In order to load him with still greater ignominy, he was brought to prison through the streets of London, with a rope around his neck. Fitzgerald, however, after a short time, obtained, through the interference of Denton, dean of Lichfield, the king's pardon, and was set at liberty, in opposition to the cardinal.

The emperor Charles V., and Henry VIII., king of England, having entered into a league against Francis I., resolved to attack him on all sides. To defend himself, Francis made all the alliances he could against them. The duke of Albania was sent to Scotland to create a diversion in that quarter;† and being aware too, that the Irish had long and reluctantly borne the dominion of the English, and that they supported a vigorous and just warfare against them, Francis proposed

a treaty of alliance with some of their chiefs.* James Fitzgerald, earl of Desmond, was then a powerful lord in Munster. From the situation of his estates in the south of the island, he was more contiguous to France than the others, and although a natural subject of the king of England, either through an ambition of reigning, or a spirit of revenge, for the death of his ancestor, who had been unjustly beheaded at Drogheda, he was the first to express his dissatisfaction towards the English government. He entered into the views of the French monarch, who concluded a confederacy with him on the 20th of June, 1523; the original act is in the "*Chambre des Comptes*" in Paris, wherein he is styled James, earl of Munster, and prince of Ireland. Terdelach O'Brien, hereditary prince of Thomond, was included in this treaty, by which Francis bound himself, among other things, to make no peace or truce with Henry VIII., without including the earl of Desmond and lord Theodore or Terdelach O'Brien and his family. This treaty, however, was not observed afterwards. Many princes and noblemen in Ireland would willingly have joined in it, but there was not time. Francis I., was taken prisoner at Pavia, and a peace concluded the year following, between France and England, in which the earl of Desmond was not included, since Henry VIII., had orders despatched to the earl of Kildare, who was deputy, to have him arrested for high treason.

The earl of Desmond had no legitimate son; and but one daughter called Jane, who was married to the earl of Ormond, and was mother to earl Thomas Butler, a knight of the order of the garter, and a favourite of queen Elizabeth.† The earl of Desmond was suspected according to the author of the account of the Geraldines, of keeping up a secret correspondence with the emperor Charles V., king of Spain. He flattered himself that this emperor would give him his daughter in marriage, which would enable him to have Ireland invaded by foreign troops. There appears to be an error in this account, and that the author has substituted Charles V., for Francis I., who had concluded a treaty with the earl, in 1523. Through the intrigues of cardinal Wolsey, the avowed enemy of the nobility, and particularly opposed to the Fitzgeralds, Desmond was summoned to appear, and give an account of his conduct. The cardinal's power caused diffidence in the earl, and being afraid to

* Ware, de Annal. cap. 16.

† Baker, Chron. Engl. p. 271.

* Ware, de Annal. Hib. cap. 16.

† Relat. Giraldus. traduc. Francoise de l'Abbé Joubert, p. 16. et seq.

submit to the order, he objected to the trial. The king therefore sent his commands to the earl of Kildare, viceroy of Ireland, to have Desmond arrested, and immediately sent to England. The non-execution of the royal mandate, was, as we shall presently see, the cause of Kildare's disgrace.

In obedience to the king's commands, the deputy marched at the head of his troops towards Munster, without meeting Desmond, which circumstance gave rise to a suspicion of his being partial to the earl, who was his kinsman. It is even asserted that Kildare had enlisted the O'Byrnes of Wicklow in Desmond's interest, and that he wrote to the latter, proposing an interview with him in the district of Ossory, which letter was intercepted by the intrigues of Wolsey.

The earl of Kildare and Conn O'Neill, prince of Tyrone, with their united forces, entered the country of Tyrconnel, determined on making war against Manus O'Donnel, prince of that district; but receiving intelligence that Hugh O'Neill, Conn's rival, was levying troops in Tyrone during their absence, they made a truce with O'Donnel, marched against Hugh O'Neill, and gave him battle, which he lost, together with his life. John Barnwell, baron of Trimlestown, was at this time appointed vice-treasurer of Ireland.

The continual rains in the autumn of 1525, caused a great scarcity of provisions that year in Ireland, and the drought of the summer was followed by a plague which carried off numbers, particularly in the neighbourhood of Dublin.

At this time cardinal Wolsey set the first example of suppressing monasteries in England.* This ambitious prelate, wishing to immortalise his name by some public monument, obtained permission from the king to establish two colleges, one at Oxford and the other at Ipswich, and likewise to suppress forty monasteries, the wealth and revenues of which were afterwards applied to the building and support of these colleges; a pernicious example, says Baker, though a Protestant, which the king imitated, by suppressing all religious houses in the kingdom.

Discord still prevailed between Conn O'Neill of Tyrone, and Manus O'Donnel of Tyrconnel, A.D. 1526. Those two princes wishing to make the earl of Kildare the arbitrator of their differences, repaired to him. Each, however, being resolved on establishing his own claim, they separated without coming to any arrangement.

The earl of Kildare was summoned this year to appear before the council in England, to render an account of his administration, and answer to the several charges of which he stood accused;* the principal were, 1st, having neglected the orders which the king had given him to arrest the earl of Desmond; 2d, having made an alliance with the hostile Irish; 3d, having caused many good and faithful subjects to be hanged, whose only crime was having been favoured by the family of the Butlers; 4th, holding a secret correspondence with O'Neill, O'Connor, and other enemies, and of having excited them to make incursions on the lands of the earl of Ormond, when he was deputy.

Before his departure for England, Kildare nominated his brother, Thomas Fitzgerald of Leixlip, deputy in his place. Kildare's chief adversaries were cardinal Wolsey and the earl of Ormond, who possessed sufficient authority to send him a prisoner to the tower, from whence he was afterwards brought before the council to be heard. The cardinal performed the part of a lawyer, and pleaded against him; but the earl was a man of great discernment, and was beloved by several of the lords who composed the council, so that the cardinal finding it impossible to have him condemned, adjourned the matter to another day, and in the mean time the earl was sent back to the tower. The cardinal, who only sought the opportunity of destroying him, having received fresh informations respecting the secret understanding of the earl with O'Neill and O'Connor, sent orders to the lieutenant of the tower to have him executed. This officer, who was greatly attached to the earl, did not fail to communicate to him the order he had just received from the cardinal: on which the earl prevailed on him to go immediately and learn the king's will in the affair. The monarch was both surprised and indignant at such conduct; he forbid all further proceedings against the earl; and as a proof of it he gave his ring to the lieutenant of the tower, with orders to show it to the cardinal. The earl was then set at liberty on bail of several of the nobles, and was reinstated in the king's favour, who soon afterwards restored him to his former dignities.

Thomas Fitzgerald, of Leixlip, who had exercised the functions of deputy during the earl's absence, was replaced by Richard Nugent, baron of Delvin, A.D. 1527. The earls of Kildare and Ormond, whose private quarrels were frequently fatal to Ireland, being

* Baker. Chron. of England, page 273.

* Ware, *ibid.* cap. 18.

still in England, it might be imagined that their absence would produce tranquillity to the former country; but matters were in too disordered a state, and private interests too much at variance, to admit of it.

This year was remarkable for the taking of the capital of Hungary, and the greater part of that kingdom by the Turks, to the disgrace of the Christian princes, by whose disunion it was caused.

Peter Butler, who had till this time borne the title of earl of Ormond, was solemnly created at Windsor, earl of Ossory.* In order to please the king, he resigned the earldom of Ormond, in favour of Sir Thomas Bollen, viscount of Rochfort, who was afterwards created earl of Wiltshire and Ormond.

We have already seen, in the reign of Henry VI., that the English who had been settled in Ireland, were obliged, in order to preserve peace, to pay a tribute to some of the Irish chieftains.† Either on account of this tribute being paid, or on some other ground. O'Connor attacked the frontiers of the English province, from whence he carried off considerable booty, A.D. 1528. The deputy not being sufficiently strong to take revenge for this insult, gave orders to discontinue the tribute which had been paid to that nobleman. O'Connor, who was but little pleased with this order, having met the deputy at the castle of Sir William Darcy, near Ruthen, surprised him in an ambuscade, made him his prisoner, with several of his followers, and put the rest to the sword.

The baron of Delvin being a prisoner, the council of the king appointed Peter Butler, earl of Ossory, to succeed him. On the arrival of the new deputy in Dublin, he was joined by O'Morra, O'Carrol, and one of the O'Connors; and having taken the usual oath, in the abbey of the Blessed Virgin, he sent Walter Wellesley, prior of Conally, and Sir Walter de la Hide, to O'Connor, to solicit the liberty of Delvin. Their mission, however, was unsuccessful; whereupon the deputy and council issued a proclamation, dated the 25th of February following, for the continuance of O'Connor's pension. This deed was signed by the earl of Ossory, who was lord deputy, the barons of Howth, Killeen, Trimleston, and Dunsany, the judges of the courts, and the lord chief baron. The clergy by whom it was signed were, John Allen, the intended archbishop of Dublin, and chancellor of Ireland, Edmond, abbot of Baltinglass, and James Cotterell, abbot

of St. Thomas's, near Dublin. It is not known whether Delvin obtained his liberty; but a law was afterwards enacted, to abolish these contributions which the English colonists had to pay to the Irish.

A contagious disorder, called *Sudor Anglicus*, broke out this year in Ireland, and proved fatal to many; Hugh Inge, archbishop of Dublin, and chancellor of Ireland, having amongst others fallen a victim to it.* This prelate was celebrated for his probity and morals; he was succeeded by John Allen, chaplain to cardinal Wolsey, and one of those who had abetted him in the suppression of the forty monasteries. The cardinal had him raised to this dignity, in order to make an instrument of him, to destroy the earl of Kildare.

The vindictive and turbulent disposition of the earl was the ultimate cause of his ruin. He could not bring himself to forgive the earl of Ossory, between whom and himself the old enmities still existed. Kildare sent his daughter Alicia, wife of the baron of Slane, who was then at Newington, to Ireland, to influence his brothers and his friends the O'Neils, O'Connors, and others, secretly, to oppose the deputy. She unfortunately succeeded in her mission; the possessions of the deputy and his adherents were laid waste and pillaged without mercy, conduct which principally produced the dreadful disasters which afterwards befell her father and his family.

Terdelach O'Brien, prince of Thomond, died this year, greatly regretted by his countrymen. He was succeeded by Concovar, or Cornelius, his son, from whom Donat, or Donough O'Brien, who was created earl of Thomond was descended.

Henry VIII., (who was at one time the friend of the emperor, and at another of the king of France,) having at this time made peace with Francis I., quarrelled with Charles V. The political grounds assigned for this rupture were, the cruelties practised by the imperial army in Rome, against the pope and his cardinals; the severe conditions which were imposed on Francis by Charles, as a ransom for his freedom; and lastly, the repugnance which the emperor began to evince for the marriage he was to have contracted with the princess Mary, Henry's daughter.† Other secret reasons, however, are also assigned for it, viz.—the rising greatness of the emperor, and his haughtiness after his conquests in Italy, conduct which generally gives umbrage to neighbouring

* Nichol's Rudiments of Honour, respecting the earl's of Arran.

† War. *ibid.* c. 20.

* War. de archiepisc. Dubliniens.

† Baker, *chron. of Engl.* p. 275.

princes. The hatred also of cardinal Wolsey for the emperor, who had refused him the archbishopric of Toledo, might have had a share in it. However this might have been, the emperor sent Gonzaga Fernandez to Ireland, to the earl of Desmond, to stir up a rebellion against Henry.* The instructions of this ambassador, dated Toledo, the 24th February, were to treat on certain conditions, with these words—" *illustrissimo el conde de Desmond;*" but, this negociation ended without any result, in consequence of the death of the earl, which took place at Dingle on the 18th of June following.

Two religious houses were founded about this time in Ireland, which are perhaps the last that were established in this country, as the suppression of monasteries, not only in England but also in Ireland, took place soon after,

According to Herrera and Father Lubin, there was a convent founded in Waterford in 1629, dedicated to St. Catherine, for hermits of St. Augustin.† Both are, however, in error in this statement. There was no mention in 1629 of building convents in Ireland, but rather of destroying them, as this was the commencement of Charles I.'s reign, who succeeded three or four kings or queens, under whom all the convents were destroyed. The schismatic Henry VIII. was the first to put them down, but his son Edward, who was a Protestant, continued the destruction; his sister Mary's reign was too short to restore them: Elizabeth and James I. expelled both monks and friars from every house in which they were established throughout the three kingdoms. The like persecution continued under Charles I., which makes it probable that the date of the above foundation should have been 1529 instead of 1629.

Ware mentions a house for Franciscans to have been founded in 1530 at Lisgavail, on the banks of lake Earne, in the county of Fermanagh, but does not say who was its founder.‡

Henry Fitzroy, duke of Richmond and Somerset, the king's natural son, was appointed viceroy of Ireland, A.D. 1529. He sent Sir W. Skeffington thither as his deputy, who arrived in Dublin in the month of August, with a large sum of money and two hundred horsemen, accompanied by the earl of Kildare, who was freed from his embarrassments. The new deputy was received with every demonstration of joy by the citizens of Dublin. He had received instruc-

tions to maintain peace between the earls of Kildare, Desmond, and Ossory, in order that they might support the common cause against the Irish; to act always on the defensive, and undertake nothing without the advice of the council; to assist the earl of Kildare in his enterprises against the natives; to diminish the exactions for the army; to tax the church lands in order to defray part of the public expenses, and lastly, to convene a parliament, and procure subsidies for the king.

Edmond Butler, archbishop of Cashel, convened about this time, a provincial synod in Limerick, at which Nicholas Comine, bishop of Lismore and Waterford, John Coin, bishop of Limerick, and James O'Corrin, bishop of Killaloe, were present. By this synod the magistracy of Limerick were invested with power to arrest ecclesiastics for debt, without incurring excommunication. The inferior clergy, who looked upon this decree as injurious to them, and contrary to ecclesiastical privileges, protested strongly against it.

The lord deputy began his expedition in the district of Leix, against O'Morra; laid the country waste, and carried away considerable booty.* He then turned his arms against Ulster, accompanied by the earl of Kildare, notwithstanding that jealousies had already begun to arise between them. He destroyed the castle of Kinard, laid the neighbouring districts waste, and burned several villages, after which he returned loaded with booty. The pretended reformation of the morals of the Irish, was a specious pretext made use of by these new comers to satisfy their rapacity after wealth. The succours which they received from England from time to time in men and money, enabled them to extend their possessions, at the expense of the Irish, and the private interest of their chiefs was always held in more consideration than the public good.

Hugh O'Donnel, prince of Tyreannel, alarmed at the devastations which the English were committing around him, and finding himself incapacitated by sickness from taking the command of his troops, to defend his frontiers, sent Conn O'Fraghill, abbot of Derry, and Richard O'Grayhan of Drogheda, to the deputy, to sue for peace, on condition of their making a form of submission in his name, A.D. 1531.†

An English vessel having taken about this time, a Spanish ship, that was fishing near the Dursy islands, on the coasts of Beare and

* Cox. Hist. of Ireland, p. 221.

† Alemand, Hist. Monast. d'Irlande.

‡ Ware, de Antiq. Hibern.

* Ware, de Annal. c. 21.

† Ware, ibid. cap. 22, 23.

Bantry, in Munster, Dermot O'Sullivan, who was lord of that country, considering it an act of hostility against the rights of nations, put to sea with some vessels, in order to assist the Spaniard.* Having taken both ships, he had the Englishman hanged, and set the Spaniard at liberty. Cox, as usual, attacks the conduct of O'Sullivan. "We may," he says, "discover herein, how those men have been disposed towards the English, and how loyal to their king, when they murder his subjects, and assist his enemies." But what could the English calculate upon from a people whom they never ceased to pursue with fire and sword? Could they venture to rely upon a promise of allegiance, which was tyrannically extorted from them? The ancestors of this nobleman robbed of their possessions by the English, found themselves under the harsh necessity of committing a dreadful massacre, to regain their properties; and can it surprise us that hatred for the name of an Englishman should have been retained during many generations, in the family of the O'Sullivans.

Discord still continued to prevail between Sir William Skeffington, and Fitzgerald, earl of Kildare; they were continually forwarding complaints against each other to court. The deputy accused Kildare of enormous crimes; while the latter reproached the deputy with mal-administration, and succeeded in having himself nominated to that office by the king, instead of his opponent. Fortune, which seemed to favour Kildare at this juncture, soon afterwards forsook him, as the reader will discover in the sequel.

About this time, some writers appeared in Ireland.† Theobald Anguilbert, a medical doctor of the university of Paris, is said to have written a book, entitled "*Mensa Philosophica*," or the philosophical table. It is a treatise on table talk, filled with jests and humorous wit. This book was printed in Paris in 1530, by John de Haisy, and the author avows himself an Irishman in his dedicatory epistle. The work has been falsely ascribed to Michael Scott, a physician, and was printed with his name at Leipsic, in 1603, with the tales of Othomar Luscinus.

Magnus or Manus, son of Hugh O'Donnell, prince of Tyrconnel, wrote the life of St. Columb-Kill, in three books in the Irish language, about the year 1520.‡ The first gives a history of the actions and miracles of this saint, previous to his voyage into Britain; the second treats of his mission in Bri-

tain, and return to Ireland, to the assembly of Drumkeat; the third contains an account of the remaining part of his life. This work which was composed by the author from the ancient monuments of the country, was abridged and translated into Latin by John Colgan.

Patrick O'Cullen, of the order of St. Augustin, and afterwards bishop of Clogher, assisted by Roderick Cassidy, archdeacon of his church, wrote a registry of its antiquities, A.D. 1525, with a catalogue of his predecessors. He also composed a hymn in honour of St. M'Cartin, first bishop of Clogher, which was generally sung upon his festival; the beginning of it is subjoined.*

Cassidy the archdeacon was a theologian, canonist, and philosopher, and was well versed in the antiquities of his country; he corrected and made considerable additions to the annals of Ulster. He died at an advanced age, in 1541.

Patrick Finglas, an able legislator, was nominated chief baron of the exchequer by Henry VIII., and chief justice of the king's bench in 1534. He wrote a treatise on the causes of the miseries of Ireland, and the manner in which they might be remedied.

Sir William Darcy, a native of Platin, in the county of Louth, and vice treasurer of Ireland, was a wise and learned man. He had been particularly instrumental in forwarding the English interest in Ireland. He wrote a book entitled "the fall of Ireland, and the causes that produced it;" and died at an advanced age, in the year 1540.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

WE have now come to the beginning of the schism of Henry VIII. with the church of Rome, which was attended with the subversion of religion in England. This prince, who in the opening of his reign held out such flattering hopes for the happiness of his people, turned to a bad purpose those admirable qualities with which God had endowed him. His irregularities, and the manner in which he was blinded by his unhappy amours; the blood which he caused to be shed, and the dreadful consequences of his marriages, which proved fatal to almost all his wives, are subjects well known to the world. The motive is likewise well understood which

* Cox, Hib. Anglie. page 223.

† Ware, de Script. Hib.

‡ Colg. Trias. Thaum. Vit. 5, S. Columb.

* "Hear us, O Trinity, celebrating this worthy festival, and venerating and praising this holy man Maccartinus."

induced him to become the author of a new sect, equally detested by Catholics, Lutherans, and Sacramentarians. His divorce, after a lapse of twenty years, from Catherine of Arragon, the widow of his brother Arthur, and the marriage which he contracted with Anne Bollen or Bullen, being condemned by the holy see, he not only declared against that authority which condemned him, but by a procedure hitherto unheard of among Christians, proclaimed himself both spiritual and temporal head of the church of England. It was thus that the English reformation commenced, of which Burnet has written so ingenious a history, and one at the same time so replete with calumnies against the Catholic church.

As events generally follow from a chain of circumstances, and secondary causes, which have a mutual influence one upon the other, the source of the changes which took place in England, will be discovered in the situation of affairs in Europe at that period, and the opposite interests of its princes. About the end of the preceding century, the kingdoms of Castille and Arragon were united, and the Moors driven out of Spain. Mary, the only daughter and heiress of Charles, duke of Burgundy, brought her extensive possessions to the house of Austria. Louis XI., king of France, having instituted proceedings for felony, against the memory of the duke of Burgundy, confiscated the duchy and the county of Artois, belonging to his heiress. Charles d'Anjou, count du Maine, (to whom his uncle, René d'Anjou, had given Provence), bequeathed that country, and his right over Naples and Sicily, to Louis XI., and his son, Charles VIII., (at the instance, it is said, of John de Cossé, seneschal of Provence, and Palamede de Forbin, whom this king appointed constable of it.) And lastly, Charles VIII., by marrying the heiress of Brittany, united that province to his crown, from which it had been separated for so many centuries.

France, which had thus acquired, without any loss of blood, so many provinces, which had frequently before borne arms against her, became formidable to her neighbours. A league was formed between her, England, and Austria, in confirmation of which, Ferdinand of Arragon gave Jane, his second daughter, in marriage to Philip of Austria, son of Maximilian, and another of his daughters, called Catherine, to Arthur, son of Henry VII., king of England. These alliances proved unfortunate. The love of Jane for her husband was so excessive, that she lost her reason. Catherine was scarcely

married when she became a widow. Her husband, Arthur, had been prematurely born, and the physicians were of opinion, that in consequence, he could not be long lived. His appearance was always delicate and infirm, notwithstanding what Protestant writers assert; among others Chancellor Bacon, who says that it was never known with certainty whether the young prince had consummated his marriage, and that on this matter, various opinions were put forward, according to the prejudices of the different reigns.

The same motives which influenced Ferdinand and Henry to make this alliance, still existed, and gave rise to the idea of forming a second, by giving Arthur's widow to his brother Henry, who was then the only son of Henry VII. Rome was applied to for a dispensation, which was granted by Julius II. But Henry, who was an avaricious prince, demanded an increase of dowry with Catherine, on this, her second marriage, whilst Ferdinand insisted that it was already sufficiently great, and as he was resolved to give no more money, he demanded back his daughter, and required that her dowry, which had been paid, should be restored to him. In the mean time, Henry, who could discover no more suitable match for his son, resolved on making the most of the new alliance, and in order to draw Ferdinand into his views, he obliged his son to protest against the intended marriage, without, however, intending to push matters farther; as he, in fact, never communicated this protest to either Ferdinand or Catherine.

Such was the state in which matters stood on the demise of Henry VII. The council of the new king took into their consideration whether the marriage would be advantageous for England, whether it was contrary to the law of God; and also, whether the pope could grant a dispensation, and whether any regard should be paid to the protest of the intended husband. All things having been duly considered, the marriage of Henry and Catherine was celebrated in the month of June, with all possible pomp and magnificence.*

The new queen possessed in an eminent degree all those private virtues which are the solid and chief ornaments of her sex.† In her piety and attention to her husband she was exemplary: a love of seclusion and employment were manifest in her whole de-

* Polyd. Virgil. Aug. Hist. lib. 27. Sander. de Schis. Anglic. edit. Ingoldstad, p. 2, et seq. Baker's Chron. on the reign of Henry VIII.

† Hist. of the Divorce of Henry VIII. and Catherine of Arragon, by Joachim Le Grand. tom. 1.

portment, and she was looked upon as a model of wisdom by all. Her virtue, however, had nothing of harshness in it, and she possessed a greatness of soul, and an elevation of mind, which, even more than her birth, gained for her universal respect. Henry himself, even in withdrawing his affections, still preserved a high esteem for her.

This princess had three children of her marriage with Henry; two sons, who died very young, and a daughter called Mary, who was afterwards queen. She had also some miscarriages, which caused her much infirm health, and which probably produced displeasure to a husband so abandoned to his passions.

The debaucheries of Henry were generally well known. Having already seduced some of the maids of honour belonging to the queen, he fell in love with Anne Bullen, daughter to Thomas Bullen, and a sister of the duke of Norfolk, who had gone with queen Mary, wife of Louis XII., to France, where she was educated. She afterwards became maid of honour to the queen Claude, and after the death of this princess was taken into the household of the duchess D'Alencon, sister of Francis I., where, it is said, she first imbibed the principles of Luther's heresy.

We do not here vouch for the truth of the scandalous narrative which is given by Sanders, concerning the birth and conduct of Anne Bullen, before Henry became enamoured of her,* namely, that she was the offspring of Henry's own intercourse with the wife of Thomas Bullen, during the absence of that nobleman; that she had a sister who was seduced by that monarch; that she became a prostitute almost from her infancy, to the master of the household, and the almoner of Thomas Bullen, who was supposed to be her father; and that having gone to the court of France, she was so dishonoured by Francis I., and his courtiers, that the most infamous names were publicly attached to her, and she was called, "*La hacquenee Anglaise*."

There is no reason, however, for denying all credence to this historian. He was an Englishman by birth, and a cotemporary witness of some of the facts which he relates. He was also a man of erudition, having made his studies at Oxford, where he became a bachelor of arts, and was afterwards deemed worthy to fill the chair of professor of law in that university. At the time of the persecution of Catholics by Elizabeth, he was forced to quit his occupation and country. He went to Rome, where he received the order

of priesthood, and the degree of doctor. He attached himself to cardinal Hosius, whom he accompanied to Trent, Prussia, Poland, and Lithuania. On his return he taught theology at Louvain. Several of his works have been published; among others, one which has for its title, "*De Visibili Monarchia Ecclesiae*," that is, "the Visible Monarchy of the Church." He attached himself afterwards to cardinal Commendon, and to Sega, bishop of Placentia, who was afterwards a cardinal. The latter brought him to Augsburg, and from that to Spain, where he left him in the quality of nuncio. Sanders laboured during these voyages, and it was while nuncio in Spain, that he wrote his history of the schism in England. After this he went, by orders of pope Gregory III., to Ireland, to console the persecuted Catholics of that country, where he died. In fine, Sanders lived in England during the troubles that were caused by the divorce; where, besides his own knowledge of facts, he had the opportunity of conversing with many who were equally well informed as himself on what had been passing. We may therefore suppose that he wrote what he had seen and heard from people worthy of belief, and it is, highly improbable that a man of his character and talents would have ventured to impose upon the world by unfounded calumnies, and have published falsehoods, at a time that many who were living and interested, might have refuted him.

Protestant writers all exclaim against every thing alleged by Sanders, disgraceful to the supposed reformation. Some wrote refutations of his history of the schism, amongst whom were doctor Burnet, who appeared one hundred years after him, but who was, however, confuted altogether by Joachim le Grand, a learned Frenchman, who undertook the defence of Sanders against him, and by the celebrated bishop of Meaux, in his "*Variations*." Burnet's partiality, and the inaccuracy of his works on the revolution, says Higgins, an English Protestant author, have made him discredited, even by the honourable men of his own party.*

However this be, on Anne's return to England, she appeared at court, with all the advantages arising from her youth, and her being niece of one of the prime ministers.† It does not appear that she was one of those regular beauties without defect, but she was very young, and of an agreeable figure; lively in her manners; sung and played on many instruments, and danced still better:

* Short View, page 186, 187.

† Heylin, Hist. of the Reformation, on the reign of Elizabeth, page 257 et seq.

* De Schismat. Anglic. lib. 1, p. 14-16.

so that she easily procured the same rank with Catherine, as she had enjoyed with queen Claude in France. She was not long at court when she attracted general admiration. Several noblemen fell in love with her. The monarch himself became enamoured, and had a marriage broken off that was about to take place between her and Percy, son of the earl of Northumberland.

The divorce of Henry VIII., from Catherine of Arragon, after a marriage of twenty years, began now to be spoken of.* Cardinal Wolsey gave the first hints of it. The ambition of this prelate, or rather his desire of revenge against a powerful prince by whom he had been disappointed in his hopes, was the cause of ruin, to himself, danger to his master, and the fall of religion in his country.† He had been filled with the idea of becoming pope. Charles V., flattered him with this hope, in order to interest him in his cause, and thereby conciliate the friendship of England towards him; and in spite of Wolsey's intelligence, he became a dupe to that prince, who was equally clever as himself.‡ Two popes died without any mention having been made of the English cardinal in the conclave, in which Charles possessed sufficient influence to have his preceptor appointed to the papal chair. Thenceforward, Wolsey turned his thoughts upon revenge. He first gave his master to understand, that policy required he should unite with Francis I., for his own safety against a prince, who had become haughty, from his conquests in Italy, and aspired to universal dominion, to which he was advancing with rapid strides. Henry was influenced to listen to the advice of his minister, the more willingly, since having written to Charles V., after the battle of Pavia, to know how he should act; that prince, dazzled by his own good fortune, replied that, "he might remain tranquil, as the stag being secured in his toils, he had to hope only for a share of the skin." By this answer, Henry perceived that the emperor began already to disregard his alliance, and he therefore declared himself in favour of the holy league, which had been made between pope Clement VII., Francis I., and all the princes of Italy, the object of which was, to prevent the emperor from getting possession of the duchy of Milan, and to check his progress in Italy.

* Sander. de Schis. Angl. lib. 1, p. 7, et seq.

† Joach. le Grand. *ibid.* tom. 1, p. 15, et seq. Abridg. of the Hist. of England, by an anonymous author at the Hague, in 1695. Higgin's Short View.

‡ Hist. of the Revolutions of England, reign of Henry VIII. Hist. of the Variations, book 7.

Wolsey was still dissatisfied. Not content with having gained his point respecting the interest of the crowned heads, he undertook a measure which he thought likely to give more personal uneasiness to the emperor. This was the celebrated divorce between Henry and his queen, (who was the maternal aunt of Charles,) under the pretext that this princess should not have been married to the two brothers; that the marriage was an incestuous one, and the dispensation which had been obtained, was null and of no effect. He first brought over to his views Longland, bishop of Lincoln, the king's confessor, whom he found ready to believe all he wished upon that subject. He was indeed precisely the kind of character whom the cardinal should desire for forwarding his designs; being simple, scrupulous, and possessed of far more piety than penetration. He accompanied Wolsey to the king, and said to him, "that his marriage with Catherine gave universal scandal; that he considered himself, as his confessor, bound in conscience, to apprise him of it, and to beg that he would have the subject investigated by the learned; that it was a duty he owed to himself, and to that love of justice, which he had always testified." This discourse produced some impression on the king's mind. Wolsey, delighted that Longland had broached the matter, proposed to Henry to break off his alliance with Catherine, and marry the duchess dowager d'Alencon, sister to Francis I. It was thus the cardinal, unintentionally, laid the foundation of the greatness of a girl who was to be one day the cause of his downfall. Anne Bullen was not ignorant of the king's passion for her. She counterfeited a virtuous character, and gave him no hope, but that of marrying her, should he succeed in the divorce proposed to him by the cardinal.

Henry was unable to resist the solicitations of his minister, the remonstrances of his confessor, and the pretended remorse of his own conscience, which reproached him with a marriage contrary to the laws of God. He commissioned some of his counsellors to examine its validity, and also a passage in Leviticus, wherein it is forbidden to marry the wife of a brother. These counsellors answered that Leviticus should be expounded by Deuteronomy. He then had recourse to some of the learned theologians in his own kingdom, and afterwards to those of other universities of Europe, some of whom were favourable to him. Lastly, he sent to Rome, begging very humbly, that the pope would send him a judge competent to bring this important matter to an end.

Clement VII., who at the time filled the papal chair, had just escaped from the hands of Charles V., by whom he had been detained a prisoner. The holy see was already indebted to the zeal of the king of England, against the heresies that were springing up, and the pope in particular, to whom this monarch had rendered services during his captivity, was desirous of obliging him. Besides, the king of France supported Henry, by strong solicitations to the holy see. The pope had promised, that as soon as he should be free with the emperor, he would give to his benefactor all the satisfaction in his power; and he accordingly sent over cardinal Campegio, to investigate the matter with cardinal Wolsey.

Before the plan of Henry's divorce was generally known, Francis I., sent Gabriel de Gramond, bishop of Tarbes, the Viscount de Turenne and le Viste, first president of Paris and Brittany, as ambassadors to England.* They had orders to conclude a lasting peace between the two crowns, and to ask the princess Mary, only daughter and heiress of Henry VIII., in marriage, either for the king Francis I., or the duke of Orleans, his second son. The basis of a peace and an alliance with the princess Mary were agreed upon. The treaty was signed in the month of April, and on Sunday the 5th of May, the ambassadors had a farewell audience at Hampton court, where they were magnificently entertained. It is affirmed, that, on that day, the bishop of Tarbes, urged on no doubt by the importunate Wolsey, said to the king, that learned men condemned his marriage with Catherine, and that his conscience and salvation required that it should be examined into; but it may be supposed that Protestant writers had their own views in speaking thus of that prelate.

Cardinal Campegio, whom the pope had nominated in conjunction with cardinal Wolsey, to investigate the project of the divorce, having received his instructions from his holiness, arrived in England in the beginning of October.

The king appointed, by letters patent, Richard Sampson, the dean of his chapel, and John Bell, a doctor of law, as his advocates and pleaders; to whom are also added, Peter and Trigonel. The queen had already chosen William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, Nicholas West, bishop of Ely, and some doctors of law, besides John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and Henry Standish, bishop of St. Asaph, and doctor in

theology, and others, according to the permission which had been previously granted to her. On the 18th of the same month, Sampson and Bell presented the commission which the king had given them to act in his name; but the queen herself appearing, declared that she could not acknowledge the legates to be her judges, and demanded the act of her protest. Campegio then adjourned their sitting to the 21st, on which day the king and queen both appeared. When they were called, the king answered; but the queen not wishing to reply, threw herself at the king's feet, and said in the presence of the people by whom he was surrounded, "that she besought him to have mercy on her; that she only asked for justice; that she was a poor stranger, far from her relatives and friends; that she dared not follow, either her own judgment or the advice of her lawyers; that she took God to be her witness, whether she were not his real wife; that she had been always faithful to him; that during more than twenty years of marriage, she had been as attached to him as woman could be to her husband; that she knew not how she could have merited his displeasure; that he knew well, if he would but speak according to his conscience, that he had found her a virgin at her marriage; that she consented to be expelled with infamy, if what she advanced were not true; that their parents, who were wise princes, had not concluded on their marriage without proper investigation; that among all the able characters by whom they were surrounded, none had noticed the protests which were now sought after; that as to herself, she could not discover how her marriage could be called into doubt; that indeed she had been permitted to have counsel, but she could repose no confidence in them; that her lawyers and judges were the king's subjects; that she could not acknowledge the authority of the legates; that in fine, every thing was to her an object of suspicion; she therefore besought the king that he would postpone the proceedings, till she would hear from Spain, and that if he refused her that favour, he might act as he thought proper." She then arose, and respectfully retired. She was again called, but would not return. The whole assembly was moved by her discourse. The king himself appeared affected, and when she had withdrawn, said, "that he had no complaints to advance against her, that he was satisfied with her conduct; and that her virtue could not be sufficiently admired. He declared, likewise, that he would continue willingly to live with her, if his conscience would permit him."

* Le Grand. *ibid.* page 17.

The divorce question was frequently debated without any thing being concluded on. The king, therefore, sent for the two cardinals, in order that they may induce the queen to leave the matter to his own decision. They immediately repaired to her, and found her working with her female attendants. When she heard Wolsey addressing her, and continuing to speak, "I see clearly," said she, "that you have come here to debate on matters which surpass my capacity." Then showing a skein of silk which hung upon her neck, "behold," she continued, "what I am capable of, and what is my sole occupation." Wolsey entreated her, through kindness for the king, not to await the result of a lawsuit, the issue of which could not be favourable to her. "I do not know," (replied the queen), who has advised the king to act as he is now doing. I confess, cardinal, that it is you whom I blame for it. Our parents, who were wise princes, had our marriage previously investigated, and obtained from the pope a dispensation for it, of which I hold the original. The king and I have lived for almost eighteen years together, during which no censure has been cast upon us. Your pride, however, I cannot approve of, your debaucheries, your tyranny, and insolence I have spoken of. Through the influence of my nephew, the emperor, you have failed in being appointed pope, which is the source of all my misfortunes; since in order to be revenged, you have not been content with kindling a war throughout all Europe, but have been likewise the secret spring and cause of all my misfortunes. Every thing that I suffer, cardinal, from this disgrace, is known to God, who will be your judge and mine." Wolsey wished to reply, but she would not hear him. Campegio she treated with politeness, but protested that she never would acknowledge either one or the other as her judges, and would continue in the line of conduct she had adopted." After the sitting of the 21st of June, she refused to appear before the legates. A judgment by default was obtained against her on the 25th, and the examination of the witnesses was commenced.

During the taking of the informations, the sittings were not discontinued, but were, however, frequently adjourned. The ministers of Charles V. and of Ferdinand demanded that the matter should be brought to a higher tribunal. The pope, who still feared to irritate Henry, postponed the subject as long as it was possible; but being at length unable to refuse any longer a request that was so just, he informed that prince, in

a letter, dated the 9th of July, of his intentions, and without waiting for an answer, signed the evocation, of which he informed him and cardinal Wolsey on the 19th.

As soon as intelligence was received from Rome that the cause had been transferred to another tribunal, the king went to Grafton with Anne Bullen, where Campegio had an audience previous to his departure.

Wolsey began already to feel the effects of his impending disgrace. There were different cabals in the court, all of which tended to his downfall. Those who were attached to the queen, considered him as the author of her ruin. The relatives and partizans of Anne Bullen were convinced that his presence at court was inauspicious to their advancement. The courtiers themselves, who had neither God nor any other object in view than the will of their prince, appeared to be the cardinal's most determined opposers; and even his own creatures for the most part abandoned him, and admitted his guilt, when they found that his downfall had commenced. Anne Bullen was minutely informed of every crime he had committed, during the fifteen years that he ruled the state with absolute power; all which she communicated to the king, who listened to her with pleasure. Orders were despatched on the 22d of October to Wolsey, to quit York palace, at present called Whitehall, and the usual residence of the kings of England. He was sent eight leagues from London, to a place called Asher. All his furniture and papers were also seized, by which conduct his enemies deprived him of the means of defending himself. The dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, who were at that time, heads of the council, went to him to demand the great seal; but this he refused to surrender, without an express order from the king. As there was no difficulty in obtaining this, the cardinal only deferred his resignation of it for a day or two. Sir Thomas More, who was, both in principle and integrity of life, the first man then in England, was raised to the dignity of lord chancellor.

The parliament met in London, on the third of November, and was immediately adjourned to Westminster. It seemed as if it were convened only for the destruction of Wolsey, so determined were his enemies against him. They presented a petition to the king, containing many points of accusation, and threatened to condemn him as guilty of high treason; but his cause was ably defended by his servant, Thomas Cromwell, a member of the parliament. They

then dismissed the accusations of high treason against him, but he was arraigned under the law of *præmunire*, and declared to be out of the king's protection. His property was confiscated, and his arrest was even spoken of.

Several members of parliament were attached to the new doctrine, and laws were enacted against the clergy, under pretext of their exactions, which were considerably exaggerated, in order to make them appear contemptible in the eyes of the people, whose minds were thus prepared by degrees for the supposed reformation that had been already projected.

The cardinal experienced very severe treatment in the place to which he had retired; being left without clothes, linen, plate or money, and so destitute of every thing, that were it not for the bishop of Carlisle, he must have perished from hunger and distress. Having fallen sick at Asher, the king, who had still some consideration for him, permitted him to go to Richmond for change of air; but his enemies, who were jealous of his being so near the court, importuned Henry so strongly, that he gave orders to have him removed to his archbishopric of York. Fresh complaints being made to the king, who was accustomed to yield to his flatterers, he ordered Sir Walter Walsh, his private chaplain, and the earl of Northumberland, to arrest him. This last stroke was too heavy for Wolsey to bear. The shock and surprise were so powerful, that a dysentery ensued, by which his constitution was soon shattered. He however, set out, but his disease increasing, he was forced to stop at Leicester abbey, where he died, and was interred the week after his arrival, A.D. 1531.

The cardinal's death was the commencement of a violent persecution against the clergy. The parliament, which had been so frequently prorogued, met in the month of January. The clergy were accused of having incurred the penalty of the law of *præmunire*, and immediate submission to the king, together with the payment of one hundred thousand pounds sterling, were made the sole conditions on which he granted them his pardon.

When Campegio arrived in England with the pope's sanction for having the subject of the divorce investigated, no means were left untried to obtain the decision of the several universities, or the learned men in France and England, in its favour.* It is well known what bribes, threats, and suns of money

were lavished by Fox, Henry's almoner, and Gardiner, secretary of state, in both the English universities, namely, Cambridge and Oxford, to gain their approval of the divorce. The English began now to murmur loudly, and it was publicly declared, that in spite of whatever might be decided upon, he who married the princess Mary should be king of England. Similar sentiments were entertained by the nobles, who, though they did not express themselves so freely, did not think the less on that account. The theologians and legislators were as unfavourable to Henry as his other subjects. No one could be found to write in favour of the divorce.

John du Bellay, bishop of Bayonne, and afterwards of Paris, and subsequently a cardinal, was sent to England to negotiate affairs with Henry VIII. As he was partial to the divorce, he could not fail of being well received by the prince. He was therefore commissioned to conciliate the French theologians in favour of Henry, and for that purpose returned to France. He first brought the university of Orleans to publish a declaration against the marriage of Catherine of Arragon, which example was followed, in a few months, by the university of Toulouse.

The same facility was not to be met with in every place.* The question produced a great noise among the theologians in Paris. Recourse was first had to some doctors who were easily bribed, and who promised to do everything that could be desired. Amongst these was master Gervais, a man devoted to those who sought for the divorce, and anxious also to advance himself at court, and thereby to make his fortune. Doctor Noel Beda, a steady man, and possessing great merit, throughout opposed the king of England, for which he was at length driven into exile. No question was ever debated so strongly in the university of Paris, as this. The king of England honoured the theologians so far as to write to them with his own hand on the subject; while his ambassadors expended large sums of money, seeking and even begging for suffrages from door to door. A meeting was at length convened; one party yielded to Henry in every thing that he wished, while another declared that they could not deliberate upon the subject, till they would first write to the pope, who had already forbidden any one to interfere in a matter of such moment. A third party was then formed, which was desirous of writing to both the king and the pope, and in the mean while the deliberations were continued.

* Joachim le Grand, p. 17, et seq.

* Le Grand, *ibid.* page 175.

When the votes, however, were being collected, one doctor, more violent than the others, rose up, and having torn the minutes from the hands of the recorder, destroyed them, and declared that the greater part would not continue any longer in their discussions upon the subject. The assembly was hereby thrown into confusion, and consequently broken up. Other meetings were afterwards held. The faculty prohibited the doctors from coming to any conclusion respecting the divorce. The division that prevailed being caused by these men, who, on account of the favours which they hoped to receive from the king, always avowed themselves favourable to Henry, so that nothing could be decided upon.

Among the doctors of the university of Angers, the ferment was equally great as in Paris. The faculties of theology and law differed so widely, that both came to opposite conclusions on the same day. The faculty of law supported the pretensions of Henry VIII., and care was taken to make their decision public. But as the theologians were opposed to him in opinion, their decree was carefully suppressed, though it was subsequently published by Joachim le Grand. The same want of union seems to have prevailed in the university of Bourges. It has never been ascertained what decisions the universities of Pavia and Bologna came to upon the subject of Henry's divorce. It is, however, generally said, that he owed to his authority, to his money, and to the intrigues of Du Bellay, all the boasted sanctions of the universities.

Henry VIII., having forced from the English and French academies decisions favourable to his cause, sent some noblemen to the queen about the end of May, to inform her of these results, and to induce her to withdraw her appeal, and submit her interests to the arbitration of four bishops and four noblemen, in order that the matter might be set at rest, and tranquillity restored to the king's mind.* The queen replied as before, that she was the king's wife; that she would persist in her appeal, and would consent to nothing without the advice of her nephew the emperor, and also that of the pope, who was the best judge of her rights.

The queen's resolution irritated Henry; however, he dissembled for some time, and went with her to Windsor, where he remained till the 14th of July; when he left her, and proceeded to Woodstock. After some time, she repaired to Easthamstead, which was the

commencement of their separation. The king again sent several noblemen to exhort her to conform to the law of God, by withdrawing her pretensions, and to inform her, in his name, that if she still persisted in her determination, she might choose between Oking, Easthamstead, and the monastery of Bisham, where she should thenceforward reside, and not annoy him more by her proceedings.

God at length permitted that Henry should meet no further opposition to his will. William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, one of the greatest men that England ever produced, died at this time. All the flatterers about the court, who were interested in the success of Henry's wicked intentions, were rejoiced at the death of so wise a prelate. He was succeeded by Cranmer; and as the latter had a greater share than any other in the pretended reformation of the church of England, it is necessary to make his character known.

Parker, Fox, and Burnet think that Cranmer was a man of noble rank, though others, by whom he ought to be better known, do not agree with them. However, if he were not, he ought to have been, as those who are raised by fortune seldom want the means of becoming ennobled. All that is known with certainty of him is, that he was professor in the university of Cambridge, that he was expelled for having married, and that he was one of the first who wrote in favour of the divorce. From the year 1529, Cranmer placed himself at the head of the party who wished for Catherine's separation, and the marriage upon which the king was determined with Anne Bullen. In 1530 he wrote a book against the validity of Catherine's marriage, and it may be readily inferred what pleasure this must have afforded to a prince, whose predominant passions were thereby defended. He was from this time looked on as a favourite at court, and considered likely to succeed cardinal Wolsey in influence. Cranmer had already adopted the principles of Luther, and was, according to Burnet, the most esteemed of all those who had embraced them. Heretics generally admire those who adopt their own opinions, and bestow upon them the character of good men, how depraved soever they may be in their morals. Anne Bullen, continues Burnet, had also imbibed a tincture of the same doctrine. He makes it appear, too, that she was quite attached to the opinions of those who were called reformers. Every one, continues he, of the same party, had declared in favour of the divorce. Herein is discovered the secret connection between Cran-

* Heylin, *ibid.* page 176. Baker's Chron. of Engl. p. 281.

mer, his adherents, and Henry's mistress, and the foundation of the influence of this new confidant, as also the commencement of the English reformation. The unhappy prince, who knew nothing of their machinations, or the objects they had in view, united himself by degrees to the enemies of the faith, which he had before so ably defended, and entering unconsciously into their secret plots, forwarded thereby their projects for destroying it.

Cranmer was sent to Rome, to support the divorce question, and while there, concealed his errors so ably, that the pope made him his penitentiary, which proves that he was a priest; and although a Lutheran, he accepted that office from his holiness. From Rome he went to Germany, in order to secure the friendship of his trusty friends, the Protestants. It was there that he married the sister of Osiander, after having first seduced her. Whilst there it also was that the archbishopric of Canterbury became vacant by the death of Warham, as we have already mentioned. The king of England, from whom Cranmer's marriage had been concealed, appointed him to that see which he accepted, and the pope, who imagined that his only fault lay in supporting the invalidity of Henry's marriage, a question which was then undecided, gave him his bulls. Cranmer received them, and did not hesitate to stain his reputation by receiving, as his party expressed themselves, "*the mark of the beast.*"

Had the pretended reformation of religion been confined to England alone, this long digression might appear foreign to the history of Ireland; but as its unhappy effects have been but too sensibly felt in this country, it has been thought necessary to reveal its source, and make the principal actors in it known to the world.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE earl of Kildare, having been appointed deputy for the English province in Ireland, in the place of Skeffington, repaired to Dublin in August 1552, where he was joyfully received by the inhabitants;* and after taking the usual oath, received the sword of office from his predecessor. John Alan or Allen, one of cardinal Wolsey's favourites, was, at the time, archbishop of Dublin and chancellor of Ireland: but the deputy, who

belonged to the opposite faction, had George Cromer, archbishop of Armagh, appointed chancellor and keeper of the seals, in his place, which increased the hatred that already prevailed between him and Alan. In order to counterbalance Kildare's authority, the court nominated James Butler, son of the earl of Ossory, treasurer. This nobleman, though the deputy's nephew, was nevertheless his enemy, having always espoused the quarrels of his father, the earl of Ossory, against him.

The earl of Kildare finding himself at the head of the government in Ireland, began to look upon his enemies with contempt. To strengthen his party, he formed an alliance with two of the most powerful of the Irish nobility, who were implacable enemies to the dominion of the English; namely, O'Connor Faly and Fear-Gan-Ainim O'Carroll, to whom he gave his two daughters in marriage. Supported by these new alliances, he declared war against the earl of Ossory, devastated his estates and those of his friends, and carried off considerable spoil. Conn O'Neill, and his brother, John Fitzgerald, after this, made incursions into the county of Louth, burned the possessions of the English, and carried off their cattle without any opposition. The deputy convened a parliament in Dublin in 1553, in which regulations were made relative to the government. The dispute for pre-eminence, so frequently renewed between the primate of Armagh and the archbishop of Dublin, was decided by this parliament in favour of the former.

The parliament having been prorogued, Kildare marched at the head of his forces to support the pretensions of Fear-Gan-Ainim, or Nehemias O'Carroll, his son-in-law.* The latter had taken possession of the lordship of Eile, on the death of his brother, in virtue of the law called Tanistry;† but the son of the deceased, a young nobleman capable of governing and commanding, considered it his duty to support his birthright against his uncle. For this purpose he collected all his vassals, and took possession of Birr, the principal town in the district. He was there besieged by the deputy; but that general, having been wounded in the head by a musket ball, the effects of which he felt throughout life, soon abandoned the enterprise. It is said, that a soldier who was beside him, hearing him complain, said, "Why do you groan, my lord? I have received three gun

* War. de Annal. Hib. cap. 24.

* Ware, *ibid.* cap. 25.

† This law will be hereafter explained.

shot wounds in my body, and I am now perfectly well." "Would to God," replied the earl, "that you had received the fourth instead of me."

Henry VIII. was continually sending his agents to Rome, to endeavour to procure the divorce, without giving them credentials for that purpose.* The pope, who was aware of the manner in which the king of England was acting, commanded him by letter to send away his mistress and take back his wife; and in case that he disobeyed, ordered him to appear at Rome with Anne Bullen, to answer for the scandal they had caused, by living together as man and wife, in contempt of the censures of the church. The pope concluded by observing, that it was a matter of deep regret to him to find himself obliged to have recourse to such measures; that if it were only his own private interest that was concerned, he would gladly submit it to his own decision; but that, as the glory of God, his own conscience, and the honour of a virtuous princess loaded with ignominy, after twenty years marriage, were now at stake, he was compelled, in spite of himself, to have recourse to these measures. This letter produced no better effect than the others. The evil increased every day, and it was soon discovered that Henry wished to break with the court of Rome, and separate himself from its communion.

The parliament having assembled in the beginning of the year, fresh attacks were projected against the clergy and the pope. The commons, who were accustomed to complain of the ecclesiastics, accused them in their writings to Henry, but he did not think prudent to listen to them. They complained of the immense sums drawn by the popes from England, as first fruits, provisions for benefices, bulls, and various other things of the same character, as being all contrary to English freedom.

Henry, in the mean time, gave himself up to his passions. The longer the pope deferred the divorce question, the more his passion for Anne Bullen increased. In order to prove his affection for her, he created her marchioness of Pembroke, by letters patent, dated the 15th of September, 1532, and assigned her one thousand pounds sterling a year, which was a considerable sum at that time, to support her dignity.†

Henry, who could not bear the absence of the new marchioness, brought her to Calais

in the month of October, to be present at an interview which he had at Boulogne, with Francis I., and on his return to England, married her secretly on the 14th of Nov., though the sentence of the divorce between him and Catherine was not yet pronounced. Roland Lee, who was afterwards bishop of Lichfield, performed the marriage ceremony; the king having assured him that the pope permitted him to leave Catherine, and take another wife, provided he would marry in private, and without witnesses, in order to avoid giving scandal.

After a few months, the marchioness being in a state of pregnancy, the marriage could not be concealed longer.* Cranmer laboured to have the king's divorce from Catherine sanctioned by the parliament. Every law that had been previously enacted against the popes, were re-enacted by this assembly. It was prohibited to appeal to Rome on any subject concerning England, as that kingdom should not submit to the regulations of any foreign power, in either spiritual or temporal affairs; and that, therefore all ecclesiastical matters, on which appeals had been till then made to the court of Rome, should be finally determined in England, through an appeal from the commissioner to the bishop, from the bishop to the archbishop, and from him to the king: that whatever excommunications might arrive from Rome, the divine service should be nevertheless celebrated, and the sacraments administered;† and if difficulties were interposed by any of the clergy, they should be condemned to one year's imprisonment, and a fine to be paid, according to the king's pleasure; and that those who violated these acts should incur the penalties of the law of *præmunire*. Lastly, it was concluded that matters respecting the king's interest should be adjusted by a sovereign convocation of the clergy.

This was the prelude to the ecclesiastical authority which Henry afterwards assumed to himself, and in which he was confirmed by an act passed in the same parliament, entitled, "an act to extinguish the authority of the bishop of Rome."

In the mean time, Cranmer, whom the king had purposely raised to the dignity of archbishop of Canterbury, undertook what

* Protestant writers call her queen Anne, whilst Catherine was still alive, and before the sentence of divorce had been pronounced. None but a lawful wife could assume that title.

† Heretics always make it a practice to prepare the minds of the faithful to despise excommunication, which is the only weapon used by the church to repress their audacity.

* Sanders, de Schis. Anglic. page 62. Le Grand History of the Divorce, p. 219, 235.

† Heylin, Hist. of the Revolution, p. 176. Baker, Chron. Reign of Henry VIII. p. 281.

the pope had not dared to do. Being invested with authority by Henry VIII., who was now declared to be supreme head of the English church, he removed to Dunstable in the beginning of May, accompanied by the bishops of London, Winchester, Wells, and Lincoln, and attended by some officers of justice, where they established a sort of tribunal, to which Catherine of Arragon was summoned, to be heard on the subject of her marriage with the king. The queen, however, who still adhered to her first resolution, which was, to acknowledge no tribunal but that of Rome, or no judge but the pope, having refused to appear, was condemned for contumacy. The sentence of divorce was then pronounced, and her marriage with the king declared to be null. This decision was confirmed by the parliament, which deprived this princess of the rank of queen, and decreed that she should thenceforward be called princess dowager, as being only the widow of prince Arthur. It was enacted by the same parliament, that it was lawful for the king to marry a second time.

Every thing being thus arranged, the marriage of Pembroke was solemnly crowned at Whitehall, with the usual ceremonies, and with the title of queen. In a few months after this, the celebrated Elizabeth was born, the unhappy offspring of lust and discord; and was subsequently queen of England.

The parliament continued their endeavours by order of the king, to annihilate the pope's authority in England. Every day some bishop mounted the pulpit in St. Paul's, and preached to the people, that the bishop of Rome had no more power in the kingdom, than any other bishop out of his own diocese. The English had been prepared for this change for some years before, so that the king found but little opposition to his wishes in the two houses of parliament. It was therefore decreed that nothing more should be referred after this to the court of Rome; but that all cases wherein an appeal had been made to the pope, should be hereafter finally settled by the king and his council. The king's second marriage was confirmed, and the former having been declared null, it was enacted that the children born of that alliance could not inherit from their father, and should be therefore considered illegitimate; that the male children whom the king might have by Anne Bullen, should succeed to the crown, and that, in the event of having no male issue, the daughters should succeed; so that the princess Mary was disinherited, and Elizabeth declared heiress to the crown. But this law was continued only as long as

the king's passion lasted for Anne Bullen, and the offspring of Henry's connexion with her was afterwards dealt with as severely as the princess Mary; the parliament following no other rule in making or rescinding laws, than the caprices of the prince.

A conspiracy was formed about the year 1533, against the earl of Kildare, deputy of Ireland, which proved fatal to this nobleman and his whole family.* This earl had many enemies. He had supplanted Skeffington in the government of Ireland, and deprived Alan or Allen, archbishop of Dublin, of the office of chancellor, to confer it on another. The earl of Ossory was his brother-in-law, but not his friend, and the spirit of jealousy which had long existed between the houses of Butler and Fitzgerald, was not forgotten by the present chiefs of them. These three noblemen conspired against Kildare, and soon drew others into their party.

John Allen, a creature of the ex-chancellor, who was secretary to the council, and afterwards master of the rolls, was sent to England by the council, to inform the king of the state of the English province, and the abuses which required reformation. He was commissioned to represent to his majesty, that every thing in the province was in a state of decline; that the order which had been established, as well as the language and mode of dress which had been ordained, were neglected; and lastly, that the English laws were not in force for more than about a circuit of twenty miles. He was also ordered to make known to the king and his council, that these abuses proceeded from the great power of some nobles to whom the government was entrusted, the frequent change of deputies, and the making over of the crown lands, by which the revenues intended to support the state were considerably diminished. Allen acquitted himself so well of his commission, that the king sent an order to the deputy to repair to England, to account for his conduct, and to answer for the crimes of which he stood accused.

Kildare dreading the consequences, sought means to delay his voyage. He sent his countess to England, to prevail upon her relatives and friends to solicit the king to countermand the order, under pretext, that her husband's absence might produce dangerous results in the present state of affairs in Ireland. But the enemies of the earl having informed the king and council of England of his attempts, the appeal was rejected. He determined then to risk all,

* Ware, *ibid.* cap. 25.

and to proceed. Previous, however, to his departure, he caused his castles of Maynooth and Ley, and other places which belonged to him, to be provided with arms, and ammunition of all sorts from the king's stores.

The deputy prepared for his voyage to England in the spring of 1534; having before he set out, nominated his son, Thomas Fitzgerald, deputy in his stead, according to the orders he had received from the king, to give the administration of affairs during his absence, to one for whom he should be responsible.* The vice-deputy was a young man about twenty-one, impetuous, and without the experience requisite for so important a trust. The father, when giving him the sword of justice, made a very impressive discourse to him, in presence of the council, at Drogheda. It is quoted by Hollingshed, and is in substance as follows:

"You know, my son, that my sovereign lord, the king, has commanded me to repair to England. I am ignorant of what may arise to me; God alone knows; but whatever may occur, you are as well aware as I am, that my years are far advanced, and that, being a mortal, death may at any time befall me; and that it will necessarily come soon, from my advanced age. As my winter therefore is drawing to a close, and you are only in the spring of life, it is my wish that you conduct yourself in youth with such prudence, that you may enjoy the pleasures of your summer to the satisfaction of your friends; gather the fruits of your autumn, and attain with honour the winter of your career, to which you see I am fast approaching. Since it is his majesty's will that I should appoint a substitute, for whom I shall be responsible, I may be, perhaps, blamed for having placed a naked sword in the hands of so young a man, whose opinions are not yet matured, nor his judgment formed: however, I flatter myself, that, as being your father, I shall have sufficient authority to command you in the government of affairs, and to reprehend you as my son, should this become necessary Remember, likewise, my son, that it is easier to pull down than to build up: be guided therefore in every thing by the wisdom of your council. Though you have the authority of governing others, you must act under their advice." He concluded by presenting his son with the sword, whereupon he took leave, with tears in his eyes, of the whole assembly, and sailed immediately for England, where, on his arrival, he was sent to the tower by orders of the king.

* Cox, History of Ireland, page 226.

The enemies of the Fitzgeralds were not sufficiently revenged by the earl's disgrace; they wished to drag his son and all his family into the same ruin. For this purpose, a report was spread that the earl of Kildare had been beheaded in the tower, and that his son, the deputy, with his uncles and brothers, should soon undergo a similar fate. There were even letters published confirming the report. One of these letters having accidentally fallen into the hands of James de la Hide, the head of the deputy's council, this favourite made him form an alliance with O'Neill, O'Connor, and other Irish noblemen, in order to strengthen his party, and enable him to await the event.

It may be readily imagined that a young nobleman in the flower of youth, could easily be led on the one side by a passion, which inspired revenge for the death of a father by whom he was beloved, and on the other, by apprehension for his own safety, and that of his whole family, who were to be sacrificed to the envy of their enemies. Filled with these ideas, the deputy put himself at the head of one hundred and forty horsemen, well armed, and mounted. With these he crossed the city of Dublin, and stopping at the abbey of Our Lady, where the council was assembled, he posted his troops around the convent, which he entered, and took his seat among the council. He was followed by some of his horsemen, who entered the hall in a tumultuous manner, making a great noise; but silence being ordered, the deputy addressed the meeting, and surrendered the sword of justice, and other attributes of his office; declaimed strongly against the injuries which he and his family sustained, notwithstanding the important services they had rendered to the state; declared that the sword no longer belonged to him; that he was no longer the king's deputy, but his open enemy; and that he had resolved to make him feel for his tyranny and cruelties. He then presented the sword to Cromer, the chancellor. The latter, with tears in his eyes, used every possible argument to dissuade the vice-deputy from an enterprise, the consequences of which might prove fatal to him and his family; and represented to him that the name of a king is sacred, whilst that of a rebel was odious. Fitzgerald told the chancellor in reply, that he did not go there to ask his advice on what he should do, but to inform him of his intentions; and then withdrew from the assembly, and placed himself at the head of his forces. Thomas Fitzgerald having thus raised the standard of revolt, proceeded to strengthen his party. He was first joined by the other

branches of his family, who were numerous and powerful; and he was also seconded by some Irish lords. The rebellion was now becoming general, particularly in the neighbourhood of Dublin. The O'Tools and other Irish seized the opportunity of plundering the territory of Fingal, which was considered the granary of the city; in which they were encouraged by John Burnel, an English gentleman, who was favourable to the rebellion. Being loaded with booty, they were attacked in their retreat near Kilmainham, by a considerable body of the inhabitants of Dublin, who, however, were soon put to flight, leaving eighty men dead upon the spot; the rest were fortunate to effect their escape into the city.

During these troubles several of the king's subjects returned to England. Others sought an asylum in the castle of Dublin, amongst whom were, Allen, archbishop of the city, and Finglasse, chief baron of the exchequer.* Fitzgerald wishing to profit by the consternation which prevailed every where, threatened to besiege the citizens. He sent orders to them to remain neuter if they wished to be spared, informing them that he only intended to lay siege to the castle. Francis Herbert, one of the sheriffs, was immediately despatched to England to inform the king of the rebellion that had broken out; while the other sheriff, John Fitzsimons, undertook to provide the castle with provisions, and all kinds of ammunition necessary to maintain a defence. The unfortunate archbishop, alarmed by these preparations, and dreading the consequences of a siege commanded by his enemy, resolved to escape during the night through one of the city gates, being determined to cross over to England; but the vessel having stranded at Clontarf, on leaving the harbour, he was obliged to retire to a village called Tartain, where he was surprised early in the morning by Fitzgerald, his two uncles, John and Oliver, Sir James de la Hide, and others of their partizans. The prelate was dragged from his bed without clothes, shoes, or hat, by John Teling and Nicholas Wafer. Fitzgerald, moved with compassion, said to them in the Irish language, "*Berweem a boddagh*," that is, "take the boor out of my presence," intimating apparently, to have him sent to prison; but these iniquitous servants, misinterpreting their master's orders, dashed the archbishop's brains out in his presence. Such was the tragical end of this prelate, who had been the principal tool made use of by cardinal Wolsey,

some time before in the destruction of forty monasteries in England. This conduct was looked upon, according to Godwin, bishop of Hereford, in his life of Henry VIII., as the Tolosan, or fatal gold,* that brought misfortune on those who possessed it.† The see of Dublin was occupied by George Brown after the death of Allen.

Thomas Fitzgerald did not lose sight of the siege he had projected. He first made prisoners of the baron of Howth, and Luttrell, chief justice of the court of common pleas, whom he suspected; and then, on the faith of the neutrality which the inhabitants agreed to observe, sent captains James Field of Lusk, Teling, Wafer, Broad, Rouks, and Purcel, each at the head of an hundred men, to invest the castle. This little army having planted some pieces of cannon, encamped before the place.

Thomas having given his orders for the siege, turned his views to another quarter. Being desirous of gaining over young Butler, his cousin, eldest son of the earl of Ossory, he endeavoured by his correspondence to inspire him with the same rebellious opinions which actuated himself; but this young nobleman having refused to enter into any conspiracy against the king, Fitzgerald, accompanied by O'Neill, Sir Richard Walsh, Burnel of Bally-Griffin, and other allies, made an incursion into the county of Kilkenny, where he burned and laid waste the country as far as Thomas-town, on the river Nore. The earl of Ossory was at Jeripont with his forces, and whilst they were consulting upon what plans they should adopt, they were attacked by the enemy, and put to flight. Young Butler was wounded in this engagement; and had only time to retreat to Dunmore, where he was cured of his wounds. The conqueror then made the inhabitants of the English province take an oath of fidelity to him, and confined all those who refused to do so, in his castle of Maynooth.

Fitzgerald desirous of procuring foreign alliances, had recourse to Charles V., and the pope, who could not continue friends to Henry, in consequence of the divorce and schism.‡ He sent Charles Reynolds, arch-

* This manner of expression is derived from the ancient Tectosages, who, being enriched with the spoils of the temples of the Gods, and some eastern nations, returned to Toulouse, which was their country. They were afterwards destroyed by a dreadful plague, which lasted till they had thrown all their unjustly acquired treasures into a lake.

† "Which matter, (as some think,) although Tolosan gold, brought destruction and very great calamities upon all who had touched it."

‡ Cox, *ibid*.

* Ware, de Archiepisc. Dubliniens.

deacon of Kells, and Dominick Poer, as ambassadors; the former to Paul III., and the latter to the emperor, to solicit their assistance. Poer was entrusted with a present for the emperor, which consisted of twelve falcons and fourteen horses, called hobbies. This embassy, however, was of no avail.

In the mean time, Herbert, who had been despatched to England by the citizens of Dublin, to inform the king of the rebellion in Ireland, and receive his commands on that subject, returned. The king commissioned him to exhort the inhabitants to make a vigorous defence, and that he would send them immediate assistance. The citizens hereupon held a meeting to deliberate on what should be done; and it was determined by the greater number of votes, that there was no obligation to keep faith with a traitor, and that the treaty made with Fitzgerald was of no effect. They gave orders, therefore, to have the gates of the city closed, and the besiegers of the castle arrested. Captain Field, who commanded the siege, being informed of their design, thought only of saving his army, part of which swam across the river; but the rest were made prisoners.

Fitzgerald, who was still in the county of Kilkenny, on receiving an account of what had occurred in Dublin, summoned the inhabitants of the English province to join him with all their forces near Dublin. Having arrived within a short distance of the city, he deputed doctor Traverse, Peter Linch, lord of Knock, in the county of Meath, and Oliver Grace, to complain to the inhabitants of the infraction of the treaty which had been concluded with them, and to demand the renewal of it, or at least that they would set the prisoners at liberty. This general having received an answer that did not please him, began the attack upon the castle, on the side of Sheep-street, but being unable to bear the incessant fire from within, which burned the houses around him, he was forced to change his position. He caused the course of the river which supplied the city with water, to be turned. He then posted himself at Thomas-court, where he pulled down the street, and constructed a gallery to shelter his troops. He also burned the new street, and planted a cannon opposite to Newgate, which did considerable damage. Richard Staunton, gaoler of Newgate, killed several of the besiegers from the loop holes in that building. But as the besiegers, wishing to shorten the labour, were bringing faggots to set fire to the gate, and by that means to effect an entrance into the city, the besieged reported in the enemy's camp, that a large body of

English had just landed, and were going to make a general sally. This the citizens performed with such vigour, that the besiegers, thinking their numbers to have been increased, dispersed immediately, leaving several of their men dead upon the spot, and abandoned their works. The general was obliged to conceal himself in the Franciscan convent, in Francis-street, till the next day, when he went to collect the remains of his army.

The earl of Kildare, Thomas Fitzgerald's father, who was confined in the tower of London, heard of the excesses which his son had been guilty of in Ireland, notwithstanding the wise counsels he had given him at his departure, and fell into such a state of melancholy, that he died in the month of September of this year. In the mean time, his son, having collected his forces, which had been scattered by the sally of the besieged, still pressed the city of Dublin; but his artillery and ammunition failing him, he sent James de la Hide, and a few others, to propose terms of capitulation to the citizens. The conditions and hostages having been named and accepted on both sides, he raised the siege, and after sending his artillery to Howth, he proceeded to Maynooth, to see if its castle were in a state of defence.

The king of England having been informed of the troubles caused by the rebellion of the Fitzgeralds, appointed Sir William Skeffington deputy of Ireland for the second time. All those who had filled the high offices of trust, were replaced by men incapable of encouraging the rebels. John Barnewall, baron of Tremlestown, was nominated chancellor instead of Cromer, archbishop of Armagh; Patrick Finglasse, lord chief justice of the king's bench; Thomas Lutterel chief justice of the common pleas; Gerald Aylmer, chief baron of the exchequer, and William Brabazon, vice-treasurer. The above changes having been effected in the government, English troops were sent over. The first division, consisting of one hundred and eighty men, under the command of Musgrave and the two Mamertons, having landed at Howth, were attacked on the road to Dublin, near Clontarf, by Thomas Fitzgerald at the head of two hundred horse; he killed several of them, and sent the rest prisoners to the castle of Maynooth. He himself was, however, wounded in the conflict. Captain Rourks, his pirate, seized on their transport vessels at Howth, one of which was filled with fine English saddle horses, which he sent to his master. The Eglebees and Dacres landed shortly afterwards at Skerries, in the territory of

Fingal, with a body of cavalry. Sir William Brereton, accompanied by his son John, also arrived in Dublin with two hundred and fifty soldiers, and was followed by captain Salisbury and two hundred archers.

The deputy, Skeffington, attended by Leonard lord Grey, who was nominated marshal of Ireland, landed in Dublin in October, provided with every thing necessary to carry on the war. He was received with demonstrations of joy by the mayor and inhabitants. He presented them with letters from the king, thanking them for their loyalty, and then received the sword of justice from the chancellor, baron Tremlestown. He immediately turned all his thoughts towards preparing for an expedition against Thomas Fitzgerald, who, by the death of his father, had become earl of Kildare. He caused this nobleman to be declared a traitor to the king and government, but was forced from indisposition, and the approach of winter, to put off his enterprise against him till spring; and was also obliged to wait for further assistance in men and money from England, as Kildare had just renewed his alliance with O'Neill, O'Connor, and other lords of the country, and was still master of six fortified places, well provided with all kinds of warlike stores; namely, Maynooth, Portlester, Rathangan, Catherlagh, Ley, and Athy, from which they made incursions during the winter, on the inhabitants of the province.

The pope was well aware of the progress the schism was making in England, and the attempt (of a nature hitherto unheard of among Christians,) of Henry VIII., who had declared himself head of the English church, both spiritual and temporal.* Francis I., was Henry's friend, and was interested for him, without, however, being a party to his madness. He solicited the pope, at the interview he had with him at Marseilles, to look favourably upon him,† to which his holiness seemed inclined; but when the ambassadors of Henry were called on to adjust the difficulties that existed, it appeared that they were invested with no specific authority. The surprise of Clement and Francis I., was great. The latter, however, who felt extreme compassion for the weaknesses of Henry, begged of the pope to wait the return of a courier whom they had despatched to England to procure the power necessary for acting. The courier, however, brought no orders to the English ambassadors except that they should inform Clement, that neither the king their

master, nor the archbishop of Canterbury, would acknowledge him to be their judge, and that they would appeal to a future council, for what had been already done. This order was highly displeasing to Francis I., who complained of it to the English ambassadors; and told them, that notwithstanding the entreaties of their master to him to undertake to arrange the matter amicably, he clearly saw that he was opposed to any arrangement. The French monarch, however, did not yet abandon hope; he still endeavoured to renew the negotiation between the pope and Henry, for which purpose he sent Du Bellay, bishop of Paris, to England, in December, invested with full powers. Upon his being admitted to an audience in London, it was strongly debated whether the proposal for renewing the negotiation with Clement should be accepted, or all intercourse with the holy see broken off. The prelate, however, having proposed to go to Rome, to negotiate the matter himself, the former plan was adopted. On his arrival there, he settled every thing to Henry's advantage; but this prince, who was incapable of acting honourably, only renewed his complaints against Francis, because he would not, like himself break with the pope. Shortly afterwards, the bishop of Paris sent a list of the cardinals, whom he thought he had gained over to Henry's favour; and the agents of the emperor and queen Catherine, as well as those of France and England, peremptorily demanding the trial of this celebrated suit, the pope could no longer defer it.

On Monday, the 23d of March, his holiness held a consistory, at which twenty-two cardinals were present.* The divorce question having been proposed, it was under discussion for a very short time only; every member, with the exception of Trivolvee, Rodolphi, and Pesani, being of opinion, that the king of England should be obliged to take back Catherine, and to keep her as his lawful wife. The different opinions being then collected, the sentence was pronounced, by which the pope decided that having heard the report of James Simoneta, bishop of Pisaro, auditor of the sacred palace, and deputy of Paul Capisucchi, who was then absent; he with the advice of the cardinals, condemned the proceedings of Henry as null and unjust, and commanded him to take back his wife Catherine, to live with her, declaring his marriage to be good and valid, and the children of such marriage to be legitimate. The pope forbid him also to con-

* Sander. de Schis. Anglic. lib. 1, p. 76, 77. Baker, Chron. page 280.

† Le Grand, Hist. du Divorce, page 266, et seq.

* Le Grand, Hist. du Divorce, page 237.

tinue the separation longer, and condemned him to pay all the costs of the suit.

It much afflicted the pope to have been forced to pronounce so absolute a sentence as the above. He expressed a desire to do every thing in his power to satisfy the king of England; and it was his wish not to grant the decision before Easter, though he had been required to do so without delay, by many of the cardinals. Clement found himself in the greatest dilemma; he could not deny justice to Catherine, without giving scandal to the whole of Christendom; and by condemning Henry, England must be lost to the church. He deferred, therefore, as long as he was able, coming to any decision upon this celebrated suit. When the sentence was pronounced, he spent the night in company with several divines, deliberating on what was best to be done in the unhappy conjuncture; but Henry's wicked disposition, which would not admit of any control was stronger than the good will of the pope. It is true, says Le Grand, that two days subsequent to the decision, a courier arrived, who declared that the king would submit to every thing; but it is difficult, he continues, to ascertain what were the powers with which he had been entrusted, or on what conditions Henry would resume his obedience to the church. It is even probable, adds our author, that he only made these advances in consequence of letters of the bishop of Paris, who might have written to him as he did to Francis I., that he had gained over many of the cardinals, and that most of those in the consistory would be favourable to his views, which proved to be erroneous. He therefore would have thought that he incurred no risk by submitting to every thing, when he expected that all would be in his favour. We discover here the injustice of the opinion generally entertained of Clement VII., who is accused of having been too hasty in pronouncing the sentence which separated Henry from the church; while in fact, the moderation of the pope on the occasion is well known. The suit had been continued during five years; and the decision was deferred as long as possible, the pope hoping that time would moderate the king's passion. He even proposed to queen Catherine to enter upon a religious life, in order to terminate the difference amicably.

The English parliament passed two acts at this time; one to confirm the divorce, and declare the princess Mary illegitimate, and to establish the succession to the throne in the person of Elizabeth, daughter of Anne

Bullen; the other to confirm the king in the title of supreme head of the English church, and to abolish the pope's authority in England.*

Whilst the parliament laboured to secure to the posterity of Anne Bullen the right of succeeding to the throne, proceedings were going on in Rome against the king of England. The strength of the faction in favor of Spain, the justice of Catherine's cause, the wicked conduct of Henry, and the continual remonstrances of the cardinals, at length forced the pope to issue a bull of excommunication against Henry and Anne Bullen, unless they made their appearance in the end of September, and put an end to the scandal they had given; but the heart of Pharaoh was hardened, and his conscience calmed by the laws which his parliament had enacted in his favour.

It was at this time that the world deplored the fate of the two men in England most illustrious for their learning and piety, Thomas More, lord chancellor, and Fisher, bishop of Rochester. Burnet himself bewails their death, and considers their tragical end as a stain upon the life of Henry. They were the two most distinguished victims of the new ecclesiastical supremacy. When More was urged to acknowledge it, he made the following noble reply: "That were he alone against the whole parliament he would have a diffidence in himself; but now, though the grand council of England were opposed to him, the whole church, that great council of Christians, was in his favour." Fisher's end was not less edifying, or less Christian-like. This was the commencement of the persecution, carried on alike against Catholic and Protestant, and Henry became the most cruel of princes, from the time he assumed the supremacy of the church. It does not appear, says Burnet, that he was naturally prone to cruelty.† He reigned, according to this writer, for twenty-five years, without condemning any one for capital crimes, except two men for whose punishment he cannot be reproached; while in the latter end of his reign he set no bounds to his cruelty. So that Henry, who had previously been exempt from such disorders, did not give himself up to them, according to Burnet, till the last ten years of his life, that is, immediately after his divorce, his open rupture with the church, and his unprecedented usurpation of ecclesiastical supremacy.

* Sander. de Schis. Ang. lib. 1, c. 88. Baker's Chron. p. 281. Heylin's History of the Revolution, page 179.

† Book 3, page 183.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE Earl of Kildare having put his fortifications into a state of defence, particularly the castle of Maynooth, marched with his army towards Connaught to collect the troops which he was to have been provided with by O'Connor and his other allies, A.D. 1535.* Skeffington the deputy, taking advantage of the earl's absence, surrounded the castle of Maynooth on the 15th of March. Sir William Brereton summoned the garrison to surrender on advantageous terms; but as these were not accepted, he endeavoured to effect a breach. His cannon, however, did but little execution during fifteen days, and the castle would probably have held out till the arrival of Kildare, had it not been for the treachery of the governor. Kildare had confided the command of the garrison during his absence, to his foster brother Christopher Parese. This traitor, actuated by avarice, and the desire of establishing his fortune on his master's downfall, wrote secretly to the deputy, and proposed to give up the castle for a stipulated sum of money. The deputy joyfully acceded to the proposal. They only waited for a favourable opportunity to carry it into effect, which soon presented itself; the garrison having gained some advantages in a sally against the besiegers, Parese ordered that rejoicings should take place, and whilst the sentinels lay intoxicated and asleep, the commander gave the signal to the English, who scaled the walls, and almost without resistance, made themselves masters of the castle, in which they found an immense booty.

The deputy entered the place triumphant. Parese appeared before him, thinking that he would soon be well rewarded for his perfidy.† The deputy applauded highly the signal benefit the traitor had rendered to the state. He added, that if the king were informed of it he would not fail to acknowledge so important a service, and in order to enable the monarch to reward him as he ought, for the sacrifice he had made of the earl of Kildare's protection, he required to know in what the favours of that nobleman consisted. Parese, who thought his fortune was already made, informed him minutely of the earl's generous liberality to him. "How then, Parese," replied the deputy, "could you have betrayed so good a master?" Then turning to his officers, he ordered them to

pay the sum agreed upon; but as there was no mention made of life in the compact between them, he ordered him to be beheaded. "Had I known that, my lord," said Parese, "you would not have had the castle on such cheap terms." One Boyse, who was present, replied in Irish, "*Anantra*," that is, "too late;" which gave rise to the proverb among the natives, "It is too late, says Boyse."

Skeffington having placed a garrison in the castle of Maynooth, returned to Dublin. At this time Kildare was on his march with seven thousand men, intending to raise the siege, but having received intelligence on the way, that the castle had surrendered, he was abandoned by part of his army. He, however, continued his march with the rest towards Clane, in the county of Kildare. The deputy having received intelligence of his march, gave the command of Dublin to Brereton, and set out for Naas. Both armies were separated by a bog, and the cavalry being unable to act, the deputy, who was strong in artillery, easily dispersed the earl's army, which was but poorly provided with it. He then forced Rathangan and other places to surrender. After these losses, the earl of Kildare no longer found himself at the head of a strong force. He was, in fact, reduced to the rank of a ring leader, and obliged, in order to support himself, to keep up a petty warfare. He sent a herd of cattle one morning within sight of Rathangan, where there was an English garrison: the English seeing a favourable opportunity of obtaining booty, went out in crowds, without perceiving that the earl and his forces were lying in ambush; they fell into the snare; the earl cut off their retreat, and killed several of their men. He repeated this stratagem at Trim, in the county Meath, by which means he drew out the garrison there also, and put them to the sword.

On the 11th of May, in this year, lord James Butler was created viscount Thurles, and grand admiral of Ireland;* and a few days afterwards, his father, the earl of Ossory, and he, were nominated governors of the counties of Kilkenny, Waterford, and Tipperary, and the districts of Ossory and Ormond, on condition of their endeavouring to retake the castle of Dungarvan, and vigorously resisting the usurpations of the bishop of Rome. According to Cox,† this was the first instance of an engagement of this kind to be met with in the history of Ireland. Leonard lord Grey was also created at this

* War. de Annal. Hib. cap. 27.

† Cox, *ibid.* page 239, 240.

* Cox, *Hist. of Irel.* page 240.

† *Ibid.* page 240.

time viscount Grane. In the month of September following, Thomas Eustace was made baron of Kilcullen, and Sir Richard Power or le Poer, baron of Croghmore. The former was subsequently created viscount Baltinglass.

Lord Grey, who had been sent to England for assistance, returned at this time to Ireland with a reinforcement of cavalry and archers, under the command of Sir William Senlo, Sir Rice Mansel, and Sir Edward Griffith. It appears by a letter written at the time to lord Cromwell, by Aylmer, chief justice, and Allen master of the rolls, that they found the state of affairs in Ireland to be very unpromising; that six of the eight baronies in the county of Kildare, had been laid waste and burned, with part of the county of Meath; that Powerscourt, the building of which had cost five thousand marks, had been destroyed by the O'Byrnes and O'Tools; that Fitzgerald had retaken Rathangan, through the treachery of the sentinels: though having been obliged to abandon the place on the approach of the army, he would have been surprised if the deputy had used the necessary precautions; that O'Morra, who had joined the English, had posted his troops and those of the king, so advantageously, that the rebels were surrounded, and Fitzgerald never could have escaped, had not an English cohort given way; that the plague was depopulating Dublin; that Charles O'Connor had been provided with troops in the king's pay against his brother; that the deputy was sick and unable to defend the castle of Maynooth; that no confidence could be placed in O'Neill, as he had given no hostages, this remark referring to a treaty concluded some time afterwards at Drogheda, between Conn O'Neill and the deputy. This letter concludes with warm praises of William Brabazon, and lord Grey, whom they demanded as their deputy, with orders to convene a parliament.

In the mean time, the deputy having learned that Kildare had withdrawn into Munster, sent lord Grey, Sir William Brereton, and others, in pursuit of him, and after some unavailing skirmishes, Brereton's advice, and the necessity of the affairs of Kildare produced a conference in which that nobleman surrendered to lord Grey, on condition of being pardoned. It is said that he promised him a general pardon. However, this being, Fitzgerald was brought to Dublin, and sent to England, where, notwithstanding the letters of recommendation with which he was provided to the king, he was arrested and confined in the tower, where he remained till the time of his execution.

Stephen Ap Henry, lord Grey's favourite, wrote about this time to Thomas Cromwell, secretary of state, informing him that lord Leonard Grey had gone to England with Fitzgerald; that lord James Butler had marched towards Clonmel, where he had been joined by his brother-in-law, Garrett M'Shane, who could not speak English; that they had advanced together to Dungarvan, which surrendered on their approach, from whence they set out for Youghal, and from that place to Cork, where they received the complaints of Barry against Cormac-Ogue of Muskerry, and M'Carty Riagh. The complaints alluded to, set forth, that these noblemen having regained by force of arms part of the estates which had been usurped by the Barrys from their ancestors in the twelfth century, M'Carty Muskerry, a peaceful man, wished to submit to the decision of government, whilst M'Carty Riagh answered, that with the sword he would preserve what he had gained by the sword. The letter concludes with observing, that Butler and his brother-in-law had continued their march through Mallow and Kilmallock, as far as Limerick, where the son of O'Brien, brother-in-law to Butler, applied to him for assistance against his father and uncle, in the siege of Carrigogonell; but Butler being unprovided with artillery, could undertake nothing for him, and returned to Clonmel, through Cashel.

Skeffington the deputy, having requested permission from the court to return to England, on account of his great age and infirmities, the king's answer was sent to him, in which thanks were given him for the taking of the earl of Kildare. The king told him also to continue in the government of Ireland, and gave orders to convene a parliament; but the deputy died in the end of December, at Kilmainham, and was interred in the cathedral church of St. Patrick, in Dublin. Lord Grey was immediately appointed by the council to succeed him, which nomination was confirmed by the king, with the title of deputy, under Henry, duke of Richmond, lieutenant of Ireland.

Every thing was now in confusion in England. The martyrdom of Fisher and More, and many other sanguinary executions, filled every mind with horror. The people all took the oath acknowledging Henry's supremacy, no one daring to oppose it. His power over the church of England was established by several parliamentary statutes;* and his first act was to confer on Cromwell the title of his spiritual vicar general. Crom-

* Sander. de Schis. Angl. lib. I, page 124.

well was the son of a blacksmith. Having taken a dislike to the trade of shearer, which he had learned, he ran away from his master, enlisted as a soldier, and was present at the sacking of Rome. He afterwards returned to England, and entered the service of cardinal Wolsey, who preferred him to his other servants, and reposed confidence in him. When Cromwell became a member of parliament, he testified his gratitude by supporting his master's interests, and defending him in his misfortunes, by which firmness he acquired the esteem of the king. Having thus advanced himself at court, he made Henry's inclinations his whole study, in order to flatter him in every thing. Discovering that this prince was very ambitious, and that his revenues were not sufficient for his expenses, he advised him to take possession of the revenues of the religious houses. This advice was highly gratifying to the cupidity of Henry, who thought that he who had given it, would be the fittest person to carry it into execution. For this purpose he created Cromwell inspector general of all the convents and religious houses in England: in which quality, notwithstanding that he was an ignorant layman, he was to preside at all the assemblies of the clergy, and to be made acquainted with all matters of an ecclesiastical kind. Cromwell was a Zuinglian, or at least a Lutheran: Cranmer belonged to the same party; he was the intimate friend of Cromwell, and both acted in perfect accordance. The marchioness of Pembroke supported them with all her influence, and in order to increase the party, she procured the bishoprics of Salisbury and Winchester, for Schaxton and Latimer, her almoners, who were secretly Protestants.

Cranmer paid his archiepiscopal visit to his province, with the royal permission. They now began to use the king's authority in all ecclesiastical jurisdiction, in order to establish his spiritual supremacy. The archbishop of Canterbury's first act was to place the church under his yoke, and submit to an earthly king, that power which she had received from God.

Cromwell also paid a visit to his own diocese.* These visitations were followed by the suppression of three hundred and seventy six monasteries, the lands and revenues of which were granted to the king by an act of parliament. All good men exclaimed against this sacrilegious depredation of the property dedicated to God. This was one of the first effects of Henry's supremacy, who

made himself head of the church to plunder it with impunity.

In the beginning of the year 1536, the five uncles of the young earl of Kildare, who was then a prisoner in the tower, namely, James, Oliver, Richard, John, and Walter, who were still under arms, surrendered to lord Grey the deputy, by whom they were sent prisoners to London.* After having sailed, they asked the captain the name of the vessel in which they were; and learning that it was called *The Cow*, they lost their courage, on account of an ancient prophecy, which foretold, that the five sons of an earl should be carried to England in the belly of a cow, and that they would never return. This prophecy proved true inasmuch as the earl of Kildare and his uncles were tried, convicted of high treason, and executed at Tyburn. In the mean time, James de la Hide, one of the first counsellors of Thomas Fitzgerald, earl of Kildare, sought safety in Scotland, where he died.

The race of Kildare was not yet extinct. One of its members still remained, who restored this illustrious house. Gerald, brother to Thomas, aged thirteen years, was sick of the small pox at Donoare, in the county of Kildare, at the time his uncles had surrendered. This young nobleman was under the guardianship of Thomas Leverous, afterwards bishop of Kildare; who had him removed to Offaly, from which he brought him to Thuo-mond, and thence to Kilbritton, in the county of Cork, to his aunt, Eleanor Fitzgerald, widow of M'Carty Riagh. She loved her young nephew tenderly, and had him sent privately to France, having given him one hundred and forty pieces of gold to defray his expenses. On arriving at St. Malo, he was taken to Paris, where, however, he was not long permitted to remain. The English ambassador demanded that he should be given up, in virtue of the peace which had been just concluded between France and England; but the king, having delayed giving his answer for some time, afforded Fitzgerald an opportunity to withdraw to Flanders, whither the ambassador despatched James Sherlock in pursuit of him. The latter being arrested at Valenciennes by the governor, Fitzgerald had again time to reach Brussels, where, however, he was not more secure. From Brussels he went to Liege. He was recommended to the bishop of that city by the emperor, who assigned him one hundred crowns a month for his support. Six months after this, he was brought to

* Baker's Chron. page 283.

* Ware de Annal, Hib. cap. 28.

Rome by cardinal Pole, and after spending a few years with the bishop of Verona, and the cardinals de Mantua and Pole, and other Italian noblemen, he undertook his pilgrimages in the order of Malta, and became commander of the grand duke of Tuscany's cavalry. He remained in his service till the reign of Edward VI., who restored him to the possessions of his ancestors and he was reinstated, two years after this, in his titles of honour by Queen Mary.

Great anarchy prevailed in the family of the Fitzgeralds of Munster, respecting the succession to the title and estates of the house of Desmond.* On the death of James Fitzmaurice, Thomas Moel, or the bald, his grand uncle, third son of him who was beheaded at Drogheda, was declared earl of Desmond. He married the daughter of M'Carty of Muskry; by whom he had a son called Maurice Fitzthomas, who died before his father, leaving a son called James Fitzmaurice. Thomas having died at the age of eighty years, James Fitzmaurice, who was at that time page to Henry VIII., asked permission from the king to return to Ireland, which he readily obtained. The king, who was much attached to this young nobleman, sent a certain number of soldiers with him, as a guard of honour, and also to support him against those who might dispute his right. He landed in Cork, and passing through the territory of Fermoy, on his way to Limerick, he was surprised in an ambuscade which had been laid for him, by his relative Maurice Fitzgerald, and was unfortunately killed. This cruel act was the first step towards the downfall of this illustrious house. Maurice, who had been the cause of the death of his relative, was second son of John of Desmond, who was brother to Thomas the bald, and fourth son of the earl that was beheaded at Drogheda. Maurice having made some incursions upon the lands of Muskry, was pursued by Dermot, son of Teig M'Carty, lord of Muskry, his father-in-law, who took him prisoner. He was afterwards killed by four horsemen, who had been left to guard him whilst M'Carty went in pursuit of the fugitives. John of Desmond, father to Maurice, was acknowledged earl of Desmond, but did not long enjoy the title: he left several children, who all fell as well as their sons, in the last war of earl Garret, except Maurice Fitzjohn, who died in Spain.

Thomas Brown, a friar of the order of St. Augustin, and provincial of that order in England, having been appointed in 1535, to

the archbishopric of Dublin, was consecrated by Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by the bishops of Rochester and Salisbury.* His doctrine was suspected previous to his promotion. On his arrival in Dublin, he had the images and relics of the saints removed from the two cathedrals of the city, and other churches in the diocese. He was the first who embraced the Protestant religion among the clergy of Ireland. It appears by his letter to Cromwell, that he was one of the commissioners appointed by Henry VIII., to supersede the pope's authority in that kingdom, and to establish the ecclesiastical supremacy of the king. The letter of this prelate to the vicar general, quoted by Cox, is as follows:†

"MY LORD—Having, as one of the commissioners of his highness, received your commands, I have endeavoured, even at the hazard of my life, to reduce the nobility in this country to obedience, by acknowledging his highness as supreme both in spiritual and temporal affairs; but I experience many difficulties, particularly from my brother of Armagh, who has gained over the suffragans and clergy under his jurisdiction. He has preached to them, and has cursed those who shall acknowledge the supremacy of his highness, affirming, that Ireland being, according to the chronicles of the country, a holy island, it belongs only to the church of Rome, the former pontiffs of which granted it to the ancestors of the king." He adds, that the archbishop and clergy of Armagh had already sent two messengers to the pope; that it was essential to inform his highness of the necessity of convening a parliament in the country, to have the act of supremacy passed, as little regard was paid to the commission sent in the name of his highness, and concludes by observing, that he feared O'Neill had received orders from the bishop of Rome, to oppose the authority of his highness, as very many among the inhabitants of the country, were attached to his party.

It appears that this letter made some impression on the court of London, as the king gave orders to convene a parliament in the month of May; which was adjourned to Kilkenny, thence to Cashel, afterwards to Limerick, and lastly to Dublin.

The following were the principal statutes enacted in this parliament. The deceased earl of Kildare was declared a traitor. Sir John and Sir Oliver Fitzgerald, uncles to the earl, Sir Walter de la Hide of Mayclare, in

* Relat. Geraldinorum.

* War. de Archiepisc. Dublinens.

† Cox, Hib. Anglic. p. 246.

the district of Carbury, county of Kildare; John Burnell, Richard Walsh, rector of Loughseudy; Charles Reynolds, and other accomplices of Kildare, were convicted of high treason, and all their estates confiscated to the king's use.

The marriage of Henry with Catherine was declared null by this parliament: the divorce pronounced by Cranmer, as well as the king's marriage with Anne Bullen, was declared to be valid; the succession to the throne was secured to the heirs male, who should be born of this or any other marriage, and in case of there being no male heirs, to the females, beginning with Elizabeth, daughter of Anne Bullen: and those who might, by writing or otherwise, oppose this marriage or these regulations for the succession to the crown, should, it was enacted, be convicted of high treason. A total silence on these subjects was enjoined upon all, under pain of being deprived of the benefit of the sanctuary, and an oath to this effect, ordered to be taken by all the king's subjects in Ireland.

A law was also passed against absentees, that is, against the English who possessed estates in Ireland, and did not reside there, such conduct having produced many inconveniences. It was therefore enacted, that the title to the estates of the duke of Norfolk, lord Berkely, the earls of Waterford and Shrewsbury, the heirs of the earl of Ormond, the abbots of Furnes, and St. Augustin of Bristol, the priors of Christ's church at Canterbury, of Lanthony and Cartinel, and the abbots of Kentsham, Osny, Bath, and the abbot of St. Thomas of Dacres, should be vested in the king. It was subsequently decided, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, that in virtue of this law, the earl of Shrewsbury had forfeited the title of earl of Waterford and viscount Dungarvan; he was, however, compensated in England for the losses he had sustained in Ireland.

Cox mentions a circumstance, which, he alleges, gave rise to this law. The king, he says, being determined to give to Ailmer, who was then chief justice of the common pleas, the office of lord justice of the king's bench, the earl of Shrewsbury, at the solicitation of his farmers and vassals in Waterford, opposed his nomination, by representing to the king, that Ailmer was weak-minded, and incapable of discharging the duties of such an office; whereupon the king reprimanded lord Cromwell, who had recommended a man so undeserving. In order to justify his choice, Cromwell requested his majesty to converse a while with Ailmer, and he would soon discover, that he had been

imposed upon; to which the king assented. When Ailmer was presented to him, he was asked what could be the real cause of the decline of the royal interest in Ireland? "It arises," replied Ailmer, "from the circumstance of most of the proprietors of lands, who formerly resided in Ireland to defend their estates, and restrain their vassals, now living in England, and leaving Ireland a prey to the natives of the country; but if your majesty would oblige such proprietors to reside in Ireland, or otherwise confiscate their estates to your own use, you would soon discover a change and an improvement." The King, pleased with this expedient, thanked Ailmer, saying, that the attention of the next parliament should be directed to it.

The parliament in Dublin having regulated the affairs of state, turned their thoughts to those of religion, of their knowledge and judgment regarding which they felt quite assured. In imitation of the English parliament, they confirmed Henry VIII., and his successors on the throne, in the title of supreme head of the church in Ireland, with the power of reforming and correcting heresies and errors in religion. They prohibited all further appeals being made to Rome, under pains and penalties; and ordained, that the clergy should pay the annats or first fruits of their livings to the king. They likewise enacted a law to abolish and suppress the pope's usurpation and authority; penalties were declared against those who should dare to support them; all persons, both lay and ecclesiastic, who held offices or livings, were ordered to take the oath to maintain the king's supremacy, and their refusal was to be considered high treason. This act met with many opponents among the clergy; but the following discourse of Brown, archbishop of Dublin, which was approved of by justice Brabazon, disconcerted them to such a degree, that many among them submitted to take it.

"MY LORDS,—In obeying your king, you imitate your Saviour Jesus Christ. The high priest of our souls paid tribute to Cæsar, who was not a Christian; consequently, you owe more honour to his highness, your prince, who is both a king and a Christian. In the time of our ancestors, Rome and its bishops acknowledged emperors, kings, and princes, to be sovereigns in their respective states, and even vicars of Jesus Christ. But to the shame of the bishop of Rome, he now denies, what his predecessors have acknowledged. Thus his highness claims only what the bishop Fleutherius had granted to St. Lucius, the first Christian king of the Britons; so that I make no scruple of acknowledging his

highness, king Henry VIII., to be supreme head, both in spiritual and temporal affairs, in England and in Ireland, and that he who refuses to submit as I do to this law, is not a faithful subject to his majesty." The discriminating reader will judge of this prelate's reasoning.

This parliament granted to the king and to his successors, for ever, a twentieth part of the revenues and annual rents of the secular livings, abbeys, friaries, and religious houses in the kingdom of Ireland. Henry was so well pleased with this grant, that he wrote a letter of thanks to the clergy. An act was passed prohibiting any but those who spoke English, and followed the English taste in every thing, to be appointed to livings. In addition, this parliament decreed the suppression of the abbeys of Bectif, St. Peter of Trim, Dousk, Duleek, Holm-Patrick, Baltinglass, Grany, Teagh-Moling, Dunbroody, Tintern, Ballybogan, Hoggis, and Ferns, and confiscated their property to the king's use. At the same time, the priory of St. Wolstan's, in the county of Kildare, was suppressed, by another act. It was at this time, that what has been already observed of the bull, by which Adrian IV., had conferred Ireland on Henry II., began to be verified, namely, "that it was the cause of the fall of religion in this Island."*

The parliament which had fabricated the above named laws, and by which the schism of Henry VIII., was introduced into Ireland, was the parliament of the English province, and not that of all Ireland; like the preceding ones, it was composed solely of Englishmen by birth or origin; the ancient Irish had no seat in it; they were excluded from all offices in the militia and magistracy, which is the cause of their being scarcely ever mentioned by English writers. They were strongly attached to the religion of their ancestors, and it is probable that they would all have continued so, had they remained a free people.

A law was likewise enacted in this parliament for the suppression of the tributes which the English colonists had paid to some Irish nobles, by whom they were protected. Marriages with the Irish were prohibited, particularly with the children of those who had not taken the oath of allegiance in a court of justice, subsequently to the law being passed for so doing.† This act, however, was repealed under James I.

* Vol. I. part 2, page 240.

† In consequence of this law, which was often re-enacted by the English parliament, some of the

The first who was sacrificed for his attachment to the cause of the pope, was John Traverse, a native of Ireland, a secular priest, and doctor in theology. About this time he published a book entitled the Defence of the Pope's Supremacy, notwithstanding the twenty-eighth statute of Henry VIII., who had assumed to himself that prerogative. This author was summoned to appear before the judges; and having confessed the deed, he was condemned to have his fingers cut off and thrown into the fire.*

Whilst the parliament was assembled in Dublin, O'Connor and his vassals made some incursions into the territory of Carbury, in the county of Kildare, where they committed dreadful havoc. In order to revenge this insult, baron Tremlestown, chancellor of Ireland, and Brabazon, the vice-treasurer, marched with some troops into Offaly, where they likewise committed frightful devastations, and forced O'Connor to return and defend his own country.

The English having violated some articles of the peace, concluded the preceding year between Conn O'Neill and Skeffington, who was deputy, O'Neill took up arms in defence of his right. The English government being alarmed by O'Neill's determination, the deputy despatched Brereton towards the frontiers of Ulster, to settle the dispute; he entered into a negotiation with the prince, and renewed the treaty which had been previously concluded with Skeffington. About this time, Henry VIII. sent to the city of Waterford a gilt sword and hat in token of his protection, for their loyalty and attachment to the crown.

John Fitzgerald, earl of Desmond, after the death of the lawful heir, who had been murdered through the malice and envy of Maurice, as has been already observed, died

writers in that country have maliciously set forth, that the meanest English settler would not give his daughter in marriage to the noblest Irishman; it was, however, much less from contempt, than in conformity with this law, which was the result of English policy; it would not allow the people to bind themselves by those ties which might unite their common interests. Besides, the contempt was mutual: the Irish were so far from seeking alliances with those strangers, that they considered them as a corrupt blood, or rather an impure deposit which the sea had cast upon their shores. "And so much disaffected are the Anglo-Irish from the natives, that the meanest settler would not give his daughter to the noblest Irishman. But the Irish hold them in such contempt, that they consider their blood impure, and themselves the excrement of the sea."—*Rutgerus Hermanridas*, p. 519,

* Hist. Cathol. p. 71. Surius ad an. 1539. Cambr. Evers. page 205.

this year at Tralee, in the county of Kerry;* he left three sons, James, the eldest, who succeeded him; Maurice, already known for his cruelty, and John Oge, which signifies young.

James, earl of Desmond, a young man of bravery and enterprise, excited some disturbances in Munster. In order to check the disorder, government sent James Butler, viscount of Thurles, at the head of an army, into the county of Limerick, where he laid waste the estates of the earl, repaired the castle of Loughguir, and placed a garrison in it. The deputy repaired to Loughguir in the month of July, from whence he set out for Carrigogoneel, which he took on the 2d of August. It is said, that he immediately restored this castle to the owner for a small sum. On the 6th he advanced as far as Brien's bridge, took possession of the castle, (the garrison being unable to resist his artillery), and destroyed the bridge. His conquests ended here, in consequence of a mutiny among the soldiers, who were in want of provisions.

Thomas O'Mullally or Lally, archbishop of Tuam, died about the end of April, 1539, and was interred in the convent of the minor brothers of Galway, in the same tomb as his predecessor, Maurice O'Fihely.† Thomas was a minor brother; he convened a synod in Galway, at which he presided, the statutes of which have been lost. He was succeeded by Christopher Bodekin.

The same year, Henry, duke of Richmond and Somerset, died; he was natural son of Henry VIII., by Elizabeth Blount, and was commonly called Henry Fitzroy. It is said that he possessed great qualities, both of mind and body. He was lord lieutenant of Ireland, but the administration had been confided successively to Skeffington, Kildare, and Grey, his deputies. He died without issue, at St. James, near Westminster, in the month of July, and was greatly regretted by the king.

Queen Catherine of Arragon resided in the castle of Kimbolton, county of Huntingdon, in a very unhealthy situation. The cruelties which were practised in her regard, caused her excessive grief; but she bore the unworthy treatment which she received, as a true Christian. The title of queen was not only wrested from her by an act of parliament, but her servants were constrained by oath to address her by no other title than

that of princess dowager.* She beheld with grief, an old man, named John Forest, of the order of St. Francis, her confessor, and in whose society she found some consolation, suffer martyrdom in her cause, after two years imprisonment, together with thirty-five others of the same order. She was aware too, of the tragical end of Fisher, More, and several others who were sacrificed on her account; so that being of too delicate a constitution to bear up against such an overwhelming series of afflictions, she fell into a decline, which terminated her existence in the month of January. Finding her end approaching, she wrote the following letter, which she sent to the king by one of her maids.

"My very dear Lord, King, and Husband,

"As the hour of my death is now approaching, my love for you influences me to forewarn you to prefer your salvation to all the perishable things of this world, without even excepting your anxiety for your own person, which has produced to me the heavy calamities that have been inflicted, and caused such troubles to yourself; but I heartily forgive you all, and pray that the Lord may also forgive you. I recommend our daughter Mary to your particular care, and beseech you, as I have already done, to act with all the tenderness of a father towards her. I beseech you, likewise, to give my three maids a marriage portion, and to my other servants a year's wages, besides what is already due to them, to secure them against want. Lastly, I declare it to be my desire to see you in preference to anything this world affords. Farewell."

On reading the above letter, Henry could not refrain from tears, notwithstanding the obduracy of his heart; and having been informed of her death, a few days afterwards, he ordered his household to put on mourning. The marchioness, as a mark of her joy, had herself and her female attendants all dressed in yellow; but her joy was soon changed into sorrow, for in a short time after this she was delivered of a monstrous abortion. Four or five months after the death of queen Catherine, Anne was sent to the tower, where she was accused and found guilty of adultery with several persons, and of incest with her brother George; she was then condemned to be beheaded. Thomas Bullen, her sup-

* Relat. Gerald.

† Ware, de Archiepisc. Tuamens.

* Sander. de Schis. Anglic. lib. 1, page 118. Polidor. Virgil. Hist. lib. 27, p. 1741. Heylin's. Hist. of the Reform. page 179. Baker's Chron. page 283.

posed father, was one of her judges, and the first to pronounce her guilty; she was executed* in the month of May. Three days afterwards, George Bullen, the brother of Anne, Henry Norris, William Brereton, Francis Weston, and Mark Smeton, a musician, suffered the same fate as Anne, the first for incest with her, the others for adultery. The day after her execution, Henry married Jane Seymour, daughter of Sir John Seymour and sister to lord Edward Seymour, earl of Hartford and duke of Somerset; by this marriage he had Edward VI. Anne enjoyed but for three years the elevation to which she had been raised by so many troubles. The same passion which had been the source of her greatness, became the cause of her ruin; and Henry, who had sacrificed Catherine of Arragon for her sake, soon sacrificed herself to the youth and charms of Jane Seymour. In losing the king's affections, however, Catherine preserved his esteem to the last moment, whilst he sent Anne, like the most infamous criminal, to die on a scaffold, and caused his marriage to be annulled in favour of Jane Seymour, as he had previously broken his marriage with Catherine for the sake of Anne. Lastly, he caused Elizabeth, daughter of Anne, to be declared illegitimate, as Mary, the daughter of Catherine, had before been. Polidore, Virgil, and Sanders, place the death of queen Catherine in 1535; and the latter, that of Anne Bullen, four months afterwards. According to Baker, the death of Anne took place in 1537. We shall not, however, undertake here to reconcile their difference.

Lord Grey, deputy of Ireland, undertook, in April, 1537, an expedition into Ofaly, against Charles O'Connor; but the continual rains and bad weather defeated his plan of operations, and obliged him to conclude a dishonourable treaty with that nobleman*. He then turned his arms against the Cavanaghs, O'Carrolls, and others, and contented himself with their submission, and some hostages. He marched, in the month of June, towards Fearcall, the country of the O'Molloys, where he surprised alternately, the castles of Eglis, Bir, and Modrimye. He afterwards received the submission of O'Kennedy of Ormond, M'Brian Arra, O'Mulrian of Owny, Ulick Burke of Clanriccard, and Tybod Bourk M'William; and then marched towards Limerick, where the bishop, mayor, and aldermen took the oath of supremacy, and renounced the authority of the pope. The clergy and people were commanded to

follow their example, and deposit their certificates in the court of chancery. In the month of July, the army arrived at O'Brien's bridge, where, after some skirmishing with the rebels,* the castles and the bridge were destroyed. The deputy then marched through Thuomond towards Connaught, where he took the castles of Clare, Ballycolame, and Ballyclare. The latter place he gave up to Ulick Burke, and set out with his troops for Galway; here he and his army were entertained at the expense of the corporation, for seven days; the mayor and aldermen, like those of Limerick, took the oath of supremacy, and renounced the pope's authority also; at the same time, O'Flaherty, O'Maddin, and M'Yoris, (Birmingham), submitted to the deputy; he then passed through Mainech, the country of the O'Kellys, where O'Connor M'Henry performed the same ceremony; lastly, he took a castle in the territory of the M'Coghlan, and from thence he repaired to Maynooth. The principal object of the deputy's tour was in all appearance to establish the ecclesiastical supremacy of Henry VIII., in Ireland.

The tyranny of the English drove several of the Irish, at this time, from their country, to seek peace under a milder government, in foreign climes. Of this number was John, son of Edmond O'Dwyer, and brother of Cornelius, titular archbishop of Tuam. He belonged to the ancient and noble family of the O'Dwyers of Coillenemanagh, in the county of Tipperary, who were descended from Heremon, by Ugane More, and Concovar, surnamed Abhvarua, both monarchs of Ireland, the former three centuries before the Christian era, and the second in the first age of Christianity. This John O'Dwyer, settled in Burgundy in the reign of Francis I., according to an ancient manuscript preserved in the family. As foreign names are subject to changes in countries in which they are unknown, on account of the difference of pronunciation, the name of John O'Dwyer was at first changed to O'Doyer, and afterwards to Handoire. The governor of the castle of Peronne, who was married to Mademoiselle de Collincourt, daughter to the marquis de Collincourt, and Mademoiselle Bethune, aunt to the present duke de Sully, is descended, in a direct line, from the John O'Doyer in question.

The earl of Desmond was still under arms; but the superior army of the deputy preventing him from undertaking any thing important, he was forced to write to the

* War. de Annal. Hib. c. 29. Cox, History of Ireland, p. 232, et seq.

* They are so called only by an Englishman.

general, offering to surrender on certain conditions. The capitulation being of a tedious character, the deputy was obliged to withdraw his forces for want of provisions, and to appoint commissioners to conclude the treaty with Desmond. The commissioners appointed Clonmel, then a walled city, as the place of their conference, but Desmond refused to go thither, in assertion of an ancient family privilege. Having then brought them to his camp, he took the oath of allegiance, and sent Thomas Ruadh or the Red, his natural son, as an hostage to England,* whither he himself shortly afterwards set out, attended by a splendid retinue. On his arrival, he submitted to Henry, and acknowledged that all his estates had devolved on the crown, on account of the lawful heir having been murdered. The king, who was busily occupied with other affairs, and desirous that tranquillity should be restored to Ireland, received the earl with much kindness, reinstated him in his ancient patrimony, and dismissed him honourably, to return to his estates.

The jealousies which had prevailed, for some time, between the deputy and the earl of Ossory, increased, at this period to direct hostilities. The deputy was so transported with rage against the earl, that he sent part of his army to lay waste the lands of the Butlers. He also quarrelled with archbishop Brown, and Allen, the master of the rolls; and though commissioners were sent by the king, expressly to investigate their differences and to reconcile them, the matter was only temporarily arranged; for the deputy at length fell a sacrifice to their hatred.

O'Neill collected his forces in Ulster, and gave the command of them to his son. His design was, to make himself master of the castle of Ardglass, in the district of Lecale. The deputy having received intelligence of his movement, gave orders for the marching of the troops; but previous to undertaking any thing, it was determined by the council, to send the chancellor, baron Trimlestown, Stapely, bishop of Meath, and Ailmer, chief justice, to the frontiers of Ulster, to enter into a treaty of peace with O'Neill. After some difficulties on both sides, the treaty was concluded, and the two armies disbanded. Hugh or Aod O'Donnell, surnamed *Dubh*, that is, the black, hereditary prince of Tirconnel, died in July. He was succeeded by his son Magnus or Manus, who was confirmed in the succession by a popular election, according to custom, near the church of Kilmacrenan.

* Relat. Gerald.

In the month of September, the king of England sent four commissioners to Ireland,* namely, Sir Anthony St. Leger, Sir George Pawlett, Sir Thomas Moyle, and Sir William Barnes, with orders to investigate every thing connected with the late rebellion, and those who had been accomplices in it. These commissioners conducted themselves with much prudence and moderation, and having ended their inquiries, granted a pardon and general amnesty to the guilty. They had orders, conjointly with the deputy and council, to regulate the king's revenues; to let the crown lands in farms; and to make an estimate of the estates of the earl of Kildare, which amounted to eight hundred and ninety-three pounds, eleven shillings, and eight pence sterling, which was thought a large sum at that time. They reconciled the deputy Grey and the earl of Ossory, who resumed the title of Ormond, the house of Bullen having become extinct.

In October, queen Jane died in child-bed, at Hampton court; having undergone the Cæsarean operation, by which the life of her child was saved. This child was called Edward at his baptism.† His sponsors were Cranmer, the duke of Norfolk, and his sister, the princess Mary, daughter of Catherine of Arragon. On the 18th of the same month, he was created prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Chester, and reigned after his father under the name of Edward VI. John Barnwell, baron of Trimlestown, and chancellor of Ireland, died in July, 1538. John Allen was first nominated keeper of the seals by the deputy and council, and afterwards chancellor of Ireland by orders of the king.

In the month of May, the deputy marched against O'Reilly, but was stopped by the submission of that nobleman. He afterwards entered Lecale and the Ardes, in the county of Down, against a nobleman of English extraction, called Savage, to whom Cox and others give the appellation of "a degenerate Englishman."‡ He took the castle of Dundrum, belonging to Magennis, with several other fortified places, and laid all that country waste. He next laid his sacrilegious hands on the cathedral church of Down, which he burned; destroyed the monuments

* War. de Annal. Hib. Reign of Hen. VIII. c. 29.

† Baker, Chron. page 285.

‡ The same religion began already to unite several noble English families with the ancient Irish, against the English who had forsaken their religion: a union which acquired additional strength under Elizabeth and the succeeding reigns.

of St. Patrick, St. Bridget, and St. Columb-Kill, and committed several other sacrilegious acts.* He then made war against images, which were destroyed every where, at this time, particularly those that were most revered by the faithful. The celebrated statue of the blessed Virgin at Trim, was burned, as also the crucifix of the abbey of Ballybogan, and St. Patrick's crozier,* which had been removed, by order of William Fitzadelm, in the twelfth century, from Armagh to Dublin, to be deposited in the cathedral church of the blessed Trinity. In many other parts of the kingdom, the example of the English was in this instance followed, and it must be admitted, that all the wars in Ireland, from that period to the present, have been wars on account of religion.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

WHILST the deputy was employed in Ulster, O'Connor on one side, and O'Toole on the other, made incursions on the English province, in order to be revenged for the tyranny which was exercised against the inhabitants of their province.† In consequence of this, the deputy was obliged to leave the north, and march toward Offaly, to create a diversion, by forcing O'Connor to return to the relief of his own country. It does not appear, however, that the two armies came to an engagement. The deputy took the castles of Braghlan and Dingen, (at present Philipstown). In his letter, written in August, to the king, he boasts that he had forced O'Carrol and O'Meagher to give him hostages, and that the former had purchased the liberty of his son for three hundred marks. In the same letter he mentions also, that O'Carrol was desirous of holding his lands by letters patent from the king; but that it would be imprudent to grant them to him, as he was a man that could not be relied upon; that the English were already sufficiently acquainted with the Irish and their country, to turn it to good account

* Providence has preserved a crozier to posterity, which St. Patrick had used at the baptism of Aongus, king of Cashel, the holy apostle having left it with O'Kearny of Cashel, to be used by the bishops of that church on days of ceremony, whose descendants have preserved it, with veneration, to the present time. This venerable monument of Christian antiquity, is still in possession of Brien O'Kearny of Fethard, in the county of Tipperary, the chief of the ancient family of that name.

† Cox. Hist. of Ireland, p. 255.

for his majesty, if he would but furnish them with the means necessary for that purpose. It was thus that those iniquitous ministers deprived the Irish of the protection of the kings of England, that they might plunder them with impunity. It was contrary to their interest, that they should hold their lands under legal titles, as they would thereby acquire the rank of subjects, and the protection of the laws. In another letter, written in March, he informed him that he had forced Brien and Cahir O'Connor to submit to him.

The schism and supremacy of the king of England made but slow progress in Ireland.* They were, however, warmly supported by archbishop Brown: in his letters to Cromwell, he complains bitterly of the opposition that he had experienced from Cromer, the primate, and the clergy in general, which he ascribed to the ignorance and zeal of the nation—the usual mode of reasoning with heretics. The conduct of this archbishop in his diocese, and his close intimacy with Cromwell, who was at least a Lutheran, are strong proofs that he did not confine himself exclusively to the affair of the supremacy; but that he intended to introduce the reformation into Ireland by degrees, and carry matters farther than even he, whom he wished to make head of the church.

In another letter, in May, the archbishop informed Cromwell, that the primate and clergy of Ireland had received a brief from the pope, to excommunicate all those who should acknowledge the king's supremacy. He also added, that the viceroy possessed but little authority over the ancient inhabitants of the country; that the nation, (that is the English province) was poor and unable to subdue them; that since Ireland had been in possession of the king's ancestors, the ancient Irish had never ceased to solicit the aid of foreign powers; and that at present, the English by descent, and the ancient Irish, were beginning to forget their national animosities, by opposing the king's ordinances, which might induce some foreign power to invade Ireland. By this we discover that the English province, comprising about a third of the kingdom, and emphatically called a nation by the English, was distinguished from the rest of the island; that Ireland had, since the twelfth century, been inhabited by two distinct people, who had no intercourse but that of war; and lastly, that those two people became united under Henry VIII. in opposing the innovations,

* Cox. Hist. of Ireland, p. 256.

and changes which that prince was desirous of introducing into religion.

About this time, a friar named Thady O'Birne, belonging to the order of St. Francis, was arrested on suspicion, and imprisoned in the castle of Dublin. Amongst his papers was a letter addressed to O'Neill, prince of Tyrone, and signed by the bishop of Metz, of which the following is a copy :—

"My son O'Neill,

"You, as well as your ancestors, have ever been faithful to the mother church of Rome. His holiness Paul, our present pope, and the council of the holy fathers, have lately discovered a prophecy of St. Laserian, an Irish bishop of Cashel, in which it is foretold that the church of Rome shall fall, when the Catholic faith will have been destroyed in Ireland. Put down, therefore, all heresy, and the enemies of his holiness, for the glory of the mother church, the honour of St. Peter, and your own safety; for when the Catholic faith will perish in Ireland, the church of Rome shall also fall. The council of cardinals have, on this account, deemed it prudent to encourage your country, Ireland, that sacred island, being certain that the mother church, having a worthy son, like you and others, who will come to your assistance, will never fall, but always retain, in spite of fate, more or less influence in Britain. Having thus obeyed the orders of the sacred council, we recommend your royal person to the holy Trinity, to the blessed Virgin, to St. Peter and St. Paul, and to the whole court of heaven. Amen."

This letter, which is quoted by Cox, in his history of Ireland, is taken from the life of Brown, archbishop of Dublin. We do not pretend in this place to decide whether it be true, or invented by the heretics. We do not discover St. Laserian, who is mentioned in it, in the catalogue of the prelates of Cashel, nor is it certain that O'Neill received such a letter; but it is very probable that the Irish were applied to in their then circumstances by many foreign princes.

In the beginning of May, 1539, the deputy Grey undertook an expedition into Ulster against Conn O'Neill, where he laid waste and depopulated the environs of Armagh, and carried away immense booty.* In order to be revenged for this insult, O'Neill assembled the lords of his province, O'Donnell, Maguire, Magennis, O'Cahane, O'Hanlon, and other allies, with their vassals, in the month of

August. Placing himself at the head of this confederate army, he laid waste the possessions of the English, from Atherdee, in the county of Louth, to Navan, in Meath, and burned these two towns. In the meanwhile, the deputy received from England a reinforcement of two hundred and fifty men, at the head of whom, together with the troops of the province, and the inhabitants of Dublin and Drogheda, he marched to meet O'Neill, whom he surprised in his camp at Bellahoa. He was assisted in this enterprise by the baron of Slane, Robert Betagh, of Moynalta, his equerry, Mabe, of Mabestown, and other noblemen. The battle, which was bloody, lasted until night. The Irish lost nearly four thousand men killed, and Magennis, one of their chiefs: the English lost about the same number, and some of their leaders, amongst whom was General Mabe. After this action, the deputy conferred the honour of knighthood on chief justice Ailmer, Talbot, of Malahide. Fitzsimons, mayor of Dublin, and Courcy, mayor of Drogheda; James Fleming, baron of Slane, was also highly extolled for his bravery. During the absence of the deputy, O'Connor Faly and O'Tool ravaged the English province. It may be easily imagined, that from the state of misery to which Ireland was reduced by the frequent wars which devastated her provinces, the sorrowful consequences were famine and distempers, from which numbers, both of men and cattle, died.

Although the ecclesiastical supremacy of Henry VIII., met with considerable opposition in Ireland, the suppression of religious houses made a rapid progress in that country. Threats and caresses were the means resorted to for this purpose. It was impossible that a superior force could be resisted; the heads, therefore, of religious houses looked upon themselves as very happy in receiving pensions for life, for surrendering their abbeys, priories, and other religious establishments, to the king. The number of houses suppressed in Ireland is too great to admit of being particularised; we shall therefore confine ourselves to the principal ones, the heads of which were ecclesiastical lords, who had the right of seats in parliament. The most celebrated abbeys were those of Mellifont, St. Thomas, and of our Lady, near Dublin, Baltinglass, Jeripont, Tintern, in the county of Wexford, Douske, and Tracton, in the county of Cork, Dunbrody, Magie or Nenai and Owney, in the county of Limerick, Rosglasser, Monasterevan, in Ofaly, Bectif, in Meath, and Rathto, in the county of Kerry. The chief priories were those of St. John

* War de Annal. cap. 31.

of Jerusalem, Christ's church, in Dublin, St. Peter, near Trim, Conal, Kenlis, in Ossory, St. Patrick, in Down, All Saints, near Dublin, Athadsl, Killagh, and the priory of the blessed Virgin, in the town of Louth.

A Waterford ship, laden with wine, was returning this year from Portugal, and being overtaken by a storm, was driven upon the coast of Baltimore, but had the good fortune to escape, and anchored adjoining the estates of O'Driscol, who seized it as a matter of right.

The English merchants of Waterford, viewing this act of O'Driscol as one of perfidy and treason, fitted out two ships and a galley, with four hundred men on board, the command of which was given to two captains, called Woodlock and Dobbin, to take revenge for the insult they had received. They sailed towards Baltimore, and not content with recovering the vessel, with the crew, and part of her cargo, they pillaged without opposition the islands of Inishircan and Inche-pite, and having razed the castle of O'Driscol to the ground, returned to Waterford, laden with spoil.

The reformation had not been openly avowed under Henry VIII.; this revolution being reserved for a future reign. That king was a schismatic only; he published, about this time, a declaration in favour of the six celebrated articles; first, that of transubstantiation; second, the communion in one kind; third, the celibacy of priests, with pain of death against those who should violate it; fourth, the obligation of keeping vows; fifth, private masses; and sixth, the necessity of auricular confession. These articles were published by authority of the king and parliament, with penalty of death against those who would oppose them obstinately, and against others imprisonment according to the king's pleasure.*

Leonard Grey, lord justice of Ireland, having been recalled in the beginning of spring, A.D. 1540, returned to England, leaving Sir William Brereton in Ireland, as lord justice. Grey was at first well received by the king, who had already created him viscount Grany, for his services in Ireland; he had even the honour of wearing his sword, according to custom, in presence of the king, on the day of Pentecost. These favours were, however, soon changed into disgrace, and at last cost him his life.

The principal Irish chieftains, witnessing the deadly blows that were aimed against their religion and liberty, determined to make

an effort in favour of both.* For this purpose, O'Neill, O'Brien, O'Donnel, and O'Connor formed a league together, and agreed to meet, in the month of July, at Fowre, in Westmeath; intending to deliberate on what measures they should adopt for the defence of their religion and country. But Brereton having marched to attack them with eight thousand troops and artillery, and they being unprepared to meet him, they thought prudent to wait for a more favourable opportunity, and withdrew for the time.

After this expedition, Brereton was replaced by Anthony St. Leger, a knight of the order of the garter, and gentleman of the bedchamber; the king having sent him to Ireland in the month of July, as deputy. On his arrival, he took the usual oath in Christ's church. St. Leger brought with him three experienced commissioners, Thomas Walsh, John Myn, and William Caven-dish, who were of great assistance to him in regulating the rolls of the crown lands. The court commissioned Brown, archbishop of Dublin, and Robert Cowley, master of the rolls to take an inventory of the personal goods which lord Grey had left in Ireland, with orders to give up every thing to St. Leger, to be disposed of, according to the king's will. Allen, the chancellor, Brabazon, the vice treasurer, and Cowley, received another commission to regulate the pensions which were granted to the monks of the abbey that had been suppressed.

Brereton having been appointed lord marshal of Ireland, was sent by the deputy to Munster, to receive the submission of James Fitzjohn, earl of Desmond; but the lord marshal fell sick on his way, and died at Kilkenny, where he was interred in the church of St. Canice. This accident did not prevent the earl from repairing, in the month of January following, to Cahir, on the river Suire, where he submitted, in presence of the deputy and council, and renounced the ancient privileges of his family, by which he had the right of being absent from parliament during pleasure, and of refusing to enter or sojourn in walled cities.

Money was coined at this time in Ireland, by orders of the king; namely, four-penny, two-penny, and penny pieces, stamped with the harp. This was afterwards prohibited, under pain of confiscation and fine.

Sir William Darcy, a native of Meath, died this year, at an advanced age, having been for some time vice treasurer of Ireland. He was a wise and learned man, and very

* Ware, de Annal, Hib. cap. 32.

* Ware, de Annal. Hib. cap. 32.

zealous for the interests of his country. He wrote in English, a work on the causes of the ruin of Ireland.

Henry, who had been a widower for two years, began now to think of marrying again.* Among the many matches that were proposed, the princess Anne, sister to the duke of Cleves, was one. She was a Protestant, and therefore approved of by Cromwell, who was the king's favourite at this time. This minister used all his influence with Henry in favour of the marriage, which was shortly afterwards determined upon, and celebrated by Cranmer. Cromwell was then created earl of Essex, to the prejudice of the Devreux family, who should have inherited, not only the estate, but the title, after Henry Bouchier, the last earl, who died without issue. The king having conceived a dislike for Anne of Cleves, a few months after his marriage with her, caused Cromwell to be arrested on the 9th of July, and brought to the tower.† He was then tried, and condemned by the parliament, as a heretic and traitor to the state, without being heard, in accordance with that abominable law, of which, it is said, he was himself the author. About the end of the same month, he was beheaded on Tower Hill. He suffered this punishment for having been the chief adviser of his master's marriage, and met his destruction where he thought to have found support. In the life of this man, who was in every other respect, wicked, we discover one trait that does honour to his memory, which is, his having introduced into the churches of England, the custom of registering the baptisms, marriages, and burials, whereby the births and alliances of families are more solidly attested than by proof of witnesses, which had been previously resorted to. It is probable that this custom was introduced into all other churches about the same time.‡

After the execution of Cromwell, the king had still, for his own satisfaction, to get rid of a wife, to whom he had taken an unconquerable dislike. He resolved, therefore, to break his marriage with Anne of Cleves; and the parliament, always willing to do every thing to please him, declared it was null and void; that either party was at liberty to marry another: and that the queen should henceforward be called the princess Anne of Cleves.

Executions were, about this time, general throughout England; the blood of the first

nobility was spilled through the inconsistency and cruelty of an inhuman prince.* What idea can be formed of an age, or rather of a nation, whose parliaments are so corrupt, and judges so wicked, as to arraign and condemn the innocent, for the gratification of a brutal tyrant, whose fury was levelled alike against every sex and condition. The fate of Margaret, countess of Salisbury, alone, is enough to fill us with horror. She was nearly allied to the king, and the last of the house of Plantagenet, being daughter of the duke of Clarence, and sister to the celebrated earl of Warwick, who had been so unjustly put to death in the preceding reign.† She was condemned, at the age of eighty years, to die, for no other crime than that of having written an affectionate letter to her son, Reginald Pole. Struggling with the executioner on the scaffold, this barbarian seized the unfortunate lady by the hair, grown grey with age, and dragged her by force to the block!

The king conferred titles of honour on some Irish lords in 1541. On the 11th of July, Plunket was raised to the peerage, under the title of lord baron of Dunsany, in the county of Meath, and in the following month, Oliver Plunket was honoured with the title of lord baron of Louth.‡

Edmond Butler, lord of Dunboyne, near Dublin, was created a peer of the realm, under the title of lord baron Dunboyne. He was descended from Theobald, fourth grand butler of Ireland, and Jane, daughter of John Fitzgeoffry, earl of Essex, sister and co-heiress of John and Richard Fitzjohn, earls of Essex, who died without issue.§

The king also granted the title of baron of Carbury, in the county of Kildare, to William Bermingham; and that of viscount of Clontarf to John Rawson, prior of Kilmainsham. Thomas Eustace was likewise made a peer of the realm, under the title of viscount Baltinglass.

St. Leger, the deputy, on his return from Limerick, where he had a conference with O'Brien, respecting his submission, convened a parliament, which was prorogued several times. The first act of this parliament was to erect Ireland into a kingdom, and give to Henry VIII. the title of king, instead of that of lord of Ireland, which had been till

* Baker's Chron. p. 287. Higgin's Short View, page 195.

† Sander. de Schis. Angl. lib. 1, page 133. Salmon, Hist. of England, vol. vi. p. 241.

‡ Nichol's Rudiments of Honour.

§ Nichol's Rudiments of Honour on the article respecting Patrick, baron of Gowran.

* Baker's Chron. page 287.

† Sander. de Schis. Angl. lib. 1, page 154, et seq.

‡ Baker's Chron. page 295.

then borne by him and his predecessors. "Though under the preceding title," says the statute, "the kings have enjoyed all the jurisdiction, power, pre-eminence, and lawful authority, which belong to the majesty of a king, since his present majesty and his royal ancestors were justly and lawfully kings of Ireland, being reputed, acknowledged, and styled as such," &c.*

This statute was solemnly published on the following Sunday in St. Patrick's church, Dublin, and in London, in the month of January. St. Leger, the deputy, James, earl of Ormond, James, earl of Desmond, the other peers in their parliamentary robes, with several distinguished laymen and ecclesiastics, attended at this publication. Some prisoners were restored to liberty, and the ceremony terminated with feasting and fireworks.

In this parliament, all the abbeys in Ireland, mentioned in the statute, were placed at the king's disposal, but they did not tend much to increase his wealth, as he divided the lands which belonged to them among the nobles, courtiers, and other flatterers, reserving but an annual income from them for himself. It was decreed that none but those who possessed forty shillings a year in landed property, could have a vote in the election of members for the house of commons. It was also enacted, that in case of the death, absence, or resignation of the chief governor, the chancellor should perform the office of sending circular letters to privy counsellors, in the counties of Dublin, Meath, Louth, Kildare, Kilkenny, Tipperary, Wexford, Waterford, Cork, Kerry, and Limerick; † that these counsellors being assembled, should choose an Englishman by birth, to fill the office of chief governor, during the king's pleasure, and in case of none thus qualified being found, that two persons of English extraction should be chosen by the council, to whom the chancellor should give letters patent, after making them take the oath, usual on these occasions.

* The English flatter themselves considerably. In their own opinion, every thing is due to them. They here take a part for the whole; a third of Ireland for the entire island. Their jurisdiction, however, did not extend beyond the boundaries of the English province, as appears by a law of this same parliament, respecting the election of a governor, which we shall presently quote. It has been already observed in the course of this history, that the right of the kings of England to Ireland, is entirely founded upon usurpation.

† These were the eleven counties which composed the English province. Ireland comprises in the whole thirty-two counties.

Other laws were enacted in this parliament, which are too numerous to be inserted in this place. The county of Meath being too extensive to be governed by one sheriff, it was divided into East and Westmeath.

Lord Grey whom we left in England, was sent to the tower. He was accused by the earl of Ormond, Allen, the chancellor, Brabazon, the vice treasurer, and Sir John Travers.* They followed him to England, and produced several heads of accusation against him, during his administration in Ireland, which, having been verified by commissioners, who were sent purposely to Ireland to examine witnesses, he was publicly beheaded on Tower Hill. This nobleman was son to the marquis of Dorset, and brother-in-law to the last earl of Kildare, who had been beheaded. He suffered death with admirable fortitude.

The king's marriage with Anne of Cleves having been declared null, he married in eight days afterwards, Catherine Howard, daughter of lord Edward Howard, and niece to the duke of Norfolk. The new queen was as zealous in the cause of the reformation as Anne Bullen had been; but the fate of both these reformers was of a singular kind.† Henry having been informed of the shameful and dissolute life of Catherine, caused her to be arrested, eighteen months after his marriage. She was accused and convicted of unchastity both before and after her marriage, and condemned to be beheaded with Durham and Colpeper, the accomplices of her guilt. On the scaffold, Catherine declared herself innocent since her marriage, but admitted that previously to it she had been guilty.‡ This gave rise to a ridiculous and absurd act of parliament, prohibiting, under pain of high treason, any woman who was not a virgin, from marrying the king, without first declaring the fact.

In Ireland, Conn O'Neill, whose great power gave umbrage to the king, having lost his old ally and relative, the earl of Kildare, repaired to Maynooth, where St. Leger, the deputy resided, and made peace with him. Several of the ancient Irish chieftains followed his example; amongst others, O'Carroll, O'Morra, O'Molloy, O'Connor, O'Dunn, M'Mahon, Magennis, O'Donnell, O'Rourke, O'Reilly, O'Flaherty, O'Melaghlin, M'Carty, O'Sullivan, &c. This example was soon afterwards followed by some nobles of Eng-

* Ware, de Annal. Hib. ibid. Cox. Hist. of Ire. page 264.

† Sander, de Schis. Ang. lib. 1, p. 161. Baker's Chron. of England, on the year 1540.

‡ Higgin's Short View, page 194.

lish extraction; namely, Barry, Roche, Bermingham, and M'Guillan. The latter declared himself to be of English descent. The acts of these treaties are given, it is said, in the red book of the Irish privy council.

The deputy and council made some regulations relative to the government of Munster, which had not been before subject to the dominion of English law.* These regulations having been published, arbitrators were appointed in the provinces, instead of the ancient judges, called Brehons, to have them put into execution.

Henry VIII. at length resolved to exterminate the monks altogether, changed the priory and convent of the cathedral church of the blessed Trinity, in Dublin, into a secular chapter. He appointed Robert Castle or Painswick, dean, who had been before prior, and confirmed this church in its possessions and privileges.

The Jesuits were introduced by permission of pope Paul III., into Ireland, A.D. 1541, through the exertions of Robert Waucop, a Scotchman, titular archbishop of Armagh.† John Codur was the first of the society that was received into this country. He was followed by Alphonso Salmeron, Pachase Broet, and Francis Zapata, all of the same order. Though Waucop was born blind, he applied himself so closely to study, that he became a doctor of theology in the faculty of Paris. He assisted at the council of Trent, from the first to the eleventh session, after which the pope sent him to Germany as legate *à Latere*, which gave rise to the saying among the Germans: "A blind legate to the clear sighted Germans." He died in Paris, in 1551, in the convent of the Jesuits.

James Fitzgerald, earl of Desmond, went to England in August, 1542, where he renewed his submission in presence of the king,‡ from whom he received some presents, and was admitted by his order into the council of Ireland.§ The deputy made regulations at this time to settle the differences which had arisen between the several families of the Magennises, and similar arrangements for the O'Carrolls. The O'Byrnes made a public submission; surrendered the town and castle of Wicklow to the king, and ob-

tained the privilege, that their country should be erected into a county, under the name of Wicklow.

The death of George Cromer, archbishop of Armagh, took place this year.* He was a prelate of great celebrity; grave, learned, and of a mild disposition. Through the influence of the earl of Kildare, he was appointed to the chancellorship of Ireland, which office he held for two years with integrity. He was strongly opposed to archbishop Brown, respecting the ecclesiastical supremacy, which had been usurped by Henry VIII. His successor in the see of Armagh was George Dowdal.

Henry VIII., finding some difficulty in reducing the Irish people by force, and bringing them to the condition of subjects, endeavoured to win them by a display of kindness, in offering to confer titles of honour upon their chiefs.

According to the ancient history of Ireland, the inhabitants were divided into tribes; each tribe possessing a territory, that is, a certain extent of land, which was divided between the different branches of the tribe. These branches had each its vassals, these vassals having neither origin nor name in common with their masters. They were the descendants of the soldiers and artisans who had followed the Milesians from Spain, and of the remnant of the Firbolgs, the ancient inhabitants of the country, who cultivated the lands belonging to their masters. They did not take the names of their chiefs, as has been asserted by persons little acquainted with Irish history. Each tribe acknowledged one sovereign chief, a rank which usually devolved upon the elder branch; but was sometimes elective according to circumstances. The chief and the branches were of the same origin, and bore the same name, preceded by the articles *O* and *Mac*, with this difference, that these articles, without any other addition, belonged to the chiefs; for instance, by Mac-Carty, O'Donnel, were meant the heads of these illustrious tribes. The branches were distinguished by their christian names, or some epithet added to the surname; as, Cormac Mac-Carty, Mac-Carty-Riagh, Niall Garve O'Donnel, &c., and so with the other tribes. Each tribe formed a small republic, the members of which, with their vassals, united under the chief for the general safety, and followed him to war. They were all, more or less, closely allied: and when the principal branch became extinct, it was replaced by some of the collateral ones, who

* "Respecting the reformation of the inhabitants of this kingdom in parts of Munster, who will not understand the laws and privileges, so as that they can immediately live, and be ruled according to them."—*Sander*, 1540.

† *War. de Archi. Ardmach.* Cox, *ibid.* p. 272.

‡ *War. de Annal.* cap. 34.

§ Cox, *ibid.* page 275.

* *War. de Archiepisc. Ardmachan.*

assumed the title of chief; so that unless the whole tribe became extinct, they could never want a chief.

This digression was necessary in order to become acquainted with the political views of Henry VIII. That monarch intended to subdue the Irish chieftains by the pompous title of lords hoping that they would bring the tribes which they governed under the dominion of the crown of England; but in this he was doubly disappointed. He wrote on the subject to several of those chieftains; some of whose families have carefully preserved his letters, but the proffered favours were generally despised and rejected. The Irish nobles were possessed of too deep a sense of nobility, to submit for empty titles of honour, unknown, till then, amongst them; titles which were to be the price of their liberty, and which they considered as the seal of degrading subjection to a foreign power. It is certain that by receiving titles from a prince to whom we deny the rank of sovereign, we assume the position of subjects; and an individual who accepts of favours under such circumstances, is justly considered to have renounced the cause of his country. This was the opinion formed by the Irish nobility respecting these first lords,* and is the cause why there are so few amongst the ancient Irish who bear the title of lord, which would be only a distinguishing mark of their apostacy.

Notwithstanding the distaste which the Irish had evinced for titles of honour, Henry VIII., found some who were willing to accept of them. The principal of these were O'Neill of Tyrone, and O'Brien of Thuomond; but their example was so far from being imitated, that they were despised and avoided by their best friends.

According to Ware, Conn O'Neill, hereditary prince of Tyrone, went over, this year, to England, accompanied by Hugh O'Kervalan, bishop of Clogher, and some noblemen of his province. He had an interview with the king at Greenwich, where he surrendered the principality of Tyrone, to the disposal of the monarch. The king restored it to him by letters patent, sealed with the great seal of England, and created him a peer

* These observations relate but to the ancient Irish. As to the modern Irish, they were an English colony that had settled in Ireland, after the twelfth century, and had continued the subjects of the king of England. These therefore had a right to expect favours from him. The ancient Irish who received titles after the submission of the whole nation, to James I., are also exempt from censure—they were subjects. They were not, however, numerous.

of Ireland, under the title of earl of Tyrone. At the same time Matthew O'Neill, (the Irish call him Fardorach), son of Tyrone, was created baron of Dungannon: Denis and Arthur Magennis, who had accompanied him, received the honour of knighthood; and the bishop of Clogher was confirmed in his bishopric, by letters patent. The above is the account given by Ware and Cox, of the prince of Tyrone. However, if this be true, it is strange that Baker, who mentions the titles conferred upon O'Brien of Thuomond, and Fitzpatrick of Ossory, says nothing of Tyrone.* Con O'Neill was head of that illustrious house, which had given several monarchs to Ireland, from the beginning of the fifth century, and the reign of Niall, surnamed Noygiollach, from whom they were descended, by his son Eogan. This prince had the weakness to assume the station of a subject, and renounce the ancient title of hereditary prince of Tyrone, which was founded on a possession of more than a thousand years, to assume a new one, based on usurpation and tyranny. He had the cowardice to sign his own degradation, and abandon the name of O'Neill, which was much more honourable, in the opinion of his countrymen, than that of earl, which drew upon him the contempt of all true Irishmen. What a subject of humiliation to O'Neill! what liberality on the part of Henry VIII., who granted to this prince, by letters patent, what already belonged to him, as if such a title could be more lawful than that which was founded upon a possession of many centuries! This pusillanimity of O'Neill, who seemingly looked upon the event as a mere matter of ceremony, was, however, amply compensated by his descendants. Shane, or John, his eldest son, immediately on the death of his father, renounced the title of earl of Tyrone, to resume the name of O'Neill, as appears by an act of the parliament of Dublin, in the eleventh year of the reign of Elizabeth; and his other descendants were, in the succeeding reigns, the most zealous defenders of their country.

In the year 1543, Henry VIII., conferred the title of earl of Thuomond, on Morrough O'Brien, for life; (the English sometimes call him Maur, sometimes Maurice. The reversion of the title and estates on his death, was to fall to Donach, son of Connor O'Brien, his elder brother.† Cox, the historian, wishes to cast a doubt on the legitimacy of young Donough, which falls on his descend-

* Chron. of England, page 291.

† Ware, de Aunal. cap. 35. Nichol's Rudiments of Honour.

ants, the earls of Thuomond.* This author observes, that, "whether this Donough were nephew or natural son of the earl is not well known." As Cox does not quote any author, can we suppose him incapable of advancing this from mere conjecture? Could he have calumniated, without authority, a nobleman who held the first rank in the province, of which he himself was a native? This is a matter that we do not undertake to explain. However it be, Donough was, before the death of his uncle, created baron of Ibrican, with a pension of twenty pounds English per annum. The king settled on him, moreover, all the lands of the priory of Inisnaganaanagh, *Insula Canonicorum*, situate in the river Shannon, for regular canons, with half the abbey of Clare, called Kilmoney, or *De Forgis*.

Murrough O'Brien availed himself of the right which the custom, called *tanistry*, had given him. This ancient Irish custom, like an old right, called *bail* or *garde* among the Franks, authorised the brother, uncle, or nearest relative of the same name, capable of governing, to succeed during his life, to the title and estates of the chief of a tribe, who died before his children came of age, notwithstanding the title which devolves to a minor in a direct line. The advantage thus gained suited the policy of Murrough, and enabled him to make his court to the king of England, and apply to him for favours. He obtained for his son and his descendants the title of baron of Inis-Hy-Quin (Inchiquin), in the county of Clare, with the revenues of the abbeys, and the patronage of all the livings that were at the disposal of his majesty in that country.†

The house of Thuomond comprises the several branches of the tribe we are about to speak of. It derives its origin from Heber, eldest son of Milesius, through Oilioll Olum, king of the province of Munster, in the second century of the Christian era. Oilioll Olum had many sons, among whom were Eogan More, and Cormac-Cas. From Eogan, the eldest, are descended the M'Cartys, and their collateral branches. Cormac-Cas was the ancestor of the tribe called after him Dal-Caiss, which was composed of different branches of his family. After the genealogical separation of the descendants of Eogan and Cormac-Cas, in the second century, of which Oilioll Olum was the common head, these two tribes gave, each of them, an absolute monarch to Ireland. The first was Crionthan II. of the race of Eogan,

monarch of the island, in the fourth century; the second was the celebrated Brien Boiroimhe, son of Kennede, and grandson of Lorcan, of the race of Cormac Cas, who reigned over Ireland in the eleventh century.* After the death of Malachi II., successor to Brien,† the government of Ireland fell into anarchy.‡ The descent of Murrough O'Brien, first earl of Thuomond, is traced from the monarch, Brien Boiroimhe, by his son Thadeus, who was father to Terdelach, father of Mortough and Diarmuid. Mortough, or Moriortach, elder brother of Diarmuid, was the last king of this race, who reigned in Leagh-Mogha, that is, the greater part of Ireland. He was also ancestor of the different branches of the M'Mahons of Thuomond, whose first appanage was Corcobaskin, an extensive territory on both banks of the river Shannon, from Luachra, in Westmeath, as far as Limerick; and from that city to Loim-na-Con, in the county of Clare.§ This latter division comprised the barony of Moyarta and Clonderala. The family became numerous, and were distinguished for their great deeds: the principal branches of it were Clonderala, Carrigaholt, Cobraghan, Glenagh, and Tuogh. The lands of Carrigaholt, Cobraghan, and others, were confiscated in the reign of Elizabeth, for the benefit of Donough, earl of Thuomond, his brother, Sir Daniel O'Brien, Bartly, and others. From the branch of the M'Mahons of Clonderala, is descended Bernard, or Bryan M'Mahon Ferrery, lord of several towns, districts, and castles, in the counties of Clare and Limerick, of which he was dispossessed in the reign of Elizabeth. These estates were restored to him in the succeeding reign; but his son Mortough lost them for his loyalty to Charles II., king of England, during his exile. In the town of Autun, in Burgundy, there is a M'Mahon, surnamed d'Equilly, descended in a direct line from this ancient family.

From Diarmuid, brother of Mortough, are descended the O'Briens, first princes, and afterwards earls of Thuomond.|| Con-

* Cambrens. Evers. c. 9, p. 80.

† Keat. Hist. of Irel. lib. 2, end of Malachi's reign.

‡ "Moreover, the power of the successors of Malachi was confined within narrower limits than that of his predecessors, for these kings who were called *Gafrasabhrach*, (as implied by the word), had been advanced to royalty, in opposition to, and with the hostility of some of the people."—*Gratianus Lucius*, c. 9, p. 80.

§ Hugh M'Curtin, Antiq. of Ireland, p. 269, 271, 272.

|| Nichol's Rudim. of Hon. article on Thuomond.

* History of Ireland, page 276.

† Cox, *ibid*.

nor O'Brien, eldest brother of Morrough, first earl of Thuomond, was, according to Nichols, the last of the twelve princes of this family, who had reigned successively in Thuomond, with the titles of kings of Limerick or Thuomond. Domnald More O'Brien, who submitted to Henry II., in the twelfth century, and who was the first of the twelve princes mentioned by Nichols, was, however, the last king of Cashel and Limerick, according to the account given by Keating, in his *Genealogy of the house of Thuomond*. These princes, however, gave out many collateral branches, namely, those of Inchiquin, Cumrach, Carrigogoiniol, Arra, Cuónach, Aharlach, and others, each of which traces its origin to one of these princes, ancestors of the first earl of Thuomond; and each bears the name of O'Brien, being, like him, descended from Brien Boiroidhe.

The king this year created Ulick de Burgh or Burke, a peer of Ireland, under the title of baron of Dunkellin, and earl of Clanricard, in the county of Galway.* This earl also profited by the suppression of monasteries; he received the revenues of the abbeys and other religious houses in his district, amongst others the abbey called *De-via-nova* of Clonfert.

Brien or Bernard M'Giolla Phadruig, (Fitzpatrick), being a favourite with Henry VIII., was made baron of Upper Ossory, by which he received no great additional honour, his ancestors having been hereditary princes of that country for many ages.† According to Heylin, this title was conferred on Fitzpatrick by Edward VI., of whom he was a particular favourite,‡ but it was Barnaby, son of Bernard, according to Nichols, who was in the highest favour with Edward. The king gave to the lord of Ossory, the convent of the Dominicans of Aghavo, and the priory of the regular canons of Aghnacart.

Henry, in conferring titles of honour on these noblemen, restored to them, by letters patent, the estates which they had placed at his disposal, and in order to attach them still more to him, he became sacrilegiously liberal. Without deducting from his own wealth, he added largely to their revenues, by bestowing upon them the lands of the churches, and the patronage of the livings within their several districts.§ These newly created lords subsequently testified their

gratitude for the king's favours, by becoming the most zealous destroyers of the altars which had been raised by the piety of their forefathers.

In this manner did the houses of Thuomond, Ormond, Clanriccard, Inchiquin, and some others, increase their splendour by the spoils of the churches, and lands which were confiscated on the pretence of religion, or the alleged rebellion of their neighbours, and even of their near relations—the court willingly granting to them the confiscated estates as a reward for their services.*

By such unworthy means, have these families supported themselves in splendour and in elevated rank, to the present day; whilst other lords of the country, who were their equals in birth, and their superiors in virtue, have fallen into a species of annihilation, having been sacrificed for their attachment to the glory of religion, and the liberty of their country. The reason is obvious why English writers extol the merit of the former, whilst they speak so contemptuously of the latter. Those writers know how to change the names and signification of actions; they style those who had betrayed their country, faithful subjects, whilst those who disdained slavery and chains, and fought valiantly to preserve their freedom, are spoken of by them as rebels.

The old jealousies between Henry VIII. and the Emperor, on one side, and Francis I. on the other, were renewed at this time, and ended in open war.† It was at this time that the king of France sent Theobald de Bois, a French nobleman, to Ireland, as ambassador to O'Donnel. He proposed to furnish this prince with men and money, if, to create a division, he would declare war against the English; but O'Donnel, finding himself unable to comply with the request of the French king, the negotiation was productive of no result.

The deputy St. Leger, was recalled in February, 1544, after which he went to England, and William Brabazon was appointed lord justice in his stead. New seals were sent to this deputy, and the old ones discontinued, on account of the change which had taken place in the title of Henry VIII., who, from being lord of Ireland, had assumed the title of king.

Henry had already married four wives, besides Anne Bollen. He now married Catherine Parr, widow of John Nevill, lord

* War. de Annal. cap. 33.

† Nich. Rudim. of Hon. on Fitzpatrick, baron Gowran.

‡ History of the Reformation.

§ Cox, Hist. of Ireland, p. 276.

* The services which acquired rewards for these noblemen, were those which they had rendered to the English, against their own country.

† Ware, *ibid*, c. 35.

Latimer. She had the good fortune to survive him, and thus escaped the unhappy fate of those who had gone before her.

War being declared against France, Henry demanded assistance from the lord justice of Ireland, who sent him seven hundred men, commanded by three chiefs, Poer, Finglass, and Scurlock.* Holingshead and Cox boast of the valour, skill, and services which the Irish rendered to the king of England against the French, during the siege of Boulogne.† They tell us that from their suppleness and activity, they extended their excursions to about thirty miles round, burning and pillaging every where, and carried back great booty to the camp. On some occasions they tied a bull to a stake, and placing combustible matter around the animal, they set it on fire; the bellowing of the beast, on feeling the flames, drew together herds of the same kind from the surrounding neighbourhood. These Irish, continues Cox, never gave quarter to the French, and when any of the Irish fell into their power, they caused them, by way of reprisal, to be mutilated and tortured in various ways. He adds, that after the taking of Boulogne, a Frenchman on the opposite side of the harbour, having sent a challenge to the English camp, one Nicholas Walsh swam across the river, fought the Frenchman, and after cutting off his head, swam back to his countrymen, holding the head with his teeth, for which he was well rewarded. The acts recorded on both sides were strange and inhuman; but we cannot vouch for the truth of the historian.

St. Leger having been created a knight of the garter, as a reward for his services, was sent back as deputy to Ireland. He arrived in Dublin in August, and was honourably received by the council and people: he received the sword, according to custom, and used the necessary measures for preserving the tranquillity which the state enjoyed on his accession.

Ulick Burke, first earl of Clanriccard, died at this time, in his house at Loughreagh. His death gave rise to serious differences between his sons, by different wives, respecting the title and succession. The earl had first married Grany O'Carroll, whilst O'Melaghlin, her first husband, as it is alleged, was living, without any legal divorce having taken place between them. By this first wife, the earl had his eldest son, Richard Burke. He afterwards discarded her, and married Honora Burke, from whom he separated, and during the life of the first wife,

married Maria Lynch, by whom he had a son, John Burke, who disputed the succession with Richard, his elder brother. The deputy and his council, who were desirous of terminating their differences, appointed the earl of Ormond, and some other commissioners, to examine into them; which commissioners, discovering no positive proofs of the validity of the supposed marriage of Grany O'Carroll with O'Melaghlin, adjudged the title and inheritance of Clanriccard to his son Richard.

Mathew Stewart, earl of Lenox, having been obliged to leave Scotland in 1545, sought refuge in England, where he was honourably received by the king, who gave him in marriage, some time afterwards, his niece, Margaret, daughter of his eldest sister Margaret, and Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus.* The earl of Lenox had by this marriage, Henry, lord Darnly, who was father to James VI. of Scotland.

After the marriage of the earl of Lenox, Henry sent him to Ireland, with orders to the deputy, St. Leger, to have troops raised with all possible despatch, in order to assist him in the recovery of his inheritance in Scotland. This nobleman landed in Dublin on St. Michael's day; and went to Kilmainham to the deputy, to whom he presented the order of which he was the bearer. The deputy lost no time in obeying the king's mandate, and before the middle of November he raised a new body of fifteen hundred men, under the command of Sir John Travers. These were soon joined by an equal number, which had been raised by the earl of Ormond, in his own district; and the little army, commanded by the earl in person, set sail, in twenty-eight vessels, for Scotland. The earl of Lenox had his correspondents in the country, and thought that his friends would be prepared to assist him; but either through fickleness on their part, or from their being prevented by the faction of the duke of Hamilton, who was opposed to him, when he was preparing to land near his castle at Dumbritton, he perceived the enemy had a superior army on the shore ready to oppose him. He therefore determined on returning to Ireland, without making any attempt on Scotland.

Some dispute arose at this time, between O'Neill, earl of Tyrone, and O'Donnel, prince of Tyrconnel,† from O'Neill having claimed the right of lord paramount over O'Donnel. The deputy's policy was to render them both dependant on the English

* Ware, *ibid.* cap. 36.

† Cox, p. 277.

* Ware, *ibid.* cap. 37.

† Cox, *Hist. of Ireland*, page 278.

government, by assuming to himself the arbitration of their difference, and supporting the weaker party against the stronger. By the deputy's decision, therefore, O'Donnel was exonerated from all dependance on O'Neill, except a yearly tribute of sixty oxen, which he had engaged to pay him for the peninsula of Inisowen. At the same time, two of the noble tribe of the Cavanaghs, of the county Carlow, namely, Charles or Cahir Mac-Art, of Polmonty, and Gerald Mac-Cahir, of Garochil, disputed the right of lordship or chief of the tribe; but instead of having recourse to the interference of the deputy, they determined their quarrel by a bloody engagement, in which each lost about one hundred men killed upon the spot, whereon either by agreement, or some other means, Charles Mac-Art became master of the lordship. He was afterwards created baron of Balian, in the district of Idrone, by queen Mary.

The northern Irish finding themselves on the eve of falling under the English yoke; O'Neill, O'Donnel, O'Dogherty, and other noblemen, made proposals to Francis I. whereby they promised that monarch to become his subjects, and oppose the tyranny of the English, provided he obtained the pope's concurrence, and would furnish them with two thousand archers, two hundred light horse, and four pieces of cannon. The French monarch, who considered this overture worthy of his attention, sent John de Montluc, bishop of Valentia, to Ireland, to investigate the matter, and to see what probability there would be of succeeding in such an enterprise. The ambassador landed at Loughfoyle, and had a conference a few days afterwards, with the parties who were interested, the result of which is not known; but that nobleman set out immediately for Rome, probably to confer with the pope on the subject. It is likely that Cox confounds this embassy with one of a more solemn nature, of which we shall speak under the following reign.

The royal treasury in Ireland being exhausted, the deputy wished to impose a tax, on the people, *A.D.* 1545;* but the earl of Ormond having opposed it, a quarrel arose between these noblemen, who accused each other of treason, and they were ordered by the king to repair to England, Brabazon being nominated deputy during the absence of St. Leger. At the same time, Allen, the chancellor, having been accused of prevarication in the discharge of his office, was put

into confinement; Sir Thomas Cusack was appointed keeper of the seals in his stead, and Sir Richard Read chancellor. St. Leger and Ormond were summoned to appear before the king and council; but their accusations against each other, not amounting to high treason, they were discharged, St. Leger being sent back to Ireland as deputy. James Butler, earl of Ormond, grand treasurer of Ireland, died of poison at a repast at Holborn, near London; James White, the master of his household, and sixteen of his servants having shared the same fate.

During the administration of Brabazon, the baron of upper Ossory having had some cause of complaint against his son Thadeus, sent him prisoner to Dublin, where he was tried, condemned, and executed. In the month of July, Patrick O'Morra of Leix, and Bryan O'Connor Faly, with their united forces, made inroads on the English province, and burned the town of Athy, in the county of Kildare. Brabazon marched in pursuit of them, carrying fire and sword everywhere he went. The poor inhabitants were sacrificed to his resentment; he had the fort of Dingen, now Philipstown, in the King's county, repaired, and obliged O'Connor to seek an asylum in Connaught. The territories of Leix and Offaly, with the neighbouring estates, namely Slievmargy, Irris, and Clanmalire, were confiscated some years afterwards for the king's use.

The king sent a commission about this time to his principal ministers in Ireland, to oblige the dean and chapter of St. Patrick's cathedral in Dublin, to place at their disposal the estates belonging to that church, which was assented to with considerable reluctance by the incumbents. This church, however, was restored a few years afterwards to all its rights by queen Mary.

Previous to his death, Henry VIII. became so large and unwieldy, that it was necessary to invent a machine, to change or move him from one place to another. He sank under the weight of his own body, which had become bloated from intemperance, the usual companion of lust. His body might, with propriety, be termed the sepulchre of himself, in which his pleasures and disappointments had entombed along with him, his religion, his conscience, his glory, and every sentiment of honour, justice, and humanity, all which gifts nature had bestowed on him. He made a will, whereby he regulated the order of succession to the throne, between his children, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth.

Henry being attacked by a slow fever,

* Ware, *ibid.* cap. 38.

caused by dropsy, and by an ulcer in his leg, the hour of his death drew near, without his appearing to perceive its approach. His timid and dissolute courtiers dared not to inform him of it, lest they might incur his resentment and their own disgrace. Sir Anthony Denny, a member of the privy council, alone, had the courage to warn his majesty of his approaching end, and that it was time he should send for a clergyman to assist him in his last moments. The king, contrary to the expectation of those around him, received Denny's intimation with apparent tranquillity, and commanded that archbishop Cranmer should be sent for. It was, however, too late; he had already lost the use of his speech before Cranmer arrived. The prelate desired him to make some sign of his dying in the faith of Jesus Christ; on which the king squeezed his hand, and immediately expired, on the 28th of January, 1547, having lived fifty-six years, of which he reigned thirty-eight.

It is difficult to delineate with accuracy the character of this unhappy prince; his portrait varies according to the different dispositions of the historians who have written on the subject. The partisans of the reformation consider it a merit in him to have shaken off the pope's authority, and thereby established the new religion. His most zealous panegyrists, however, admit that he was addicted to many vices. In truth the different opinions of writers with respect to religion and the legitimate succession of kings, have cast so many doubts on historical facts from the period of the pretended divorce of Henry and Catherine of Arragon, to the present time, that it is almost impossible to discriminate between truth and falsehood.

Notwithstanding, however, the various opinions of writers on Henry's character, it may be affirmed that he was a bad king, a bad husband, and a bad Christian.* A tyrant is a bad king. Henry spent the first eighteen years of his reign at plays, masquerades, and nocturnal amusements. He soon squandered the eighteen hundred thousand pounds sterling, which, through the avarice of his father, Henry VII., he had found in the treasury, on his accession to the throne; so that, though possessing more considerable revenues, he found himself more indigent than any of his predecessors. He, however, supplied the deficiency by tyranny: the immense wealth of the monasteries, colleges, and hospitals, which were suppressed; the silver ornaments and vessels of these houses; the

spoils of cardinal Wolsey and Cromwell, his vicar general; the estates of several noblemen of the first distinction, which were confiscated for his use, and the large sums that were extorted from the clergy, under pretext of the *præmunire* law, increased the king's exchequer to a considerable extent, but were not sufficient to support his profligacy.* He levied exorbitant taxes upon his people; raised extensive loans on his privy seal; and then procured acts of parliament to annul his engagements, and defraud his creditors of their right. Finding the wealth of the kingdom entirely exhausted, he caused the money to be recoined, and made spurious, to such a degree, that, to the shame of the English nation, it was not current in foreign countries, by which means the merchant lost his credit abroad. In Ireland, for want of gold and silver, the king ordered that copper money should be made use of, to the great detriment and displeasure of the public.

Of Henry's six wives, two were repudiated, two were beheaded, and one died in childbed; the last in all likelihood only escaped a cruel fate, by the sudden death of the prince; which facts fully prove him to have been the worst of husbands.

In fine, Henry is represented as a cruel and profligate prince. Neither the most depraved of the Roman emperors, says Higgins, nor even Christiern of Denmark, Don Pedro of Castile, nor Vasilowich of Russia, surpassed him in cruelty and debauchery.† This writer indeed like Sir Walter Raleigh, affirms, that were the portrait of tyranny lost, the original might be found in the life of Henry VIII. He was a monster of humanity, that never spared man in his anger, nor woman in his lust; and from the consciousness of his crimes, he died in utter despair.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

EDWARD VI., only son of Henry VIII., and of Jane Seymour, ascended the throne, at the age of nine years, in virtue of his birth-right, and of his father's will. Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford, and maternal uncle to the young king, was appointed governor of his person, and protector of the kingdom, during his minority; being also created duke of Somerset. This prince, after receiving the

* Sander. de Schis. Angl. lib. 1, p. 168 et seq. Ward, History of the Reformation, cant. 1. Salmon, *ibid.* page 285.

† Short View.

* Salmon, *ibid.* page 276.

order of knighthood, was solemnly crowned at Westminster, on the 20th of February, by the archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 1547.*

St. Leger was continued in the government of Ireland, first, as lord justice, and afterwards, under the title of deputy or viceroy. He had Edward proclaimed king of Ireland, on the 26th of February. James, earl of Desmond, was appointed treasurer, about the end of March, and in April nine privy counsellors, besides the deputy, were nominated, viz., Read, chancellor of Ireland, G. Brown, archbishop of Dublin, Edward Staply, bishop of Meath, Sir William Brabazon, vice-treasurer, Sir Gerald Ailmer, chief justice of the king's bench, Sir Thomas Luttrell, chief justice of the common pleas, James Bath, chief baron of the exchequer, Sir Thomas Cusack, master of the rolls, and Thomas Howth, one of the judges of the king's bench. The king despatched orders, at this time, to the deputy, chancellor, and other magistrates in Ireland, to grant pensions to the canons and prebendaries of St. Patrick's cathedral, Dublin, which had been suppressed, and to give the silver, jewels, and ornaments belonging to that church to the dean and chapter of the cathedral of the holy Trinity, to whom were added six priests and two choristers, in consideration of forty-five pounds, six shillings, and eight pence sterling, payable at the king's pleasure; this grant was afterwards confirmed to this church in perpetuity, by queen Mary.

The O'Byrnes, eager to take advantage of the change that occurred in the government, took the field, in the month of May, to recover their freedom. The viceroy marched with a powerful army to oppose them, and after killing their chief, forced them to retreat to their fastnesses, but was unable to subdue them. At the same time, he had two noblemen, of the house of Fitzgerald arrested, who, being proscribed for having espoused the cause of the earl of Kildare, had joined the O'Tooles. They were sent with other prisoners to Dublin, where they were all put to death. The O'Morras and O'Connors were attacked in the county of Kildare, after they had taken considerable booty; about two hundred of them were killed, and the rest put to flight.

The English government now saw the difficulties they had to encounter in their attempts to reduce the Irish. They apprehended a general revolt throughout the island, on account of the religious opinions in which

the king had been brought up, and the novelties which had been already introduced into religion. They found too, that the ancient and modern Irish, of whom the nation was then composed, began to unite, and that this union was founded on similar principles of religion. They thought it prudent, therefore, to provide for the safety of the nation; for which end, orders were given that six hundred horse and four hundred infantry should be sent to Ireland, and be well paid. The command of this force was given to Edward Bellingham, on whom the title of captain general was conferred.* This reinforcement landed at Waterford, in June, where they were joined by the deputy and the army under his command. The viceroy and Bellingham, with their united forces, marched for Leix and Offaly, where they proclaimed O'Morra and O'Connor, chiefs of these districts, traitors to the state, and dispersed their vassals. They then repaired the forts of Dingen, at present Philipstown, in Offaly, and Campaw or Protector, now Maryborough, in the territory of Leix. O'Morra and O'Connor, finding they had no other resource, made peace with the viceroy. As a reward for his services, Bellingham received the honour of knighthood, and was appointed marshal of Ireland.

About the end of the same year, the privy council, by the advice of Brabazon, the vice-treasurer, gave orders that the fort of Athlone, which was situate in the centre of the island, should be repaired, fortified, and provided with a good garrison. By command of the council, this undertaking was executed by Brabazon, in which he was opposed by Dominick O'Kelly, and other lords of Connaught.

The schism which had been begun in England by Henry VIII., continued to spread itself under his son Edward VI. Edward Seymour, the young king's maternal uncle, who, during the minority, governed the kingdom as protector, added heresy to schism.* In his doctrine, this nobleman was a Zuinglian. Cranmer, who had been always one, found his wishes gratified, on seeing all ready to receive the poison of the error he was going to proclaim. The young king, although he was by his father's desire, educated in the Catholic faith, favoured Cranmer in his errors, which speedily gained ground, and truth was suppressed. In order to spread the heresy more widely, the protector took care to raise those who professed

* Baker's Chron. Reign of Edward VI. War. de Annal. reg. Edward, cap. 1.

* Ware, *ibid.* cap. 2.

† Sander de Schis. Anglic. lib. 2, *passim*.

it, to the first dignities, and most important offices of the state.

The reformation was at this time beginning to be preached in public. Besides Cranmer and his agents, Richard Cox and Hugh Latimer, (whom the Lutherans call the first apostle of England, from the numbers that he perverted), and other English preachers, the country was infested with swarms of them from Germany. Martin Bucer, Peter Martyr, Bernard Ochin, Fagius, and others, all preached their own doctrines. Some were favourable to Lutheranism, which was professed by Cranmer; others favoured the doctrine of Zuingle, which was that of the protector.* This schism appeared dangerous to the parliament. That tribunal acknowledged none other in religious matters; it received its commission expressly from the king, who caused himself to be declared the head of it. In order to satisfy all parties, and, at the same time, to preserve some appearance of unity, these wise senators adopted certain articles of the tenets of each of the sects, whereof the religion of the country was composed; and in order that none should have cause to complain of having been excluded, they added a portion of Calvinism, which was at that time becoming popular. Calvin had already the confidence to write to the duke of Somerset, the protector, to exhort him to make use of the sword, to reduce the Catholics, and force them to embrace what he termed the doctrine of the gospel. From the many innovations which were introduced into this new religion, that had never before been attempted, the people became alarmed. The celebration of the mass was abolished, the marriage of priests allowed, the images were removed from the churches, and public prayers said in the language of the country. Finally, the six articles which had been established by Henry VIII., were annulled; several bishops were deprived of their sees, and thrown into dungeons; the revenues belonging to the churches, together with their vessels and ornaments, were converted to profane purposes: "*Ut quid perditio hæc*" &c., exclaimed the reformers, like Judas;† in short, a new liturgy was substituted for the old one, by an act of parliament. All these things alarmed the faithful, and gave rise to a rebellion in many provinces of England, where the inhabitants took up arms, in defence of the religion of their forefathers.

In Ireland, the effects of the reformation

were beginning to be felt in 1548. The Irish were strongly attached to their religion, and took alarm at the slightest attempt to introduce a change. All Europe has witnessed the miseries they have undergone, and the sacrifices that they have made in defence of it, from the above period to the present. Two young noblemen, named Richard and Alexander, sons of Thomas Fitz-Eustace, viscount of Baltinglass, having caused disturbances in the county of Kildare, by opposing some matters connected with the reformation, which was beginning to be introduced among them; the government immediately sent troops, commanded by the viceroy, who was attended by Bellingham and Brabazon, in order to crush the rising conspiracy. A well disciplined army, headed by the deputy, was more than sufficient to disperse a body of men, who had been tumultuously assembled, and badly provided with arms; their leaders soon surrendered to the viceroy, who procured them their pardon, and that of their father, the viscount Baltinglass, who was supposed to have favoured their insurrection.

St. Leger, the deputy, having received orders to return to England, brought O'Morra and O'Connor prisoners along with him. These noblemen having submitted, received their pardon, and a pension for life, of one hundred pounds sterling a year, from the exchequer. O'Morra, however, enjoyed it for only a short period, as he died in the course of the same year in London.

Sir Edward Bellingham, who had been sent to England by the government to render an account of the submission of some noblemen in the county of Kildare, returned to Ireland, as deputy from the court. He landed at Dalkey, near Dublin, on the vigil of Pentecost, and in two days afterwards, received the sword of office according to custom, in the cathedral church of Dublin. The new deputy re-appointed John Allen chancellor instead of Read, who returned soon afterwards to England.

The deputy being in possession of the government, made incursions into the territories of Leix and Offaly, where he quelled some disturbances that had been caused by Cahir O'Connor, and other nobles of this district. He then marched towards Dealna, the country of McCoghlan, which he laid waste, and reduced to obedience. He was the first after Henry III., according to Davis and Cox, who extended the frontiers of the English province in Ireland.*

This deputy established a mint in Ireland,

* Le Grand, History of the Divorce, vol. 1, page 287.

† Baker, *ibid.* p. 304, et seq. Heylin, Hist. of the Reformation, preface to the reader.

* History of Ireland, page 284.

by orders of the government ; it failed, however, for want of means to support it. In the month of April, of this year, the city of Dublin, which had been at first governed by a provost, and subsequently under Henry III., by a mayor and bailiffs, and was honoured with the sword by Henry IV., obtained permission from the court to change its bailiffs into sheriffs.

About this time, Francis Brian, an Englishman and baronet, having married Jane, countess dowager of Ormond, was appointed marshal of Ireland, and governor of the counties Tipperary and Kilkenny. This governor and the deputy could not agree ; the one being unwilling to acknowledge a superior, and the other an equal ; their animosity was carried to such a pitch that Brian wrote to the king, against the deputy, and had him summoned to appear at court, to answer the charges which he advanced against him.

In the mean time, Teigue or Thadeus O'Carroll, seized upon and destroyed the castle of Nenagh, in the county of Tipperary, in spite of the spirited resistance of the English garrison. After this, he expelled all the English from the district.*

Some differences sprung up in Ulster between Manus O'Donnel, prince of Tyrconnel, and his son Calvagh, which ended in an open war. Both parties took up arms, and on the 7th of February, came to an engagement, in which the father was victorious, and his son put to flight, leaving MacDonough O'Cahan, and several other noblemen, his allies, dead on the field of battle. A dreadful misfortune happened shortly afterwards to MacCoghlan: his district of Dealna being laid waste by the united forces of Teigue O'Melaghlin and Edmond Fay.

King Edward being at war with the Scotch, the viceroy and council in Ireland sent a brigade of Irish troops to his assistance, under the command of Donough, son of O'Connor Fahy, accompanied by the sons of Cahir O'Connor.

In the month of November, Cormoc Roe O'Connor, who had been proclaimed a traitor and proscribed, appeared before the deputy and council in Christ's church, Dublin, where, after making his submission, he was pardoned ; but being possessed of considerable estates, (which was then a crime for an Irishman), they soon furnished him with fresh cause to rebel ; he was consequently arrested by the earl of Clanriccard, and sent to Dublin, where he was tried and condemned to death. If accusation renders a man guilty, innocence itself cannot be secure.

About Christmas the deputy wrote to the earl of Desmond, to induce him to come to Dublin on some important business. The earl was then the richest of the king's subjects in landed property, and though not one of the privy council, was treasurer of Ireland. The deputy exasperated at his refusal to obey the summons, set out on a sudden, with twenty horsemen, for Munster, where he surprised him, and brought him prisoner to Dublin. This, however, proved fortunate for him, as he obtained his pardon some time afterwards, and was restored to favour, through the interference of his adversary. Cox draws a very disadvantageous portrait of the earl of Desmond, for rudeness and ferocity of manners. This, however, is contradicted by Ware, who was undoubtedly a more judicious and authentic historian.*

The conquest of Ireland had not been yet completed, A.D. 1549. Symptoms, however, appeared from time to time among the ancient Irish, which portended the speedy reduction of the island.† When the lords of inferior districts had any subject of complaint against their superior lords, respecting the contributions or tributes which the latter exacted from them, perhaps with too much rigour ; instead of having recourse to the usual mode of arbitration, or referring their differences to the Brehons, who were the ordinary judges among them, they carried their complaints before the English governor. This politic tribunal, whilst effecting between them an outward reconciliation, exerted itself to sever the ties of subordination which bound them together, establishing an independence among them ; so that by a separation of the vassals from their chief, the body became imperceptibly enfeebled, many instances of which occurred about this time. Conn O'Neill, earl of Tyrone, having had a dispute with Maguire, Phelim Roe O'Neill, and other nobles, who held under him, they presented themselves before the deputy and council, in Dublin, in the month of June. The tribunal heard their mutual recriminations and complaints, and had them reconciled on certain conditions ; it decided, that Maguire should be exempt for the future from all subjection, homage, and dependence on the earl of Tyrone and his successors ; that he should always remain in peace, under the deputy's protection, and that he should be bound to acquit himself towards his excellency, as often as he should be required by the council,

* Hist. of Ireland, page 285.

† Ware, *ibid.* cap. 3.

* Cox, History of Ireland, page 285.

of all homage, debts, and generally of every duty which a subject owes to his lord. In the following month, a similar decree was made respecting O'Donnel, prince of Tyrconnel, and the nobles who derived under him. These negotiations were followed by the submission of Brian and Hugh Oge M'Mahon, (the younger), to the deputy, at Kihnainham, and the remission of a fine of five hundred marks, to which they had been condemned some time before.

The war had lasted for a considerable time between the English and Scotch, respecting the marriage which it was endeavoured to conclude between the young king Edward and Mary Stuart, in order to unite England with Scotland.* The Scotch nobility having refused to consent to this marriage, the lord protector marched into Scotland with a powerful army, where he gained the celebrated battle of Musselborough. Henry II. king of France, whose interest it was to thwart an alliance which would produce the union of these two crowns, averted the blow by sending for the heiress of Scotland. She was afterwards married to his son, Francis II.

At this conjuncture, the Scotch sent a body of troops to Ulster, to support the Irish against the English, and thereby create a diversion in their own favour; but these auxiliaries, to the number of two hundred, were defeated by Andrew Brereton, at the head of thirty-five horsemen. This captain quelled the disturbances in Ulster, and was appointed governor of that province.

Bellingham, the deputy, having been recalled by the intrigues of his enemies, sailed from Howth in December, for England. After his departure, the chancellor Allen, by the orders of the king, having convened a meeting of the nobility and privy council, in the church of the holy Trinity, Dublin, in order to appoint a successor, the choice fell on Sir Francis Brian. This election was confirmed by the signatures of Jenico Preston, viscount Gormanston; Roland Eustace, viscount Baltinglass; Edward Staples, bishop of Meath; Richard Nugent, baron of Delvin; John Plunket, baron of Killeen; Patrick Barnewall, baron of Trimlestown; Robert Plunket, baron of Dun-sany; Oliver Plunket, baron of Louth; and Brian Fitzpatrick, baron of upper Ossory. The administration of this new deputy was of short duration. Having undertaken an expedition into the county of Tipperary, to quell some disturbances, and to oppose the

incursions of O'Carroll, he fell sick at Clonmel, where he died on the second of February following. His body was removed to Waterford, and interred in the cathedral of the holy Trinity. After his death, the government was confided by the council to Sir William Brabazon, with the title of lord justice, and this governor entrusted Edmond Butler, archbishop of Cashel, with the superintendence of the country of Ormond, during the minority of the earl, who was then but twelve years of age.

The lord justice marched towards Lime-
rick, where he received the submission of Teigue, or Thadeus O'Carrol.* This nobleman undertook to pay an annual tribute to the exchequer, and also to maintain a certain number of troops, both horse and foot, at his own expense, for the king's service, and to resign his claims on the barony of Ormond. He likewise placed the district of Eile in the king's hands, who restored it to him afterwards, by letters patent, with the title of lord baron of Eile. This nobleman having got over his own difficulties, interfered in favour of M'Morrough, O'Kelly, and O'Melaghlin, and procured letters of protection for them. The lord justice at the same time reconciled the earls of Desmond and Thuomond, whose differences respecting their frontiers, had long disturbed the peace of the province. Dermot O'Sullivan, a powerful nobleman in the county of Cork, met with a heavy calamity at this period; some barrels of powder having taken fire, by which he and his castle were blown up together. Amalf, his brother and heir, was killed some time afterwards.

The town of Boulogne, which had been taken by Henry VIII. six years before, was surrendered to the French, in April, 1550, on condition of paying at two separate periods, the sum of four hundred thousand crowns.† The king of England expended eight thousand pounds sterling of this money in the service of Ireland. He also sent over four hundred men from that garrison, which enabled the lord justice to pursue the rebels, amongst others Charles Mac-Art Cavanagh, who had already been proclaimed a traitor. He devastated his country, and killed several of his followers.

The reformation had not yet made much progress in Ireland. In the month of May of this year, Arthur Magennis was appointed by the pope, to the bishopric of Dromore, and was confirmed in it by letters patent

* Baker, *ibid.*

* Cox, *ibid.* page 287.

† Ware, *ibid.* cap. 4.

from the king. Thomas Lancaster, of the reformed religion, was consecrated bishop of Kildare, in Dublin, in July, by George Brown, archbishop of that city. He, however, lost his bishopric under the following reign, on account of his having married.*

The English sent an army at this time to the frontiers of Scotland, Henry II., king of France, considered this step against his allies, as an infraction of the peace lately concluded between him and the English: and accordingly sent a fleet, consisting of one hundred and sixty vessels, laden with provisions, powder, and cannon, to Scotland: but having been overtaken by a furious tempest, sixteen of the largest vessels were wrecked upon the coast of Ireland; the remainder were scattered, and found considerable difficulty in reaching the coast of France. The king of England wished to counteract the designs of France against his dominions, but particularly against Ireland. He knew that his power was not firmly established in that country; that the people were in general dissatisfied, and that their fidelity being founded on a forced submission, they only waited for an opportunity to shake off the English yoke. For the purpose therefore of guarding it, he sent a fleet of twenty vessels, consisting of large ships and sloops, under the command of lord Cobham, with orders to cruise in the Irish sea, from the north to the south of the island. Henry II. found means, however, to elude these precautions. He sent over de Fourquevaux, attended by the prothonotary de Montluc, who entered into successful negociation with the princes of Ulster, O'Neill and O'Donnell, and induced them to enter into a confederacy with France, against the English. As however, the continuance of treaties is generally measured by the interest of princes, the peace which was concluded between France and England, rendered this league with the Irish abortive.

De Serigny speaks in the following terms of this negociation, in his book of general peerage, or registry of the nobility of France, in the article respecting Beccarie de Pavie, marquis de Forquevaux.† "In the mean time, as the king wished to bring the Irish princes under his dominion, and withdraw them from their allegiance to the king of England, who had many partisans among them, and was in possession of some fortresses; he gave orders to de Forquevaux to set out for Ireland with the prothonotary, de Montluc, (John de Montesquion de Lasseran Massencomme, brother to marshal

Blaise de Montluc) who was then chancellor of Scotland, and afterwards bishop of Valentia, and Die in Dauphiny.* Notwithstanding the delicacy of this affair, they carried on their negociation, which was a dangerous one, with so much skill and dexterity, that, in the month of February, 1553, they received the oath of fidelity from prince O'Donnel and O'Neill, earl of Tyrone, in the castle of Donegal, province of Ulster, which princes both in their own name, and in the names of the other lords of the country, placed their lives, forces, and properties under the protection of France; it having been agreed upon, that whoever would be king of France, should be also king of Ireland." This is an historical fact, of which no mention is made, either by our most correct compilers, or in the extensive works of Du Tillet, De Belleforêt, De La Popliniere, and others; but concerning which no doubt can exist, since according to the account of the biographer of Raymond de Beccarie, the Latin transcript of the oath taken by the Irish lords, is to be found in the king's treasury, and he was moreover well acquainted with the facts.

Allen, chancellor of Ireland, was recalled at this time to England, and succeeded by Sir Thomas Cusack, of Coffington, in the county of Meath, who had been master of the rolls. The office of chancellor was confirmed to him by letters from the king, in the month of August.

In September, Sir Anthony St. Leger was again appointed lord lieutenant or deputy of Ireland; and on his arrival in Dublin, Brabazon presented him, according to custom, with the sword. This deputy received the submission of M'Carty, and restored him to favour.

Richard Butler, lord of Mongarret, in the county of Wexford, was created a peer of the realm, on the 23rd of October, under the title of lord viscount Mongarret. He was son of Pierce or Peter, earl of Ormond, and of Margaret, daughter of Fitzgerald, earl of Kildare.†

Charles Mac-Art Cavanagh having appeared on the 4th of November, before the grand council in Dublin, made his submission, and surrendered his possessions publicly, in the name of Mac-Morrrough, in presence of the deputy, the earls of Desmond, Tyrone, Thuomond, and Clanriccard, viscount Mongarret, the baron of Dunboyne, and other noblemen. The submission of this nobleman produced him no advantage, as he was stript

* War. de Episcop. Kildare.

† Regist. 2. 1. part. vol. 3.

* He was promoted and consecrated in 1553.

† Nichol's Rudiments of Honour.

of the best portion of his estates. Such were the usual terms that were imposed upon the Irish, by their unjust masters, after they had submitted to the yoke. The lands belonging to them were peculiarly attractive to Englishmen, and enriched thousands of hungry adventurers, who came in crowds to seek their fortunes in Ireland.

Edmond Butler, archbishop of Cashel, died at this time; he was natural son of Peter, earl of Ormond.* This prelate belonged to the privy council of Ireland, under Henry VIII. At the time of the suppression of monasteries, he surrendered the priory of St. Edmond, of Athassel, in the county of Tipperary, to which he had been appointed. A synod was convened in June, 1529, at Limerick, by him, when, amongst other things, it was decreed, that the mayor of the city should have a power, without incurring any censure, to arrest and imprison ecclesiastics for debt. The clergy complained loudly of this decree, as being an infraction upon their privileges. Butler was succeeded in the see of Cashel by Roland Barron.

This year, the king of England sent his commands to the deputy of Ireland, to have the liturgy and public prayers performed in the English language, with a direction that orders should be given to all archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons, and parish priests, throughout the kingdom, to conform in all these matters to the king's will.

In obedience to the king's commands the deputy convened a meeting of the clergy, to inform them of the orders he had received, and the opinions of some English bishops, who had conformed to the new liturgy. George Dowdal, archbishop of Armagh and primate of all Ireland, who was grave, learned, an able preacher, and firmly attached to the Catholic cause, spoke with vigour against this innovation, and among other things said, "Any illiterate layman will then have power to say mass." After this he left the meeting, followed by all his suffragans, except Edward Staples, bishop of Meath. Brown, archbishop of Dublin, was more submissive than Dowdal; he received the king's orders respectfully, observing that he submitted as Jesus had done to Cæsar, in all that was just and lawful, without inquiring into the cause, as he acknowledged him to be his true and lawful king. On the Easter Sunday following, he preached upon this subject, in the cathedral of the blessed Trinity, Dublin, taking for his text the following words of the Psalmist: "Open my eyes, that I may behold the wonders of thy law."

According to Ware, several lords had, at this time, the title of baron, though they did not rank among the nobles; it is probable that these were popular distinctions, from which they did not derive the privilege of sitting in parliament. The following he mentions to have existed in his time; the barons of Burnchurch, Navan, Scrine, Galtrim, Rheban, Norragh, Sleumarg, Brownsford, Thomastown, Ardmail and Loughno. When the country was, by order of the English governor, divided into baronies, the people, through courtesy, gave the title of baron to some of the ancient Irish, to whom the lands belonged; amongst others, we discover those of Dartry, Tuathra Clanmahan, Tire-reil, Loghtee, who were styled barons of their own estates. All who had large possessions assumed the title likewise, which was also the custom in England, previous to its being conferred by patent.

St. Leger, the deputy, was recalled this year, on account of some complaints that were urged against him by the archbishop of Dublin, either for want of zeal in advancing the reformation, or some other secret cause; he was succeeded by Sir James Crofts, a gentleman of the king's bedchamber.*

The new deputy having learned on his arrival in Ireland, that St. Leger was in Munster, he repaired to Cork, where he received the sword from him in May, 1551. Crofts was a zealous Protestant, and endeavoured, but in vain, to induce Dowdal the Primate, to conform to the King's wishes, respecting the Liturgy. Upon his refusal the King and Council of England deprived him of the title of Primate, which was thereupon conferred on the see of Dublin. Dowdal was obliged to withdraw to a foreign country, and Hugh Goodacre was appointed to the Archbishopric of Armagh, in his stead; he was consecrated in February, with John Bale, Bishop of Ossory, in the church of the blessed Trinity, Dublin, by Archbishop Brown, assisted by the Bishops of Kildare and Down.

The first expedition of Crofts was into Ulster, to quell some disturbances that had been caused by the inhabitants of that province, in conjunction with their neighbours, the Scotch. The deputy having reached Carrickfergus, sent a detachment under the command of captain Bagnall, to surprise Rachlin, an island at some distance in the sea, north of Fairhead. This expedition did not succeed to his wishes; the detachment was repulsed with a heavy loss, and one of

* Ware, Arch. Cassill.

* Ware, *ibid.* cap. 5.

the vessels of his little fleet was wrecked. Bagnall was taken prisoner by the MacDonnells, and afterwards exchanged for Surly-Boy MacDonnell, their brother, who had been kept in confinement in Dublin. During his stay in Ulster, the deputy received the submission of some of the nobles of the country. The rest entrenched themselves in inaccessible fastnesses, from which he found it impossible to dislodge them.

At this time, the king changed the title of the Irish king at arms.* This officer, who had till then enjoyed that office for all Ireland, was thenceforward called Ulster king at arms, the cause of which is not known. Nicholas Narbon, one of the English heralds, surnamed Richmond, was the first who held the office under the new title. He was succeeded by Bartholomew Butler.

On the deputy's return to Dublin he had the earl of Tyrone arrested, on account of some complaints which had been made against him, by his son Ferdorach or Mathew O'Neill, baron of Dungannon. The brothers of Mathew took up arms and devastated the lands of Dungannon, to avenge the insult which had been offered to their father. It being the interest of the English government to support their client, they gave him a body of English troops, to enable him to defend his possessions. The matter was soon decided by a pitched battle, in which the baron was defeated and put to flight, with a loss of two hundred of his men, killed upon the spot. The earl of Tyrone was detained three months more in prison, after which he received his freedom upon giving hostages, and returned to his province.

Brien O'Connor Faly, who was a prisoner in the tower of London, having found means to escape, was re-taken, and again thrown into confinement. MacCoghlan who had been expelled from his territory of Dealna or Delvin, was restored at this time, having yielded to the English yoke. The public archives, which had been before deposited in Bermingham tower, Dublin, were now removed to the library of St. Patrick.

About this period died Robert Waucop, otherwise Venantius, who was either a Scotch or an Irishman. During the lifetime of Dowdal the primate, he was nominated archbishop of Armagh, by Pope Paul III., though Dowdal was a Catholic.† It appears that the pope paid no regard to his nomination, it having been by Henry VIII., during his schism. Two bishops appeared now for the first time, in each diocese in Ireland; the one was

called Titular, appointed by the pope; the other received his mission from the kings of England, with the possession of the revenues. The only advantage which Waucop derived from his appointment was, the honour of being titular archbishop of Armagh.

Two years had now elapsed since the duke of Somerset was liberated from the Tower, and deprived of the Protectorship;* but fresh accusations having been brought against him, by his rival the duke of Northumberland, and other noblemen, he was impeached and convicted of high treason, and of having attempted the life of Northumberland, in consequence of which he was beheaded on Tower Hill. Such was the end of this ambitious nobleman, who, though but a subject, aspired to be the equal of a sovereign, by assuming the style of "Somerset, by the grace of God," A. D. 1552.† He built a magnificent palace from the ruins of churches and the dwellings of the bishops, and from the revenues, which they and the chapters were obliged to surrender to him.

Morrrough O'Brien, who was created earl of Thound by Henry VIII., having died, his nephew Donogh, baron of Ibrican, took possession of the estates and title of Thound, according to a compact made between them by the king; but as this title was to end with Donogh, he surrendered his patent to Edward VI., who conferred a new one on him, by which the title of Earl of Thomond was confirmed to him and his male heirs for ever. He was soon afterwards killed by his brother Donald.

The noble family of the Fitzgeralds, of Kildare, was restored this year, in the person of Gerald, brother to Thomas, last earl of Kildare, who was executed in England with his uncles, on account of their rebellion. This nobleman spent several years in different countries of Europe, and having been restored to favour, obtained letters from the king, empowering him to take possession of Maynooth and other estates belonging to his family, and two years afterwards, he received the ancient titles of his house from Queen Mary.

Donogh O'Brien who had just been created earl of Thomond, by letters patent, and declared heir to the estates annexed to that title, was disturbed in his possessions by his brother Donald. This nobleman was exasperated to see his eldest brother, and the head of his family, enter into an agreement

* Cox, *ibid*, page 291.

† Baker, *chron of England*. p. 306, 308.

* War de Archiep. Ardmach. *Idem*. *Annal. Hibern*.

† Baker, *chron. of Engl*. p. 305.

with the king of England, which were so contrary to the interests of his country; he looked upon the title as the seal of his slavery, and of the dishonor of a house, which had been till that time, free and independent. According to Cox, Donald had another motive for declaring against his brother;* he had cause to apprehend the loss of the prerogatives, to which he was entitled by the old custom of Tanistry, as the submission of his brother to the English government, secured the possession for ever to his descendants. This, however, is mere conjecture, on the part of Cox, who always puts a bad construction upon the intentions of those who were opposed to the English. In order, indeed, to give an appearance of truth to what he advances, he says, that Donald and Terlough were uncles to the earl of Thuomond, while, according to every other historian, who wrote on Irish affairs, they were his brothers. However this may have been, the deputy, in conjunction with some of the members of the council, made use of his authority, and settled the matter in favour of the earl.

Sir Nicholas Bagnall was appointed to the command of a force which was sent against MacMurrough. Both armies having met, they fought for a long time with doubtful success; the loss was heavy on both sides, and the victory remained undecided: the numbers of killed and wounded were not known. The English garrison of Athlone pillaged, at this time, the cathedral church of Cluan-mac-noisk, not sparing even the books or sacred vessels of the church.

Some time afterwards, the deputy marched at the head of an army to Ulster, and fortified Belfast, where he left a strong garrison. In the mean time, the baron of Dungannon having marched with his forces to join the English army, he was surprised in his camp by his brother Shane O'Neill, who killed several of his men, and put the rest to flight. The deputy finding himself deprived of this succour, set out for Dublin, with the intention of returning to England. The English monarch having learned that Queen Mary, of Scotland, had sent over O'Connor to Ireland, whose father was a prisoner in England, to influence the Irish to rebel against the government, he gave orders to Sir Henry Knolles to repair thither without delay, and put off the departure of the deputy, till he should receive fresh instructions: but finding, soon after this, that the Queen of Scotland's plan had failed, he proceeded to England, with the king's permission, attended

by Andrew Wise, the vice-treasurer. Two days after his departure, the privy council and nobility met in the cathedral church of the Holy Trinity, in order to appoint two justices, to be entrusted with the government during the absence of the deputy. The choice fell upon Thomas Cusack, the chancellor, and Gerald Aylmer, chief justice of the king's bench, both of whom were knights, as, at that time, the title was conferred, both on civil and military officers. Some time afterwards, one of the O'Neills, of the house of Tyrone, was arrested in Dublin, for having circulated opprobrious reports concerning the deputy, but was liberated on bail. About this period, Hugh Ogue O'Neill, Lord of Clanneboy, submitted to the king, in presence of the lords justices, and took the oath of allegiance. The king, in gratitude, gave him the abbey of Carrickfergus, with the castle of Belfast, and permission for three secular priests to reside with him.

Ulster was desolated this year, by a civil war between the earl of Tyrone, and his son John, commonly known in history by the name of Shane O'Neill. All Ireland was visited by a dreadful famine, and a scarcity of grain; but the year following was a most abundant one; the same measure which cost twenty-four shillings the preceding year, being sold for five, A. D. 1553.

The sentence pronounced by the deputy in favour of Donough, earl of Thomond, was not sufficient to thwart the designs of his brother Donald O'Brien against him. Donald, who was seconded by his brother Terlough, and a few other lords of Thuomond with their vassals, attacked Clonroan, or Cluanroad, in the county of Clare, and burned all except the castle.* The earl defended himself in it for some time, but being at length obliged to yield to a superior force, the castle was taken by storm, and the garrison put to the sword; the earl being found among the number of the slain. Connor, his only son, whom he had by Helen, daughter of Peter Butler, earl of Ormond, being supported by the English government, succeeded to the title and estates of his father.† This was the source of the discord which prevailed for a long time between the houses of Thuomond and Inchiquin, and the other branches of the O'Briens.

About this time, Teague Roe O'Melaglin evinced the same spirit of patriotism, which Donald O'Brien had displayed. Having received some insult from his relative Neil Mac Phelim, who was in the interest

* Page 292.

* Ware, *ibid.* cap. 7.

† Cox, *ibid.* p. 315, 545.

of the English, he killed him on the road to Mullingar in Westmeath. O'Melaghlin, himself lost his life, some time afterwards, in a battle against the garrison of Athlone, commanded by the baron of Delvin, whereupon his estate was confiscated. The quarrels of the Burkes also gave rise to disturbances in Connaught; Richard Burke having quarrelled with the children of Thomas Burke, called Backagh, gave them battle, in which he was made prisoner, leaving one hundred and fifty of his men dead on the field. Richard, earl of Clanriccard, having had some disputes with John Burke, he entered his lands, sword in hand, and laid siege to his castle: but on learning that Donald O'Brien was coming to his assistance, the earl raised the siege, not thinking it prudent to wait the event of a battle.

King Edward sent three large vessels this year to discover a passage to the East Indies, through the north of Europe and Asia, at the solicitation of Sebastian Gabato, a native of Bristol, the son of a Genoese, or, as others say, of a Venetian,* and a celebrated cosmographer. The king appointed him pilot or director of this little fleet, which was under the command of Sir Hugh Willoughby. On reaching the latitude of 74 degrees, Willoughby's ship was cast upon a desert shore, where he and his crew were found frozen to death. His lieutenant, Richard Cancellarius, was more fortunate, having discovered a passage into Russia, which had been till then unknown to the English. The third vessel, which suffered from the storm, and was separated from the others, fearing for the success of the voyage, returned to England.

Edward VI. died at Greenwich, in July, at the age of sixteen years, of which he had reigned six. The reformation advanced with rapid strides during his time, which cannot surprise us, since this prince, who began his reign at the age of nine years, was wholly under the control and command of those who were entrusted with the administration, during his minority. Edward Seymour, duke of Somerset, the king's uncle, governed during the first years, as protector, till he was supplanted by John Dudley, duke of Northumberland. The former was a Zuiniglian, and the friend of Cranmer; the latter conformed to the religion which suited his own purposes best; so that these two favourites, and the other nobles belonging to the court, perverted the authority of an infant king, to gratify their cupidity with

sacrilegious plunder. The supposed reformation of religion, was a pretext made use of by them to seize upon the property of the church. They first proclaimed Edward, as they had done Henry, head of the church of England, both in spiritual and temporal affairs. The maxim which had been established in the time of Henry VIII. was, *that the king held the place of the pope in England*; but they granted prerogatives to this new papacy, to which the pope had never aspired. The bishops were newly appointed by Edward, and were to continue in their sees, according to the king's will, as had been settled by Henry, and it was thought, that, in order to accelerate the reformation, *the bishops should be subject to the yoke of an arbitrary power*. The archbishop of Canterbury, primate of England, was the first to submit to this degradation, which is not surprising, as it was through him all these opinions were propagated; the others followed his pernicious example. This system was afterwards altered, and the bishops were forced to consider it as a favour, that the king conferred the sees for life. It was clearly specified in their commission, as had been done under Henry, agreeably to the doctrine of Cranmer, that episcopal authority, as well as that of secular magistrates, emanated from royalty, as its source; that the bishops should exercise it under a precarious tenure, and give it up at the pleasure of the king, from whom they derived it; in short, every thing was made subject to royal power.

The bishoprics which had thus become offices to be filled by persons who might be recalled at the pleasure of the king, like the governors of provinces, or common clerks, frequently changed their bishop.* The most zealous suffered imprisonment, and by their perseverance, lost their sees; the more politic subscribed to every article of the reformation, and were satisfied with a small portion of the revenues of their rich bishoprics, scarcely sufficient, says Heylin, for the support of a parson; the vacant ones were conferred on men who readily consented to the dismemberment of the lands of their churches, which were formed into baronies, to enrich, as Heylin observes, *the pirates of the court, who had no right by birth to such brilliant fortunes*. The above is but a feeble sketch of the excesses which happened in the reign of Edward; but to return to our history.

The death of Edward VI. was followed by a kind of interregnum of a few days. The duke of Northumberland, caused Jane eldest

* Baker, Chron. of Engl. page 309. War. de Annal. Hib. reign of Edward VI. cap. 7.

* Heylin, Hist. of the Reformation p. 99, et seq.

daughter of the duke of Suffolk, and Frances, daughter of Charles Brandon, and Mary, sister of Henry VIII., queen of France, and widow of Charles the XII., each to be proclaimed queen of England. Jane was of royal descent through the female line, being grand niece of Henry VIII.; she was also daughter-in-law to the duke of Northumberland, being married to lord Guilford Dudley, his fourth son.* Upon this was founded her claim to the crown, and the interest which the duke took to have her proclaimed. This nobleman was the favourite of Edward VI., and finding that the prince's end was approaching, represented to him, that his conscience required that he should look to the preservation of the new religion, not only during his life, but also after his death; that his sister, the princess Mary, was opposed to it, but that he could not exclude her from the succession, without also removing Elizabeth; and in short he prevailed so far with this weak prince, that he brought him to make a will, by which he declared his cousin Jane the lawful heiress to the crown.

The duke of Northumberland who was determined to support the cause of Jane, put himself at the head of an army of ten thousand men. He was attended by several noblemen, many of whom, however, deserted him on their march. Mary, who was at Framingham in Suffolk, having heard of her brother's death, had herself proclaimed queen, whereon all the nobility of Norfolk and Suffolk flocked to her standard. The nobles who were in London met at Baynard castle, and acknowledging Mary's incontrovertible right to the throne, had her proclaimed by the lord mayor of London. The duke of Northumberland was at Bury when he heard of this general defection in favour of Mary, and deeming it a matter of prudence to follow the torrent, he immediately repaired to Cambridge, where, for want of a herald, he went attended by the mayor, and proclaimed queen Mary in the market place, throwing up his cap in the air, as a token of joy. This show of loyalty, however, availed him nothing; he was arrested the day following, with other noblemen, by the earl of Arundel, in the queen's name, and sent to the tower. In the mean time the duke of Suffolk entered the apartment of his daughter, lady Jane Grey, the supposed queen, and informed her that she should lay aside the insignia of royalty, and be content to lead thenceforward a private life. She answered him with modesty, that she resigned it as willingly as she

had assumed it, which she never would have done, but through obedience to him, and to her mother. Thus ended her reign of ten days.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

QUEEN MARY having been proclaimed in the principal towns in England, left Framingham for London, A.D. 1553. On arriving at Wanstead in Essex, on the 30th of July, she was met by her sister Elizabeth, attended by a cavalcade of a thousand horsemen.* On the 3d of August, she made her entry into London, with a pomp and magnificence equal to any of her predecessors.† She then took possession of the tower, where Thomas, the old duke of Norfolk, Edward lord Courtney, Stephen Gardiner, the deposed bishop of Winchester, and the duke of Somerset, were prisoners. They received her on their knees; but raising them she embraced them, saying, "these are my prisoners." They were soon afterwards restored to liberty. Gardiner was reinstated in his see of Winchester, and appointed keeper of the seals and chancellor of England; all the other bishops, who had been dispossessed, in the preceding reign, namely, Bonner bishop of London, Tunstall of Durham, Day of Chichester, West of Exeter, and Heath of Worcester, were also restored to their sees. All married men, who possessed livings in the church, were removed by Queen Mary, and she herself renounced the profane title of head of the church of England.‡ This princess found herself obliged to make examples of some distinguished personages. The duke of Northumberland, Sir John Gates, and Sir Thomas Palmer, were executed on Tower Hill, in the month of August. Shortly afterwards, Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, Lady Jane Grey, her husband lord Guilford, and the lords Ambrosius and Henry, sons of the duke of Northumberland, shared the same fate. Queen Mary was crowned with the usual solemnities, in St. Peter's church, by the bishop of Winchester.

The English council having informed the lord justice and privy council of Ireland, of all that had taken place respecting Mary's succession to the throne; she was proclaimed

* Baker, Chron. of England, page 309.

* Sander. de schis. Ang. lib. 2, p. 244 et seq. Baker, chron. of Engl. p. 314, et seq.

† War. de annal. hib. reign of Mary, c. I. Heylin, hist. of the reform. p. 156 et seq.

‡ Prophanum Primatus ecclesiastici titulum respuit et á stilo Regio sustulit Sanderus ibid.

in Dublin, and afterwards in the other towns and burghs in the kingdom, to the great satisfaction of the people. The queen afterwards sent over patents to continue the lords justices and other magistrates in office.

Donough O'Connor made an incursion, at this time, into Offaly, but was put down by the superior force of the lords justices.

The queen who was already planning the restoration of the old religion, caused a declaration in favour of the mass, and the other dogmas of the Catholic faith, to be published in Ireland, that is, in the English province, where the heresy was beginning to take root.

About this time, O'Neill made some attempts in the county of Louth, which drew the attention of government towards Ulster. The lords justices having collected their forces, marched towards Dundalk, where they dispersed his troops, after killing several of them.

Sir Anthony St. Leger was appointed by the queen, lord deputy of Ireland, in November. Having landed at Dalkey, he repaired to Dublin, where he took the oath on the 19th of the same month, and received the sword from Cusack and Aylmer, his predecessors, in the Cathedral of Christ or the Blessed Trinity; the patent of Cusack the chancellor, was renewed at the same time.

In this month, Cormac MacCoughlan and his allies, the O'Ferralls, having applied for assistance to Richard, baron of Delvin, against MacCoughlan chief of the tribe, and superior lord of Dealna, the baron entered freely into their confederacy, which, however, was productive of no other result than the burning of some villages in the territory of Dealna. It tended to perpetuate the animosities and destructive warfare between the tribes of the MacCoughlans and the O'Ferralls.

In the month of December, Owen Magennis, chief of the tribe, and superior lord of Iveach in the county of Down, surrendered; in consequence of which, he was appointed governor of that district, by the deputy and council. This nobleman paved the way, by these means, to the title of lord, which was subsequently taken by his descendants.

In the following spring, George Dowdal, archbishop of Armagh, who had withdrawn to a foreign country, was recalled by Queen Mary, and restored to his former dignities of archbishop of Armagh, and primate of Ireland, A.D. 1554;* The priory of Athird, in the county of Louth, was added to his revenues. The primate convened a provincial

synod in Drogheda, in the church of St. Peter, in which several decrees were passed tending to the restoration of religion, and the ancient rights of the church; and statutes enacted against married ecclesiastics. This was only a prelude to other things, more important. In the month of April, the primate and doctor Walsh, who was appointed bishop of Meath, received an order to depose such bishops and priests as had married. This order was put into execution, in the month of June following, against Edward Staples, bishop of Meath, who was forced to give up his see. About the end of the same year, Brown, archbishop of Dublin, Lancaster, bishop of Kildare, and Traversa, bishop of Leighlin, shared the same fate. Bale, bishop of Ossory, and Casey, of Limerick, avoided a similar punishment, by leaving the country. The bishoprics were then filled by Catholic prelates. Walsh had been already appointed to the see of Meath; Hugh Curvin succeeded Brown in the see of Dublin; Thomas Levereuse filled that of Kildare; Thomas O'Fihely was appointed by the pope, bishop of Leighlin; Hugh Lacy, of Limerick, and Bale was replaced by John Thonory, in the see of Ossory. It must be observed that those bishops who were dispossessed, were Englishmen, and the first who preached the reformation in Ireland.

Bale and Brown, the principal of those who introduced the reformation, were monks that had been stript of their order. Brown was an Augustinian monk in London. He became provincial of the order in England,* and was appointed to the archbishopric of Dublin by Henry VIII.; but a desire to marry, made him renounce the solemn vow of chastity and continence he had made to God, when he embraced the monastic state. He is considered by Protestants, as the first who endeavoured to introduce the reformation into Ireland. His memory is held in veneration among them, and they have taken care to write his life, as a legend worthy of being handed down to posterity.† Bale was a native of England: he began his studies at Norwich, became a monk of the Carmelite order, and afterwards went to Cambridge to perfect himself. Having a taste for preaching, he never ceased to declaim against the Roman Catholic religion; he was arrested twice, and put into prison, first by order of the archbishop of York, and afterwards by the bishop of London; but was restored to liberty, through the influence of Cromwell, the spiritual vicar-general of Henry VIII. He was

* Wareus, *ibid.* cap. 2.

* War. de Archiepisc. Dubliniens.

† War. de episc. Ossor.

at last forced to leave the country; and withdrew to Germany, where he remained for eight years, after which he returned to England, in the reign of Edward VI., who appointed him to the bishopric of Ossory. This prince died six weeks afterwards, and Mary having ascended the throne, Bale left his library at Kilkenny, and fled to Basle in Switzerland, where he remained till her death, and the accession of Elizabeth. He then returned to England, and was content with a canonship in the church of Canterbury, not wishing to go back to his diocese. He published several works both in Latin and English, a catalogue of which he himself gives in his book on British writers.

In the month of November, Gerald, earl of Kildare, who had been lately restored to his honours, Thomas Duff, or the black, earl of Ormond, and Brian Fitzpatrick, baron of upper Ossory, having distinguished themselves in the war in England, against Sir Thomas Wyatt, returned to Ireland. Fitzpatrick was noticed on account of the strict and reciprocal friendship that subsisted between him and Edward VI. In the month of February following, Cahir Mac-Art Cavanagh, an Irish lord, who was highly esteemed in Leinster, and descended from the kings of that province, was created, (for life only), lord baron of Balian, in Idrone, (county of Carlow). He was succeeded in this title by his brother Dermot.

The queen had given orders at this time to reduce the troops in Ireland to the number of five hundred men; the state of affairs, however, prevented the deputy and council from carrying that measure fully into effect. They retained six hundred foot soldiers, four hundred horsemen, and some light troops; and were obliged soon afterwards to increase the number, and to ask for further reinforcements from the English, to repel the Scotch of the Hebrides.

Before this mention was made of a marriage between queen Mary and Philip II. of Spain, eldest son of Charles V.* When this news was spread in England, a serious disturbance broke out in the province of Kent, and other places, in which Wyatt was one of the principal performers. Some dreaded that by this marriage, England might become a province of the Spanish monarchy; whilst the partizans of the reformation feared that the alliance of the queen, (who was already opposed to that object,) with a Catholic prince, might put an end to the system which had made so rapid a progress during

the two last reigns. The queen, however, was so ably seconded by her brave and faithful subjects, that the only result which attended this outbreak was the punishment of the rebels.

Charles V. would let no opportunity escape that might contribute to the aggrandizement of his house.* In January he sent ambassadors to England, and among others, the earl of Egmond, and John de Montmorency; they were honourably received, and were successful in their negociation concerning the marriage. Philip landed at Southampton, in England, on the 19th of July, and proceeded to Winchester on the 24th, where the queen waited his arrival, and the marriage was celebrated the following day, which was the festival of St. James, by the bishop of that see.† Mary was then thirty-eight years of age, and Philip but twenty-seven: they were immediately proclaimed by the Garter herald at arms, under the following titles:—

“Philip and Mary, by the grace of God, king and queen of England, France, Naples, Jerusalem, and Ireland, defenders of the faith, prince and princess of Spain and Sicily, archduke and archduchess of Austria, duke and duchess of Milan, Burgundy, and Brabant, and count and countess of Hapsburg, Flanders, and the Tirol.”

Although the queen had done much, since her coming to the throne, for the re-establishment of religion and the Catholic liturgy; had the mass and divine offices celebrated, according to the custom of the Roman church, in the Latin language; and had caused heresy to be proscribed, and foreign heretics to be driven out of the country, (of whom, it was said, that at least 30,000 had by various routes departed from England), still she was unable to bring back the people to their obedience to the see of Rome. The parliament first made some objections on this head, lest the pope might insist upon the restitution of the property of the church, which had been seized upon by the nobles; but all these difficulties being removed, they repealed the laws which had been enacted during the preceding reigns, against the authority and jurisdiction of the popes. They also repealed those respecting cardinal Pole, who had just arrived from Rome, as legate à latere, from Julius III., who was sovereign pontiff:‡ and finally submitted to every thing, avowing their deep regret for

* Heylin, Hist. of the Reformation, on the reign of Mary, p. 209.

† Baker, Chron. of Engl. p. 319.

‡ Heylin, *ibid.* page 211.

* Sander, de Schis. Angl. lib. 2, part 2, p. 224, et seq.

having seceded from the obedience due to his holiness, and for having consented to the enactment of laws against him.* They then asked upon their knees, his absolution both for themselves and the people, from the censures which they had incurred by their schism; which was granted to them by the legate, who read aloud the power delegated to him by the pope. A splendid embassy was then sent to Rome, to have all things confirmed by the sovereign pontiff; and on their being thus ratified by his holiness, solemn thanks to God was offered throughout Italy, for the happy reconciliation of England with the holy see.†

War broke out at this time between Connor O'Brien, son of Donough, earl of Thuromond, and his uncle Donald O'Brien. Connor had lost the affection of the people, by retaining the English title of earl, which he had assumed after his father, whilst Donald became very popular, by taking the name of O'Brien without any addition, which was considered much more honourable by his countrymen than the title of earl. Donald was very powerful, and took several places from the earl, who required the aid of the English to maintain himself in his districts. The same year Cahir O'Carroll, baron of Ely, who had killed Teague O'Carroll, perished by the sword of William Odar O'Carroll, of the same family. The latter made himself master of the district of Ely, of which he kept possession for four years. About the same time, the baron of Delvin devastated the territory of Dealna, the country of the MacCoghlans, and returned loaded with booty.

An alliance and close friendship had subsisted for a long time between the houses of Tyrone and Kildare, which made them assist each other mutually. John, or Shane Doulenagh O'Neill, son of the earl of Tyrone, having had a dispute with Phelim Roe O'Neill, a powerful nobleman of his family, demanded assistance from Kildare. In order to justify the confidence of his ally, the earl joined in his expedition. The baron of Delvin thereupon marched at the head of his forces to Ulster; but his success did not equal his expectation. He carried away some booty, but lost fifty of his men, who were killed in a skirmish against Phelim O'Neill. Soon after this, a bloody battle took place between the earl of Tyrone and Hugh O'Neill of Clanneboy, respecting some claims of the earl on his territory; the earl was defeated, with the loss of three hundred

men killed, besides prisoners; the loss of Hugh was not known.

The court of England sent to Ireland in October, Sir William Fitzwilliams, Sir John Allen, and Valentine Brown, as commissioners, to assist the deputy in the regulation of the crown lands, by which means they were enabled to procure settlements for themselves in the country. Valentine Brown was a violent Protestant, but his son embraced the Catholic religion; this noble family were afterwards considered worthy of titles of honour, and still live in splendour in the county of Kerry.*

Brien O'Connor Faly, who had been a prisoner in London for four years, was restored to liberty this year, by orders of the queen: who generously continued the pension which had been granted to him by the court. On his landing in Dublin, however, notwithstanding the pardon he had just received from the princess, he was confined in the castle, under pretext of preventing the disturbances he might cause to the state; but in reality to prevent him from reclaiming his property, of which he had been unjustly deprived. We witness in this a surprising contrast between the conduct of the queen and that of her subjects; but their acts were influenced by different motives. The queen found O'Connor innocent, and from a motive of justice gave him his freedom; the council of Dublin were desirous of condemning him as a criminal, and from a mere suspicion that he might become so, deprived him of the benefit of the pardon which the queen had granted him; and then put him in confinement, where he remained till he had given hostages. This mysterious affair must be explained. Whenever the Irish had recourse to arms, it was not so much in opposition to the king and his government, as against their English neighbours, who, always eager to increase their possessions, were continually encroaching upon the lands of the Irish; none but the English being hearkened to by the government, they construed the battle of one individual against another, into rebellion or high treason, the Irish were consequently declared rebels, which declaration was followed by the confiscation of their estates in the name of the king, but in reality, for the benefit of the informers, who, alleging their pretended services against the rebels, found means to have the possessions of the supposed criminals conferred upon themselves. These abuses continued to increase; most of the public offices were filled by Englishmen; the an-

* Baker, *ibid.* page 320.

† Heylin, *ibid.* page 212, 213.

* Cox. *Hist. of Ireland*, p. 103.

cient Irish were altogether excluded from them, and the English government reposed no confidence in those who had first settled in Ireland. These were called the degenerate English; and in every succeeding reign fresh colonies came over from England, who were enriched at the expense of the old inhabitants.

The cathedral church of St. Patrick, in Dublin, which had been suppressed in the preceding reign, was restored by letters patent, dated the 25th of March, 1555.* Thomas Lever or Levereuse was made dean, and prebendaries were appointed the May following.† Levereuse who had been appointed the preceding year to succeed Lancaster in the bishopric of Kildare, was confirmed this year by a bull from the pope, who granted him a dispensation to retain both livings. He was dispossessed in the succeeding reign, for having refused to take the oath of supremacy to queen Elizabeth, and was obliged to become a schoolmaster in Limerick to obtain a livelihood. William Walsh, bishop of Meath, suffered still more severely; he was not only deprived of his bishopric, but confined in a dungeon loaded with chains, and afterwards banished from the kingdom.

In June pope Paul IV. issued a bull confirming Ireland in the title of kingdom. We can discover no necessity for this new creation of the title of kingdom for Ireland, since it was considered in that light long before the English were known in it, and even before the institution of the popedom.

In July, Cusack, the chancellor, received orders from their majesties, to resign the great seal to St. Leger, the lord lieutenant, and in the following month Sir William Fitzwilliams was appointed to this office, and Hugh Curwin, who had just been consecrated in London archbishop of Dublin, was appointed chancellor of Ireland, in October. He convened a provincial synod during the same year, in which several regulations were made respecting religion.

In the mean time the Scotch of the Hebrides made an attempt on Carrickfergus in Ulster; but the plan was badly laid and executed. A misunderstanding still continued between Manus O'Donnel, prince of Tyrconnel and his son Calouagh or Charles. This young nobleman crossed over into Scotland; and having received some assistance from Gilaspock MacAllen, he returned to Ulster, entered Tyrconnel, sword in hand, and took his father prisoner, at Rosrach.

This prince died soon afterwards, in confinement; Calough then made himself master of the fortress of Inis-Owen and the castle of Enagh, which he razed to the ground, and in the May following dismissed his allies the Scotch. The proximity of Ireland to Scotland, and the frequent intercourse of the inhabitants with those of the North, was often productive of quarrels between the two countries. Hugh O'Neill, lord of Clanneboy on the confines of the counties of Down and Antrim, was shot in a skirmish with a party of Scotchmen, who came to attack him, on his own estate. The English government availed themselves of the opportunity, to divide this extensive district into two, between Phelim Duff O'Neill, and the children of Phelim Backagh or the lame, in order to weaken this illustrious tribe.

The Emperor Charles V., being desirous of withdrawing from the cares of the world, first gave up all the low countries to his son Philip, king of England; he soon after this surrendered to him all his hereditary dominions, and abdicated the empire in favour of his son Ferdinand, who was already king of the Romans. He withdrew afterwards to a convent in Estre-Madura, in Spain.

The Cavenaghs and their allies made some incursions, in May 1556, into the southern parts of the county of Dublin; but they were surprised and dispersed by the garrison of the city, who killed several of them.* A troop of one hundred and forty men, withdrew to the fortress of Powerscourt, where they determined to defend themselves. They were besieged by the company of the lord Marshal, and others from Dublin, under the command of Sir George Stanley; and being unable to withstand the great number of their besiegers, were obliged to surrender. They were ungenerously treated by their enemies, and brought to Dublin, where seventy-four of their number were put to death, for having rebelled.

St. Leger, the deputy, had before this been recalled, and Thomas Radcliffe viscount Fitzwalters was appointed lord lieutenant in his stead. This nobleman landed in Dublin on the day of Pentecost, and a few days afterwards, took the usual oath in Christ's Cathedral, where St. Leger resigned the insignia of office to him. The new governor was accompanied from England by Sir Henry Sidney as treasurer, and Sir William Fitzsymons; he also brought over twenty-five thousand pounds, to be applied against the Scotch, and the rebel Irish.

* Ware, *ibid.* cap. 3.

† War. de Episc. Kildare.

* War. *ibid.* cap. 4.

Queen Mary sent instructions to the deputy and council of Ireland, to use every means for advancing the glory of God, and the Catholic faith, and to support the honor and dignity of the holy see.* Her majesty ordered them to assist the ministers of the gospel against the heretics, and their erroneous principles; and also to aid the commissioners, whom Cardinal Pole, the legate from the see of Rome, intended sending to Ireland, to visit the clergy.

The deputy having collected his forces, marched towards the north of Ireland, in the beginning of July; on the 18th of the same month, he defeated the Scotch Islanders near Carrickfergus; two hundred were killed on the field of battle, and several prisoners taken. Thomas earl of Ormond, and Stanley, lord marshal, distinguished themselves in this engagement. The deputy having provided for the necessities of the town of Carrickfergus, and regulated the affairs of Ulster, where he left Stanley as lieutenant-general, returned to Kilmainham. Soon after this, he went to Munster, where he received the submission of several Irish and Englishmen, to whom he granted protections.

In September, Shane O'Neill, son of the earl of Tyrone, having given a promise of submission, repaired to Kilmainham, where he made peace with the deputy. Rory and Donough O'Connor did the same at Dingen; but these arrangements, were of short duration, the occasions to rebel being too frequent. The O'Connors soon fell into the snares which had been laid for them. On taking up arms they were declared traitors and expelled from their country, which was laid waste by the English troops.

A parliament was convened in Dublin, in June 1557. It was adjourned to Limerick the month following, till November, and from thence to Drogheda, till March.† But the lord lieutenant, who became earl of Sussex by his father's death, having returned to England in December, the parliament ceased its sittings during his absence, and was afterwards prorogued.‡ Cox mentions some acts of this parliament, which had not been printed.§ In them the queen's legitimacy was admitted; she was invested with royal authority, and her posterity declared entitled to inherit the crown of England and Ireland; heresy was made liable to punishment and ordered to be suppressed; all the acts which

were passed against the pope since the twentieth year of the reign of Henry VIII., were repealed, and all concessions made by archbishop Brown were declared null and void; the first fruits too were restored to the church; but all these statutes were annulled in the beginning of the succeeding reign. An act was also passed for granting the queen a subsidy of thirteen and four pence on every plough-land, and another, by which it was prohibited, under pain of felony, to introduce or receive armed Scotchmen into Ireland, or to intermarry with them, without a license under the great seal.

On his return from England, the deputy undertook an expedition into Connaught in July, against the O'Maddens of Silanchie, at present the barony of Longford. This district had been divided the preceding year between Malachi More O'Madden, and Brassal Dabh, after the murder of John O'Madden, to whom it belonged. The object of the expedition was to punish the O'Maddens, who protected Donough O'Connor, contrary to the law, by which he had been declared a rebel. The deputy laid siege to the castle of Milick, on the banks of the Shannon; and being unable to resist the cannon, it surrendered immediately. The conqueror placed a garrison in it, and returned to Kilmainham, to prepare for another expedition against the Scotch, who had invaded Ulster. Having collected all his forces, he set out on his march in August, accompanied by the earls of Kildare and Ormond, viscount Baltinglass, and the Barons of Delvin, Dunboyne, and Dunsany. His preparations were, however, not very successful; the Scotch having entrenched themselves in woods, and other inaccessible places, the exploits of the deputy consisted in taking booty, which was carried off by his soldiers, and in conferring knighthood on Donald MacDonnell, and Richard M'Guilgan, who made their submission to him.

The deputy returned to Ulster in October. He devastated the lands about Dundalk, Newry, and Armagh. This latter city he burned, sparing only the cathedral; after which he returned triumphant to Dublin, about the end of the month.

Her majesty's service required the presence of the earl of Sussex in England, and in order to secure tranquillity in the English province, during his absence, he exacted a promise of peace from some of the neighbouring nobles whom he thought likely to disturb it; namely, O'Carroll of Ely, O'Molloy of Fearcall, Mageoghegan of Kinalyach, O'Duinne of Hy-Regan, MacCoghlan of

* Cox, Hist. of Ireland, p. 303.

† War. *ibid.* cap. 3.

‡ Irish Statutes printed in Dublin in 1621, page 846.

§ Hist. of Irel. page 304.

Dealbna, and the two O'Maddins of Silanchie; and received hostages from them.

During the absence of Sussex, Curwin the chancellor, and Sidney the secretary at war, were appointed by letters patent, lords justices of Ireland. Having taken the oath in Christ's Cathedral, Dublin, they received the royal sword from Stanley, lord marshal of Ireland, to whom Sussex had confided it for that purpose. They filled this commission together till the 6th of February following, when the queen thought fit to confer it on Sidney alone.

The new lord justice carried his arms immediately against Arthur O'Molloy, lord of Fearcall, under pretext of his having protected the rebels; and having pillaged and burned his district, he granted the lordship to Theobald, Arthur's brother, on condition, that he would give his son as a hostage, to serve as a pledge for his fidelity.

In the parliament we have mentioned as having been held this year, an act was passed, by which the districts of Leix, Offaly, and the adjacent baronies, namely, Slewamarg, Irris and Clanmalire, were confiscated for the use of their majesties. These territories had belonged, for more than twelve centuries, to the O'Morras, O'Connors Faly, and the O'Dempsys.* By the same statute, the deputy was authorised to divide these extensive districts into fiefs, and to make prudent grants of them to any English subject whom he might deem likely to advance the English interest; and in order that such concessions should be rendered valid by law, he was authorised to have the great seal affixed to them by the chancellor, or whoever had custody of it. It was thus, that those masters reformed the manners of the Irish nobility. This was an important privilege for the deputy, since by his signature, he possessed the power of making his valet or any other favourite servant, a rich and powerful nobleman. By another act of the same parliament, it was decreed, that these districts should be hereafter called the King's and Queen's counties; that the fort of Dingen should be called after the king's name, Philipstown, and that Leix, which was called Protector, under Edward VI., should bear the name of Maryborough. Sidney the deputy, having terminated his expedition against O'Molloy, applied the tax which had been raised on the English province, in re-victualling the garrisons of Leix and Offaly; he then returned to Dublin, where he published a proclamation, prohibiting any one to take provisions out of

the English province, or to furnish any to the Irish who were living without the limits. About this time, Maurice Cavanagh, and Conall O'Morra, two Irish noblemen were tried for rebellion, condemned, and executed, at Leighlin bridge.

In Ulster, Shane O'Neill, wishing to have the tribute renewed, which he claimed from the country of Tyrconnel, entered that district, sword in hand. Calouagh O'Donnel, the nobleman to whom it belonged, not finding himself able to repel force by force, and dreading to risk a battle, had recourse to stratagem; he surprised O'Neill during the night in his camp, killed several of his men, and put the rest to flight.

The lands of the monasteries and abbeys, which had been converted, under the preceding reign, into lay fiefs, and divided among the courtiers, remained in the same state in Mary's time, except the estates of the priory of St. John of Jerusalem, near Dublin, which were restored to their former masters, through the influence of Cardinal Pole. Oswald Messingberd was, about this time, appointed prior of that house, and confirmed by letters patent. The queen had conceived the project of restoring all things to their former state, but her reign was too short for the completion of so great an undertaking.

In April 1558, O'Reilly, chief of the O'Reilly's of eastern Brefny (Cavan), repaired to the deputy at Kilmainham, where he surrendered, and took the oath of fidelity to their majesties.*

The earl of Sussex was again appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland, and arrived in Dublin towards the end of April, with five hundred armed men, who were to be employed both in putting down the rebels, and repelling the Scotch, who were committing piracies on the coasts. Sussex having received the sword and other ensigns of his authority, marched at the head of his army towards Limerick, whence he advanced into Thuomond, in order to reduce Donald O'Brien, who had renewed the war against his nephew, Connor O'Brien, earl of Thuomond. Having taken the castles of Bunratty and Clare, he quelled all disturbances, and restored those places, and the territories which had been invaded by his enemies, to Thuomond. He obliged those possessed of freeholds to take the oath of allegiance.

Sussex having returned to Limerick, received the submission of the earl of Desmond; he stood sponsor, a few days afterwards, to his son, and had him baptized

* Irish Statutes, page 247, 248.

* War. *ibid.* c. 6.

James Sussex, and gave him a gold chain; he conferred another, at the same time, with a pair of gilded spurs on Dermot Mac-Carthy of Muskerry, whom he created a knight.

The earl of Sussex embarked in September with his forces at Dalkey, near Dublin, to go in pursuit of the Scotch islanders, who had taken possession of the Isle of Rathlin in the north of Ireland, from which they made incursions, and committed piracies on the coast of Ulster. On the arrival of the fleet at Rathlin it encountered a dreadful storm, in which one of the vessels was wrecked and the entire of the crew perished. Sussex landed with the remainder, put the inhabitants to the sword, and pillaged the islands. Thence he sailed to Scotland, laid waste Cantyre, and the Isles of Arran and Comber; but was at length checked in the course of his conquests by the severity of the weather, which obliged him to put into Carrickfergus. He burned several villages inhabited by the islanders, and returned to Dublin in November, where he received new patents and seals for the chancellor, for the chief justices of the other courts, and the chief baron of the exchequer. In the mean time, some families of the Burkes of Connaught, having received cause of dissatisfaction from their chief, Clanriccard, called the Scotch islanders to their assistance, but they and their allies were cut to pieces in an engagement with the earl.

Shane O'Neill, son of Conn O'Neill, earl of Tyrone, was indignant to see his house degraded by the title of earl, which had been disgracefully taken by his father, in place of hereditary prince of Tyrone, and the illustrious title of O'Neill given up. He was jealous too of the preference which his father evinced for his natural son Mathew, (whom the Irish call Fardorach) in procuring for him the title of baron of Dungannon, by which he was secured in the succession to the principality, in prejudice to himself.* Shane was continually under arms, either against his father or O'Donnell, who, as well as his rival, the baron of Dungannon, was supported by the English; the latter was killed in the beginning of this war. When questioned upon his conduct in this and the other accusations made against him, either by the lord justice Sydney, or in the presence of the queen in England, according to Camden, Shane proudly answered, that he was son and heir of Conn O'Neill and his wife Alice; that Mathew was the son of a blacksmith in Dundalk,† subsequent to the

marriage of Conn O'Neill and Alice, of whom he, Shane, was the legitimate son, and consequently had a right to succeed to his father's property. He added, that the surrender, which had been made by his father, of the principality of Tyrone to the king of England, and the restitution he had received from the latter by letters patent, were null, since his father's right to that principality was confined to his life, whilst he himself had been acknowledged the real O'Neill, by a popular election, according to custom, notwithstanding that he claimed no other superiority over the lords of his province, than that which had been exercised by his ancestors. It appears that the prince's arguments prevailed, as he retained possession of Tyrone till his death, which occurred a few years afterwards.

George Dowdal, archbishop of Armagh, and primate of Ireland, having gone to England on some affairs of the Church, died in London, in August.* This prelate having been expelled from his see, under Edward VI., withdrew to the Abbe de Centre, where he remained till the death of the king and the reign of Mary, who restored him to his rights. Even his enemies acknowledge him to have been a learned man and an able preacher. The successors of Dowdal in the see of Armagh, were, it is probable, principally of the reformed religion, as the first that was appointed to it, after a vacancy of a few years, was Adam Loftus, queen Elizabeth's chaplain.

In the month of October of this year, James, earl of Desmond and treasurer of Ireland, died,† leaving three legitimate sons. After repudiating the daughter of the viscount of Fermoy, he married the daughter of O'Carroll, by whom he had Gerald, otherwise Garret, and John. His second wife having died, he married M'Carty's daughter, who was mother to James, his third son. By the daughter of the viscount Fermoy he had a son called Thomas Ruadh, (Rufus,) who was his eldest; but some doubt having arisen of his legitimacy, he could not succeed to his father; from which important disputes arose between the brothers. Garret was readily acknowledged successor to James, and heir to his titles and extensive estates. Although young, this nobleman gave great hopes of valour and of talent; he afterwards became the hero of Catholicity, but in the end, fell a sacrifice to his love of religion.

This was the last year of Mary's reign;

* Hist. Cathol. Hib. tome 2, lib. 4, cap. 3.

† Camden's reign of Elizabeth, p. 69, 70. Cox, page 312.

* War. de Archiepisc. Ardmach.

† Helat. Girald. cap. 13 et seq.

she died at St. James's, near Westminster, in the forty-second year of her age and sixth of her reign, of grief, it is said, for the loss of Calais, as also for her husband's absence, and the death of her father-in-law, the emperor Charles V. The bishop of Winchester died before her, and Cardinal Pole survived her but sixteen hours. It was an unhappy omen to the Catholics, and the stability of their religion which had just been re-established, to behold its three principal supporters so suddenly carried off. The reason why this princess has found so few panegyrist among Protestant writers is manifest; far from encouraging the new religion, she laboured to destroy it, and restore the old one. Their silence on her other qualities is at least a proof that she possessed no bad ones.

The short reign of this princess only checked for a time the progress of heresy, which soon afterwards acquired new strength, and re-ascended the throne with Elizabeth. It is remarkable, says Cox, that though Mary was a zealous Papist, the Irish were not more tranquil under her reign than under that of Edward; on the contrary, their antipathy to the English and their government hurried them to commit the same excesses as under the preceding reigns. But had this author been as honourable as he is malicious, he would have observed that the antipathy which he advances as the cause of these disorders, was founded rather on the injustice which the English ministry was continually exercising over the Irish, than on the religion of this princess. The Irish people were as tyrannically ruled under her as under the preceding reigns.*

The most celebrated writers in the two last reigns, were the following.† Edward Walsh, a native of Ireland, who went over to England about the year 1550, and was received into the household of Edward Seymour, duke of Somerset, uncle to Edward VI., and protector of the kingdom; he composed two treatises, one entitled *De officiis pugnantium pro patria*, or, the duties of those who fight for their country; and the other, *ut Hibernia per verbum Dei reformetur*, or the manner in which Ireland ought to be reformed—by the word of God. It would appear by this treatise, and the attachment of the author to the duke of Somerset, that he had embraced the new religion.

* "Although she endeavoured to protect and advance the Catholic religion, still her officers and lawyers did not cease to inflict injuries upon the Irish."

† Ware, de Script. Hib.

Sir Thomas Cusack, of Coffington, in Meath, having filled the offices of master of the rolls, keeper of the seals, chancellor, and lord justice of Ireland, wrote a long epistle to the duke of Northumberland, dated the 8th of May, 1552, on the state of Ireland, at the time. This epistle is with the books of Darcy and Finglass, among the manuscripts of Dr. Sterne, in the library of Trinity College, Dublin.

Thomas Waterford, called by others Watterfield, archdeacon of Leighlin, wrote a treatise on the affairs of Ireland, which is quoted by Dowling in his annals. Nicholas Stanihurst wrote a small work in Latin, entitled, *Dieta Medicorum*, or the regimen of physicians. Richard Stanihurst mentions it in the seventh chapter of the Description of Ireland. Lastly George Dowdal, archbishop of Armagh, a native of the county of Louth, wrote some sermons, and also translated the life of the celebrated John de Courcy, the supposed conqueror of Ulster, from Latin into English.

CHAPTER XL.

ELIZABETH, the only surviving daughter of Henry VIII., was immediately after the death of Mary, declared by parliament, heiress to the throne, A.D. 1558. She was crowned queen of England, according to the Roman ritual, with the usual ceremonies, in Westminster abbey, by Oglethorp, bishop of Carlisle; the archbishop of York and other bishops of the kingdom, refused to attend. This princess was then in her twenty-fifth year; her reign was long and eventful. The contemporary princes were Ferdinand, emperor of Austria, Henry II. king of France, Philip II. king of Spain, and Paul IV. who filled the see of Rome.*

On her accession to the throne, Elizabeth turned her thoughts towards the spiritual and temporal government of the state. Though she had previously determined to make a change in religion, still, in order not to excite the alarm of the Catholics, or depress the hopes of the Protestant party, she selected her council from among noblemen of both religions; after which ambassadors were sent to all the princes of Europe, to announce to them her accession to the throne.

* Baker's Chron. reign of Elizabeth. Heylin, Hist. of the Reform. p. 173, et seq. Cambd. Annal. rerum. Angl. regnant. edit. Lug. Batav. Salmon, Hist. of England, vol. 7, page 6.

Ambition was the ruling passion of Elizabeth. A desire of reigning alone, and of being absolute mistress in all things, gave her a distaste to marriage, though she was strongly urged to it by her parliament, and solicited by many princes, the most considerable of whom was Philip II. king of Spain, her brother-in-law. Acted on by political motives, this prince made the proposal to her, through his ambassador, the count de Feria, undertaking at the same time, to obtain a dispensation from the pope. Elizabeth received the ambassador with politeness, but gave him no hope of succeeding in his project. Independently of her dislike to a master, she had sufficient penetration to feel how strongly such a dispensation would tend to affect her honour and that of her mother, Anne Bullen.* She knew that by submitting to the pope and acknowledging the necessity of a dispensation in this instance, she would approve of the marriage of Henry VIII. with Catherine of Arragon, whereby Anne Bullen would be stigmatized as a concubine, and would establish the right of Mary Stuart, queen of Scotland, to the crown of England. This princess had been just married to Francis, son of Henry II.; she was acknowledged by France, as queen of England, and had the arms of that kingdom quartered with her own.†

In the mean time, Elizabeth had appointed Sir Edward Karn her agent at Rome, to inform the pope of Mary's death, of her own accession to the throne, and her wish to live on amicable terms with his holiness.‡ Karn had many conferences with the pope, who at first appeared to be indignant; however, judging that mildness would be more beneficial than harsh means, his final answer to the minister was, that it was needless that the queen should have recourse to him for a kingdom of which she was already in possession, but that he supposed she would cause no change in religion. Karn answered that he could give no assurance on that head from the instructions he had received, till his holiness would have first pronounced the marriage of Henry VIII. with Anne Bullen to be valid. The pope and his council were astounded by this reply. He saw clearly that the best plan he could adopt would be, to come to no decision, rather than do what could be productive of no good. According to Baker, he went so far as to write in the most tender manner to the princess Elizabeth; he exhorted her to return to a union

with the Catholic church, and promised her, that if she would follow his counsel, he would revoke the sentence which had been pronounced against the marriage of her mother; that he would confirm the Book of Common Prayer in the English language, and allow her subjects to use the sacrament in both kinds. Elizabeth, continues Baker, withstood the pope's flattering offers, and persisted in her determination to support a religion which she considered as more conformable to the word of God, and the primitive customs of the church. We obviously discover in this negociation of Elizabeth her insincerity towards the pope. Even had the holy father conceded the validity of her mother's marriage, (which was so difficult to be admitted,) religion would still have equally suffered under a princess whose heart and disposition were prejudiced and corrupt.

It is said that Henry II. king of France had used his influence with the pope, both to thwart Philip II., who was soliciting a dispensation for the marriage he was desirous of contracting with Elizabeth, and to induce the pontiff to declare that princess to be illegitimate.* However this may have been, Elizabeth did not affect to question her own birthright; and it is singular that the parliament, which by a solemn act acknowledged her right to the throne, never passed one in favour of her legitimacy, nor on the validity of her mother's marriage, whereon she founded her claim.

Elizabeth never lost sight of her intended reformation in religion, which by degrees she carried into effect. She first commanded that the Holy Scriptures should be read to the people in the English language; she next published a declaration, prohibiting all disputes on the score of religion, and ordered every preacher to observe a general silence, on the dogmas which had been the theme of controversy. It was then that a difference was discoverable among pastors; the good continuing to preach the truth to the faithful, at the peril of their liberty and even of their lives, whilst the mercenary and politic, in order to preserve their livings, conformed to the necessity of the times.

In the meanwhile, the queen caused the book of common prayer, which had been published in English under Edward VI., to be corrected;† for which purpose she nominated Parker, Cox, Sir Thomas Smith,

* Heylin, page 279.

† The book of common prayer, is a kind of Ritual, or Breviary, containing the thirty nine articles of the reformed religion, with the formula of the prayers used in it.

* Camb. *ibid.* page 5.

† Heylin, *ibid.* page 288. Baker, p. 329.

‡ Heylin, *ibid.* p. 274.

an eminent lawyer, and other doctors, who were favourable to the reformation.

Every thing being thus prepared, the book of Common Prayer and Liturgy translated into English were laid before, and approved of by the English parliament; it was then ordered to be used by the whole kingdom; the sacrament in both kinds was established; the mass was abolished, and an act passed to have the tithes, the first fruits and the revenues of the monasteries which had been re-established under the preceding reign, transferred to the crown. A warm debate arose, in the parliament, respecting the ecclesiastical supremacy, some of the members maintaining, that it was both unnatural and alarming, to give to a woman, the powers of supreme head of the English church;* the majority, however, were in the queen's favour, and she was declared sovereign pontiff, or, to avoid the ridiculous appellation, supreme governess of the church, by the parliament, which had now become an ecclesiastical tribunal. The same parliament reduced the number of sacraments to two, namely, baptism and the holy eucharist, and had the altars demolished and the images in the churches taken down.

The queen having been confirmed in the ecclesiastical supremacy, the taking of the oath became the touchstone of faith; as those who refused to take it, were immediately deprived of their livings.† The number indeed was inconsiderable, and amounted to not more than two hundred in a country where there were more than nine thousand ecclesiastics in orders; the greater part of whom acknowledged the supremacy, without hesitation, by taking the oath; some, from zeal for the reformation, others through a dastardly and disgraceful policy. It was at this time, that the bishops displayed a firmness truly apostolical. Many sees remained vacant, the number of bishops amounting to but fifteen, amongst whom there was but one apostate, viz., Kitchin, bishop of Landaff. The rest, namely, Heath, archbishop of York, Bonner, bishop of London, Tunstal of Durham, White of Winchester, Tirlby of Ely, Watson of Lincoln, Pool of Peterborough, Christopherson of Chichester, Brown of Wells, Turbervil of Exeter, Morgan of St. David, Bain of Lichfield, Scot of Chester, and Oglethorp of Carlisle, being determined not to bend to the idol, were thrown into prison and deprived of their bishoprics, which were conferred on those who were more manageable.

The see of Canterbury having become vacant by the death of Cardinal Pole, was given to Parker, by letters patent. It is said, that he was consecrated by Barlow and two others, who were as unprincipled as himself. Parker consecrated all those who were nominated by the queen, to fill the the sees of the deposed bishops. Debates on the validity of those ordinations occupied many writers of that day, and even of the present, who undertook to refute the book of the Pere Coroyer; namely, Fennell dean of Laonne, in Ireland, and le Pere Quin of the order of St. Dominick. Such was the reformed religion, which was firmly established in England, in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign. That capricious nation which accuses its neighbours of inconsistency, changed her religion, five times, within thirty years. The English were Catholics in 1529; immediately after this they became schismatics and formed a religion, no part of which they understood; in Edward's reign, the heresy of Zuingle prevailed; under Mary the Catholic religion was restored; and on the accession of Elizabeth, another was established, composed, with some alterations, of the tenets of Luther and Calvin, to which was given the name of the English church. Such was the state of affairs in England, in the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth.

Sidney governed the English province in Ireland, as deputy. The privy council informed him of what had taken place in England, the news of which was highly gratifying to the partisans of the reformation; the funeral ceremonies for Mary, and the coronation of Elizabeth, were successively celebrated in Dublin.*

Thomas earl of Sussex, was appointed lord deputy of Ireland, for the second time in 1559. He arrived, in August, with thirteen hundred and sixty foot soldiers, and three hundred horsemen, accompanied by Sir William Fitzwilliam.† This governor repaired to Christ's church, where, for want of clergymen, the litany was recited in the English language, by Sir Nicholas Dardy, after which the deputy took the oath, and the *Te Deum* was sung in the same language, to the sound of trumpets. The earl of Ormond took the oath also as member of the privy council. Soon afterwards a proclamation was issued to abolish the mass.

Sidney convened a parliament, in January, in Christ's church, Dublin, to repeal all the acts that had been passed two years before,

* Heylin, *ibid.* 280.

† Baker, *ibid.* p. 329. Heylin, *ibid.* page 286.

* War. de annal. Hib. reg. Elizab. C. 1.

† War. *ibid.* cap. 2.

in another parliament, at which that nobleman had presided; such is the inconstancy of man.* Several acts were passed in this parliament, for the establishment of the reformation in Ireland; all the spiritual and ecclesiastical authorities were annexed to the crown, and all foreign influence (which implied that of the pope,) was prohibited; all acts appertaining to appeals were renewed; the laws that had been enacted in the reign of Philip and Mary, concerning religion or heresy, were repealed; the queen and her successors were given the power of exercising clerical jurisdiction by commission; every individual whether lay or ecclesiastic in possession of livings and offices, was obliged to take the oath of supremacy, under pain of losing their livings, or appointments; whoever would introduce or support a foreign power, was to be punished by having his property confiscated, or by a year's imprisonment, for the first offence; for the second, he was to undergo the penalty of the law of *præmunire*, and for the third, that of high treason. It was decided, that no opinion should be considered heretical, unless it were so according to the scriptures, or to the four first general councils, or by an act of parliament. Thus was the senate established judge of the faith, without any mission but that which was received from a woman. In the gospel of Jesus Christ, he who refused to hear the church was considered as a heathen or a publican: in the new doctrine, he who did not hearken to Elizabeth and her parliament, in matters of religion, was deprived of his property, liberty, and under certain circumstances, of his life.

This parliament also passed acts ordaining the uniformity of common prayer, regulating the sacraments, particularly that of the Lord's Supper, and also the consecration of prelates according to the ritual of the book of Common Prayer, as approved of by Edward VI., under pain of a fine to be paid by the delinquents. The first refusal led to the confiscation of a year's income of the culprit, and six months imprisonment; the second to the loss of his living, and a year's imprisonment, and the third, to imprisonment for life. In the same statutes the restitution of the first fruits was decreed, and the payment of a twentieth part of the revenues of livings, to the crown; lastly, it was enacted that the queen's right to the crown should be acknowledged, and it was prohibited to all persons under pain of *præmunire*, or high treason, to speak or write against it. The parliament

also decreed that the priory of St. John of Jerusalem should be united to the crown.

The English church, disfigured as it was, still retained some of the privileges of the old religion. Every bishop had his tribunal for the settlement of matters of ecclesiastical discipline, or as it is termed "officiality;" excommunication retained its full force, and pastors were authorised to refuse communion to whomsoever they considered unworthy of it, without being accountable to any but the established judge, as appears from the following extract, literally taken from the book of Common Prayer, printed at that time in London.

"Those who wish to partake of the holy communion, shall send their names, on the preceding day, to the pastor.*"

"If there be any public or notorious sinner among them, or such as have injured their neighbour, by word or deed, so as to offend the congregation, the pastor shall send for him, and warn him on no account, to approach the Lord's Table unless he publicly declare that he repents sincerely, and promise to reform his past life, in order to satisfy the offended congregation; and that he will make restitution to those whom he had injured, or at least avow that he will do so when he can with convenience."

"The pastor shall also send to those whom he may observe to bear hatred or rancour mutually against each other; such shall not be allowed to approach the Lord's Table, until they declare themselves to be reconciled; but if one of the parties be disposed to pardon him from whom he may have received injuries, and repair the evil committed, and that the other will not submit, but persist in his obstinacy and malice, the minister must then admit the penitent to the holy communion, and not the other, on condition that he who shall have rejected any one according to what is herein specified, or in the preceding paragraph of this rubric, acquaint the ordinary within a fortnight at farthest, who is thereupon to proceed against the culprit according to the canons.† The Protestants have deemed these precautions necessary, in order to avoid the profanation of a sacrament, in which they deny the real presence of our Lord.

It appears, says Ware, that these decrees met with resistance from the Irish, and that many members of the parliament were opposed to them, in consequence of which the

* Order for the administration of the holy sacrament.

† Constit. and Canons. Ecclesiast. London edition of 1673, art. 26 edit.

* Irish Statutes, under Elizabeth, Dublin edition of the year 1621, cap. 1, p. 259, et seq.

deputy was obliged to dissolve it in February, and repair to England, to inform the queen of it, leaving Williams in Ireland with the title of deputy. Though the Irish had been deceived in religious matters, under Henry VIII., from his quarrel with the pope being represented to them as a civil question, merely relating to temporal government, and though they had been confirmed in this opinion by the example of the king himself, and his English parliament, who, though at variance with the pontiff, still professed the Catholic faith; and had in consequence passed some acts against the jurisdiction of the pope, yet we discover that this people, having relinquished their errors and displayed their zeal for the Catholic cause, in a parliament held in the reign of Mary, repealed, with one voice, all their preceding acts.

As to the parliament we now speak of,* grave authors who flourished about this time affirm, that, far from its being an assembly composed of persons from all the states, those alone were appointed who were known to be devoted to the queen, or who were easily bribed. The nobles of the country, who were all Catholics at the time,† were carefully excluded; so that by these and other similar means, any act could have been passed into a law. However, it is well known that such acts were not published during the lifetime of those who sat in the parliament, nor rigorously enforced till after the defeat of the celebrated Spanish Armada, in 1588.

Elizabeth's moderation was solely the result of the critical situation in which she was placed at this time. Her enemies were numerous; Mary Stuart, queen of Scots, had no small claim on the crown of England; Henry II., king of France, instead of withdrawing his troops from Scotland, sent over secretly fresh reinforcements, with the intention of having Elizabeth declared heretical and illegitimate by the pope; the emperor and the king of Spain joined in this confederacy, and the Irish were waiting the opportunity to shake off the yoke.

By her penetration Elizabeth foresaw all these circumstances and their results. She prepared to defend herself against foreign power, to quell the disturbances caused in England by the Reformation, and secure Ireland by sending over frequent succours. She judged it prudent also to put off to a more favourable time, the execution of the

acts of the Irish parliament, which she knew would tend to rouse the Irish to rebel against her. Time proved that she was not mistaken. Henry II. died; the Huguenots having raised some disturbances in France, she frequently sent them assistance, and supported the rebels in the Netherlands against Philip II. She proposed to the Protestants of Scotland to form a league with her, by which she violated the laws of nations, by encouraging subjects to rebel against their lawful princess. Finally, she reduced the Irish by a long and fatal warfare, notwithstanding the efforts of the Spaniards to assist them; and then found herself able to enforce any law which she wished to establish over them.

The severity which was exercised in the beginning of Mary's reign against the Reformers, forced many of them to seek an asylum in foreign climes.* It is said, that between students and others, they amounted to eight hundred. Embden was the only city in which the religion of Luther prevailed that would receive them;† these heretics looked with horror on the English Protestants, on account of their having denied the real presence, and called those who suffered for that religion "*the martyrs to the Devil*." The refugees were, however, received at Zurich, Geneva, and Frankfort, as confessors of the faith. The many privileges which were granted them in Frankfort, soon drew them thither in crowds. They shared the church, which had been previously granted to the French Protestants, on condition of performing their service alternately, that is, on different days of the week, and at different hours on Sunday.

The heads of this congregation professed the Evangelical doctrine of Zuingle. Either thinking the English Reformation not sufficiently perfect, or not enough in unison with their own doctrine, they at once corrected and disfigured the English Liturgy; every thing relative to the Roman Catholic faith was cut off, and their worship reduced to the simple reading of a few psalms and chapters taken from the Scriptures.

The fame of this new church at Frankfort having spread itself abroad, John Knox left his retreat at Geneva to join it.‡ He distinguished himself by promoting this new Reformation, and soon became the head of this little church. He had already published a seditious libel, in which he strongly inveighed against the government of women; it was

* It should be remembered that though this was called the Irish Parliament, it was composed of Englishmen either by origin or by birth.

† *Analecta Sac.* par. 1. p. 430. Ireland's case, p. 4, A. seq.

* Heylin, *ibid.* p. 196 et seq.

† Heylin, *ibid.* p. 250.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 230.

styled, *the first sound of the trumpet*. The three Marys, namely Mary, queen of England, Mary Stuart, queen of Scotland, and Mary of Lorraine, queen dowager and regent of that kingdom, were the objects of his calumny. This libel did not fail to bring the author into disgrace in his own country; and not daring to seek an asylum either in England or France, he withdrew to Geneva, and from that to Frankfort, as we have already noticed.

The arrival of Doctor Richard Cox, another English refugee, at Frankfort, checked the progress of the new Reformation in that city.* Having been one of the principal composers of the English Liturgy under Edward VI., he considered it a point of honour to support his work, and prevent any change being made in it; consequently, on the Sunday following his arrival, he had the English Liturgy published from the pulpit. This contradiction gave considerable uneasiness to Knox, who immediately ascended the pulpit and preached against the Liturgy, which he termed imperfect and superstitious, whereon Cox interdicted his preaching, and had him expelled from Frankfort.

Cox, finding himself master of the field, began to reform his congregation according to the ritual of the Protestant Church. He appointed a chief pastor, who was assisted by two ministers and four deacons. He established professors of the Hebrew and Greek languages, and of theology. Chambers was appointed to manage the contributions, which were liberally forwarded to Cox from England and Holland, for the relief of the persecuted brethren.

When Knox was expelled from Frankfort, by order of the Government, he returned to Geneva, where he was appointed preacher, together with Goodman. They then rejected the English Reformation, conformed to the ritual of the church of Geneva, and adopted the doctrine of Calvin. This was the foundation of the Presbyterian religion, and the sect of Puritans which afterwards produced such ravages in Scotland.

Nothing can be more destructive to that order and harmony in which the happiness of nations consists, than a religion which inculcates general democracy in church and state. We have had strong proofs of this truth in the different nations of Europe, where the Calvinists rebelled against their sovereigns: here we will confine ourselves to the Scotch, who are more immediately connected with the history of Ireland than

any other nation. The Presbyterian religion took root among the Scotch under the name of Puritanism, the partizans of which, taking advantage of the queen's absence, who was at that time in France, and of the instability of a government headed by a queen regent, began to form intrigues.* They assembled in a tumultuous manner, headed by a few nobles, and formed a separate body, styling themselves a congregation. Their arrogance increasing with their numbers, they presented a petition to the queen and lords of the council, praying that the sacrament of the Lord's Supper might be administered in both kinds, that Divine Service might be performed in the language of the people, and that they might be allowed to appoint their ministers according to the custom, as they said, of the Primitive Church. The court, unwilling to exasperate these fanatics, returned them a gracious answer, rather with a view of gaining time than of conceding their demands; but this conduct served only to increase their pride. Knox, a turbulent preacher and seditious enthusiast, being informed in Geneva of the progress of his brethren in Scotland, repaired thither in 1559, where he became the preacher and firebrand of rebellion. Finding the little community collected at Perth, he ascended the pulpit, and pronounced such dreadful invectives against images, and the idolatry and superstitions of the Roman Church, that after his sermon, the infuriated populace tore down the images and altars of the church, and destroyed every religious house in the town. The inhabitants of Couper, Craile, St. Andrew, Scone, Cambus-Kenneth, Stirling, Lithgow, Glasgow, and Edinburgh, followed their example. The fanatics made themselves masters of this latter city, and did not leave in it a church, in which the queen could have divine service celebrated. In another sermon, Knox inveighed bitterly against the princess, and exhorted the people to unite in expelling the French troops from the kingdom. The rebels consequently published a declaration, depriving the queen of all power in the Government.

Alarmed by this event, the queen thought it time to provide for her own safety. Troops were sent to her from France; the numbers of which though insufficient to put down the rebels, still enabled her to retake Edinburgh. She then fortified the port of Leith, and forced the rebels to withdraw towards the north. Thus situated, they had recourse, by

* Ibid. p. 231, 232.

* Heylin, *ibid.* p. 297, 298.

the advice of Knox, to the queen of England; and though the laws of nations are violated by one prince supporting the rebellious subjects of another, still political motives urged Elizabeth to send assistance to the Puritans of Scotland.* Independently of the interest she took in establishing the reformation in Scotland, she disliked the vicinity of the French forces, at a time that Francis II. made pretensions to the crown of England, in virtue of his marriage with Mary Stuart. The English therefore laid siege to Leith,† in which there was a French garrison, and after several skirmishes caused by the sallies of the besieged and the attacks of the besiegers, peace was concluded on certain conditions, between Francis II. and Elizabeth; the hostile forces were to leave Scotland without delay, all differences in religion were to be adjusted by the parliament, and the king and queen of France and Scotland were to renounce the title and arms of England.

The articles of this treaty were favourable to the reformers. Elizabeth protected them in secret; the French troops were withdrawn, and they calculated with confidence that the decisions of parliament would be in their favour. The schismatics of Frankfort and the brethren of Geneva, flocked to their shores. The French Huguenots were beginning to settle in England. Through the intrigues of Peter Martyr, and particularly through letters from Calvin to Gryndal bishop of London, and that prelate's influence, they obtained permission to establish a church in that capital, and to make use of a form of prayer entirely different from the English liturgy. In spite of the edict of banishment that had been published against them by the queen, many settled in the seaports, and formed themselves into different congregations.

In conformity with the treaty of peace, a parliament met in Scotland to settle the religious disputes. Three laws were enacted in it in favour of the reformation—the first was to abolish the pope's authority and jurisdiction in the kingdom; the second to repeal and annul all acts passed in favour of the Catholic doctrine; and the third to suppress the mass, and to impose penalties upon those who should perform the ceremony, and those who should be present at it. The leaders of the Puritans not satisfied with these laws which were enough to establish the Reformation, next presented a form of faith and doctrine, founded on the principles of Calvin,

which had been brought by Knox from Geneva, to be professed by the reformers in Scotland. During the debates there were but three temporal lords found to oppose this, namely the earl of Athol and lords Somervil and Borthwick, who alleged as the reason of their opposition, that they wished to follow the religion of their forefathers.* The disgraceful silence of the Catholic bishops who were present at this assembly, having exasperated the lord Marshal, he declared with warmth, "Since our lords the bishops, who must be sufficiently enlightened to know the true doctrine, and sufficiently zealous to defend it, are silent upon that which is now debated, I am of opinion that this must be the true one, and that every other is erroneous." Such were the effects of the silence of the leading pastors, who should have been the sole judges in religious affairs.

These reformers of the reformation affected to lead mortified lives; they inculcated the most rigid morals, and looked upon all who did not belong to their own sect, as profligates; their speeches were composed of phrases taken from the Scriptures; predestination and special grace were the subjects of their discourses; they wrote and published false translations from the gospel, and epistles of St. Paul, with observations and notes filled with the venom of their doctrine; they deceived the people, who were both simple and credulous, by an affected piety; open enemies to Hierarchy in the church, and monarchy in the state, they opposed Episcopacy, and resisted their lawful princes. By such principles as these their conduct was regulated; they deposed the dowager queen who held the regency, and forced her daughter, queen Mary their legitimate sovereign, to seek an asylum in England, where she was put to death after eighteen years imprisonment, and lest king James VI. might be any obstacle to their undertaking, they drove him from Edinburgh, and kept him in confinement at Stirling. All his faithful servants were removed, and possession taken of his principal fortresses.† In fine, the unhappy prince was mocked and insulted by his own subjects to such a degree, that he frequently expressed a desire to leave the kingdom and withdraw to Venice. The sanguinary wars in England and Ireland under Charles I., the tragical end of that prince on the scaffold, the exclusion of his son Charles II. from his inheritance for twelve years, and the expulsion of James II,

* Baker's Chron. page 330.

† Heylin, *ibid.* p. 299.

* Heylin, *ibid.* p. 300.

† Ware, *ibid.* cap. 3.

of glorious memory,* were amongst the fatal consequences of the fanaticism of these Puritans.

The earl of Sussex having spent some months in England, returned to Ireland as lord lieutenant, A.D. 1560. He was commissioned by the queen to prevail on the earl of Kildare, who was creating disturbances in the latter country, to go to England, and in case he refused, to have him arrested.† He also received orders to have castles built and fortified in Leix and Offaly; to people these districts with Englishmen, and confer estates on their chiefs and male children; to establish order in the province of Ulster, and admit Surley Boy (McDonnell) into the possession of the lands which he claimed as fiefs, on condition that he would contribute to the public welfare. He was further ordered to reduce Shane O'Neill either by force or otherwise; to invest the baron of Dunganon with the government of the county of Tyrone; and to have the O'Briens, who resisted the earl of Thuomond, arrested.

Queen Elizabeth was particularly desirous of having the Protestant religion established in Ireland. She sent orders to Sussex to call a meeting of the clergy for that purpose; but the firmness of the bishops and their attachment to the ancient religion, rendered the attempt abortive, notwithstanding the offers which were made in order to bribe them. After this meeting William Walsh, a native of Waterford, and bishop of Meath, who was particularly zealous in the Catholic cause, having preached at Trim, in his own diocese, against the Book of Common Prayer, was arrested, thrown into prison, and deposed shortly afterwards, by orders from the queen.‡ This holy prelate was sent into banishment, and died at Complute, in Spain, in 1577, where he was interred in a monastery of the Cistercian order, of which he was a brother.§ The bishopric of Meath having remained vacant for two years, Elizabeth conferred it on Hugh MacBrady, who was more accommodating than Walsh: he died at Dunboyne, the place of his birth, having held this see for twenty years. Thomas Leverous, bishop of Kildare, was treated in almost the same manner as Walsh. Having refused to take the oath of supremacy, he was deprived of his bishopric, and of the deanery

of St. Patrick. In order to gain his livelihood, he was reduced to the sad alternative of keeping a school in Limerick, and died at Naas, in 1577, at the age of eighty years. He was succeeded in the bishopric of Kildare by Alexander Craike. The latter, not content with the revenues of the bishopric and the deanery of St. Patrick, which he held together, exchanged most of the estates of that see, with Patrick Sarsfield, a lord of the country, for tithes of little value. By this means the ancient see of Kildare was reduced to great distress.

The Irish Catholics, particularly the ancient inhabitants, were much alarmed at these symptoms of persecution; the continuance of which they foresaw, by the changes which took place in church and state. They saw no security, either for their churches or the preservation of their estates, but by arms. Having received promises of assistance from the pope and the king of Spain, they assembled in great numbers, under the command of Shane O'Neill, at that time the bravest and most powerful nobleman in the country, and the first hero of Catholicity in Ireland.

This resistance of the Irish differs from that of subjects, who under pretext of religion or otherwise, rebel against their lawful princes, conduct which will never receive the approbation of polished and well informed nations. Ireland had not yet been subjugated; her people acknowledged only the authority of the English by compulsion, whatever their adversaries may advance to the contrary, who always denominated them rebels, an epithet which can only apply to insurgent subjects. They deemed it just to resist a foreign power which was endeavouring to direct their consciences, by introducing a new religion among them.

O'Neill finding his countrymen zealous in the common cause, took the command willingly, and marched into the English province, where he carried on the war with success. When the campaign was over this prudent general not willing to spend the winter in a hostile country, which was already laid waste, returned to Ulster with an intention of renewing hostilities in the spring. In the meantime, Sussex made active preparations to oppose him. He received from England fresh troops to the number of four hundred men, four pieces of cannon, a mortar, sixty barrels of gunpowder, and other ammunition; but not being satisfied with this reinforcement, he sailed thither to receive fresh instructions respecting the operations of the campaign.

After stopping for about four months in

* James was a weak despot who deserved his fate. He tyrannized over England, and betrayed Ireland, and both countries hold his memory in contempt.—[Note by Ed.]

† Camd. ibid. page 35.

‡ War. de Episc. Midens.

§ War. de Episc. Kildare.

England, Sussex returned to Ireland in June, 1561, with the title of lord lieutenant, which he had previously enjoyed.* He now thought seriously of an expedition against O'Neill. He therefore set out from Dublin for Ulster on the 1st of July, at the head of five hundred men, attended by John Bedlow, one of the sheriffs of the city, who commanded eighty men. Another detachment of eighty archers and fusileers followed him soon after, under the command of Gough, another sheriff; all of whom were supplied with provisions for six weeks. O'Neill's forces being inferior both in numbers and discipline to the army of Sussex, he posted himself so as not to be surprised; and the only fruit of the expedition was a suspension of hostilities, and a reconciliation between the chiefs. O'Neill went over to England in December, where he concluded an honourable peace with Elizabeth; and returned to Ireland in May, much pleased with the reception he had met with from her majesty. In the meantime, the earl of Sussex was recalled, and William FitzWilliams appointed lord justice of Ireland in his stead.

Roland Baron, otherwise Fitzgerald, archbishop of Cashel, died about the year 1561. This prelate was descended from the noble family of the Fitzgeralds of Burnchurch, in the county of Kilkenny, who had the title of non-parliamentary barons.† This see having remained vacant for six years, Elizabeth nominated James MacCaghwell to it; but his successor, apostolically appointed, was Maurice Gibbon or Reagh, whom the Protestants accuse of having stabbed MacCaghwell. He was afterwards driven into exile, and died in Spain. The ancient see of Emly was united at this time with that of Cashel, by authority of parliament. The hierarchy has been always preserved in the church of Ireland, in spite of all heretical efforts, and every see has two bishops, one a Catholic, appointed by the pope, and the other a Protestant, nominated by the king.

The earl of Sussex was again made lord lieutenant of Ireland. Having taken the oath in July, 1562, the first act of his administration was to change some of the districts into counties;‡ to the ancient territory of Annaly, on the borders of Meath, he gave the name of the county of Longford, the first baron of which was Francis Augier. He then divided the province of Connaught into six counties; namely, Clare, Galway, Sligo, Mayo, Roscommon, and Leitrim.

The see of Armagh which remained without a pastor since the death of George Dowdal was given by Elizabeth to Adam Loftus, a native of Yorkshire, and bachelor in theology. We may judge of his religion from his having been first a chaplain to the duke of Sussex, and afterwards to the queen.*

O'Neill's enemies were continually endeavouring to have him suspected by the government. Loftus who had just been appointed archbishop of Armagh, on the deposition of a domestic, wrote against this prince to the lord lieutenant, A.D. 1563.† The suspicions against him having gained ground, the lord lieutenant marched his troops, and O'Neill was forced to have recourse to arms. The English army set out in the beginning of April for Ulster. On the thirteenth they had a skirmish near Dundalk, with O'Neill's troops, twenty-one of whom fell on the field of battle. Sussex crossed the Blackwater on the 16th, at the head of his army; but fearing that he might be surprised, he returned to Dundalk, whither he carried great booty in cattle. In the beginning of June he proceeded to Dungaunon. The day following he endeavoured, but in vain, to dislodge O'Neill, who was advantageously posted in the wood of Tulloghoge, after which he returned with his army to Drogheda, plundering every place on his march.

The earl of Kildare was deeply interested for O'Neill, who was both his relative and friend.‡ He entreated him to lay down his arms and submit; and O'Neill was so swayed by the arguments of the earl, that he went to England, where he made peace with the queen, in presence of the ambassadors of Sweden and Savoy. That princess received him honourably, granted him her friendship, and sent him back with rich presents.

The earl of Sussex published an edict this year, against the Catholic clergy, by which monks and popish priests were interdicted either to meet or sleep in Dublin. The head of every family was ordered, under pain of being fined, to attend every Sunday at the Protestant service. Those who were unable to pay the fine went to mass in the morning, and to the Protestant sermon afterwards; but in order to prevent this pious fraud, the inhabitants were registered, and their names called, during service, in the Protestant churches.

When O'Neill returned to Ireland he declared war against the inhabitants of the Hebrides, defeated them, and killed their

* War. de Annal. ibid. cap. 4.

† War. de Arch. Cassellens.

‡ War. de Annal. ibid. c. 5.

* War. de Arch. Ard.

† War. de Annal. ibid. c. 6.

‡ Camb. ibid. p. 52.

chief, James MacDonnel, his father-in-law and his brother Aongus,* A.D 1564. Whilst, the prince of Tyrone was putting down his enemies, and labouring to establish peace and good order in his own district, he drew upon himself the hatred of the nobility of the country, whom he looked upon as his vassals. Maguire, Magennis, and others, presented their complaints against O'Neill to the lord lieutenant, in consequence of which he was reduced to the alternative either of taking up arms against the government, or of submitting to the decision of the lord lieutenant; but unwilling to acknowledge the power of the governor, he adopted the former as the more honorable alternative.

The lord lieutenant took care to inform the queen of O'Neill's movements, and to explain how much was to be feared from such an enemy. The princess sent him the following reply: "Let not your suspicions of Shane O'Neill give you uneasiness; tell my troops to take courage, and that his rebellion may turn to their advantage, as there will be lands to bestow on those who have need of them." This hope of gain frequently caused the condemnation of the Irish nobles.

O'Neill on his side was levying troops under pretext of defending his boundaries against the Scotch. The government became alarmed, and the lord lieutenant issued a proclamation, which declared that any one enlisting under an officer who had not received his commission from her majesty, or from him, should be considered a traitor: he therefore enjoined all those who had enrolled themselves for O'Neill's army to come forward and lay down their arms within a limited time, under pain of death, and confiscation of their properties. The deputy collected his forces on the borders of the English province, but nothing could check the rage of O'Neill. In order to be revenged on Loftus, the Protestant archbishop of Armagh, who had written against him, he burned his church, on which account the Protestant prelate pronounced sentence of excommunication against him. O'Neill then entered Fermanagh, sword in hand, from which he expelled Maguire. After this he laid siege to Dundalk, which was relieved by William Sarsfield, mayor of Dublin, at the head of a chosen body of men, who forced him to raise the siege, but was not able to prevent him from devastating the country around.

A serious difference arose at this time between the earls of Ormond and Desmond, respecting the boundaries of their estates,

which was followed by a bloody conflict. It may be necessary to observe that the earl of Desmond in question was Garret Fitzgerald, son of James and grandson of John, who successively held that title.* This nobleman, though young, promised by his early exploits to be one day a terror to the enemies of the Catholic faith. His first expedition was against MacCarty Riagh, by which he acquired great honor. He, however, was not so successful in his battle with Edme MacTeague, son of MacCarty of Muskerry, in which battle his cavalry being routed, he was taken prisoner and confined in the castle of Askeaton for six months, but was subsequently restored to his liberty.

The several families of the O'Briens were continually at war against their chief, the earl of Thuomond; as they imagined that his title of earl authorised him to oppress them. Teugue MacMorrough O'Brien having been besieged in his castle of Inchiquin by this earl and Clanriccard, sent to solicit assistance from his friend Garret, earl of Desmond. Garret sent him word to keep up his courage, promising to be with him on a certain day: he then crossed the Shannon at Castle-Connell, above Limerick, at the head of five hundred foot soldiers, with about sixty horsemen, under the command of his brother, and marched directly for Inchiquin, intending to raise the siege. The earls having received intelligence of the march of Desmond were determined to oppose him. They therefore abandoned the siege, and advanced to give him battle. Desmond's only hope lay in the bravery of his men; he exhorted them to follow his example, and not to fear an undisciplined multitude, after which he made so vigorous an attack on his enemies, that, unable to withstand the shock, they fled, leaving Desmond at liberty to relieve his friend.

Jealousy continued to prevail between Desmond and Ormond.† Desmond, was an ingenuous and upright character; Thomas Butler surnamed Duff, or the black, was cautious and politic. Being brought up at the English court, he imbibed Protestant opinions, in consequence of which he was more favoured by the queen than Desmond. The estates of these noblemen were adjoining; they made frequent incursions on each other's lands, and their animosity ran so high that the ambition of power frequently drove them to arms. A battle that was to have

* Relat. Giraldin. cap. 13.

† O'Sullivan. Hist. Cathol. Iber. tom. 2, lib. 4, cap. 8.

* War. de ibid. cap. 7.

been fought between the two earls at Bosharmor, on the borders of Limerick and Tipperary, not taking place, Ormond was continually watching to take revenge on his rival.* Having heard that Desmond was encamped in his neighbourhood, he collected his forces, and marched to meet him at Athmean, in the county of Waterford. Desmond had but few men with him; refusing, however, to listen to his friends, who advised him to yield to necessity, he engaged in battle, in which he lost two hundred and eighty of his men. He himself received a pistol-shot, from Sir Edme Butler, by which his thigh was broken. Having fallen from his horse he was taken prisoner and brought to Clonmel, where he was attended by a surgeon, but ever after continued lame. As soon as he had recovered sufficiently he was sent prisoner to London, and confined in the tower.

CHAPTER XLI.

THE earl of Sussex, lord lieutenant of Ireland, was recalled this year (1565). Sir Nicholas Arnold was appointed lord justice, and sworn in, in the month of May. This new magistrate brought over a reinforcement of fifteen hundred and ninety-six men.† His stay was of short continuance, since some complaints being made at court against him, he was recalled in the month of January following.

Sir Henry Sidney was next sent to Ireland as lord deputy. He received his instructions under the queen's signature, which enjoined him to form a privy council, to be sworn, according to custom, in his presence; which he was to consult on all public affairs, and which should co-operate with him for the general good of the people.

The privy council and deputy being assembled together, affairs were found to be in a very bad state. The province was harassed and oppressed by a licentious and undisciplined soldiery, who became also objects of suspicion to the government on account of their intercourse with the Irish.

In Leinster, Kilkenny was in particular attacked by the O'Tools, the O'Birns, O'Kinsellaghs, O'Morroghs, the Cavenaghs, and the O'Morras.

In Munster, the counties of Tipperary and Kerry were brought to the verge of ruin,

by the wars between the partisans of Ormond and Desmond. The barony of Ormond was devastated by Pierce Grace; the country of Thuomond suffered greatly by the warfare of Sir Daniel O'Brien and the earl of Thuomond.

Connaught was torn by the factions of the earl of Clanriccard and other families of the Burkes. Finally, the whole of Ulster, commanded by Shane O'Neill, who took the title of monarch, was in arms against the English government.

Cox and Hooker remark, that in addition to the miseries with which Ireland was then inflicted, religion had become almost extinct, the clergy dispersed, and the churches stripped; and that scarcely any vestige of the knowledge of the true God could be found in that ignorant and barbarous nation.*

The council, before they separated, gave orders that the English province should be put into a state of defence against O'Neill.

Mac Carty More, a powerful prince in Munster, went to England about this time, and placed at the queen's disposal all his possessions, of which she made a re-grant to him by letters patent, together with the titles of earl of Glencar and baron of Valentia. This prince, the chief of the illustrious tribe of the Eoganachts, was descended from Heber, eldest son of Milesius, king of Galicia, by Oiliol-Olum, and his eldest son Eogan-More, and Dermot Mac Carty, king of Cork, in the twelfth century, who was the first that submitted to Henry II.,

* An insinuation is thrown out by these authors, that either the pretended reformed religion was generally received at that time in Ireland, and abandoned in consequence of the dispersion of its Ministers, or that the Irish Catholics, opposed to the new doctrine, after losing their pastors, had become at one stroke ignorant barbarians. These two propositions are equally false and deceitful. Some Catholic bishops had been deposed, and were succeeded by Protestant Bishops; but the number was inconsiderable, not amounting to more than five or six. The new doctrine which was preached had not made great progress in so short a time amongst a people strenuously attached to their ancient religion. The persecution which had been commenced was not directed against the Protestants, since they were protected by the very power from which it had arisen. All Ireland was still Catholic; for it may be affirmed, that among every five hundred scarcely one Protestant appeared; consequently the dispersion of the clergy, to which the above authors allude, cannot apply to the Catholic clergy. It is not to be wondered at, that a religion should suffer much in a country where it is strongly opposed, but it is impossible that it should be effaced in five or six years, so as that no knowledge of God could be discovered. They were, however, Englishmen, who put forward the above statement.

* Relat. Giral. c. 14, Hist. Cathol. Ibern. ibid.

† War. de Annal. ibid. cap. 8.

king of England. According to the right of primogeniture, this illustrious house is the first in Ireland. There were several branches of it, namely, the Mac Cartys of Muskerry and Carbry, those of Cluan, Mao-lain, Alla, and many others.

The deputy returned to England in 1566, to receive fresh instructions, and give an account to the queen of the situation of affairs in Ireland.* During his absence the troops of O'Neill threatened Drogheda. At the request, however, of Lady Sidney, wife of the deputy, who resided there at the time, Sarsfield, mayor of Dublin, came with a body of troops and saved the city, for which the deputy, on his return, conferred on him the honour of knighthood.

O'Neill always maintained an army of four thousand foot, and a thousand horse; he was a prince of great skill and talents; he took care to have his vassals instructed in discipline, and inspired them with a love of war, but his pride rendered him insupportable to his neighbours, and added daily to the number of his enemies. Besides the English troops, he had to contend with O'Donnel, Maguire, and other powerful noblemen of Ulster, who complained of his tyranny. He made frequent incursions upon the English province, and laid siege to their towns, by which, though sometimes unsuccessful, he became formidable to the government. He defeated also a Scotch legion, killed three thousand of them, and took their chief, Mac Donnel, prisoner.†

O'Neill's power engrossed much of the attention of the English government at this time. The queen despatched Knolls to Ireland to concert measures with the deputy to reduce that nobleman, either by kindness or by force. She even offered to him the titles of earl of Tyrone, and baron of Dungannon, with a promise to annul the patents of Henry VIII., which secured to Mathew O'Neill of Dungannon, the right of succession to the estates and honours of Tyrone.‡ O'Neill received the proposal with a haughtiness expressive of his contempt for titles of honour, which he looked upon as beneath the name of O'Neill. The commissioners who were intrusted with the negociation, received from him the following reply; "If Elizabeth your mistress be queen of England, I am O'Neill king of Ulster; I never made peace with her without having been previously solicited to it by her. I am not ambitious of the abject title

of earl; both my family and birth raise me above it; I will not yield precedence to any one; my ancestors have been kings of Ulster; I have gained that kingdom by my sword, and by the sword I will preserve it."** He then spoke contemptuously of Mac Carthy More, who had just accepted the title of earl.

The English government, finding O'Neill fixed in his determination, thought necessary to use force against him. For this purpose Colonel Randolph was despatched at the head of seven hundred men, to Derry, a small town in the northern extremity of Tyrone. They took possession of the town, and converted the ancient church of St. Columb into a magazine for powder and warlike stores; the priests and monks being driven out, and other sacrileges committed in the churches.† The deputy repaired soon afterwards to Derry, where he continued a few days. Having given the necessary orders for defending the town, and reinforced the garrison with fifty horsemen, commanded by Captain Harvey, and seven hundred foot, under the command of Captain Cornwall, he returned to Dublin.

O'Neill saw plainly that it was against his interest to suffer an enemy to establish a garrison so near, and always in readiness to attack him. He marched therefore to Derry without loss of time, with two thousand five hundred infantry, and three hundred cavalry, and posted himself within two miles of the town. According to Cox, Randolph made a sally on the Irish, with three hundred foot and fifty horse, and after a vigorous attack, killed four hundred of them and put the rest to flight, without any loss on the side of the English but that of Randolph himself who was killed in the action; but this account appears to be a mere boast of the author, since, independently of the sally alluded to, not being mentioned by O'Sullivan and other writers, it is impossible that two armies could have come to so close an engagement, with only the loss of the commander on one side, while four hundred men were killed on the other. It is on the contrary certain, that the powder magazine took fire, and that the town and fort of Derry were blown up, by which nearly seven hundred Englishmen and Randolph their chief, met a miserable end.

Discord still prevailed between O'Neill and O'Donnel. The latter was supported by the English, whose aim was to weaken O'Neill, as his power was an obstacle to the

* War. de Annal *ibid.* cap. 9.

† Hist. Cathol. Hib. vol. 2, lib. 4, cap. 3.

‡ Camb. reg. Elizab. part 1, page 127.

* An ancient Irish Manus. Cox Hist. Irel. p. 321.

† Hist. Cathol. Ibern. *ibid.*

Reformation, which they wished to introduce into Ireland, and to the conquest of the country, which was not yet complete. These two princes fought many battles with unequal success. O'Neill, at length, having collected all his forces, gained over the queen's troops that were sent to assist O'Donnel, the celebrated victory of the red Saggums,* called in the Irish language, "*Cah na gassogues Deargs*." In this battle four hundred English soldiers were killed, besides several officers who had lately arrived from England.

We have already mentioned that Garret, earl of Desmond, was kept prisoner in the Tower of London. During his confinement the other branches of his family caused many disturbances in Munster. John, his brother, defeated in battle and killed with his hand, John Butler, brother to the earl of Ormond. James, son of Maurice Fitzgerald, undertook to defend the right of Garret, and for that end strenuously opposed the attempts of Thomas Rua, who had taken the title of earl of Desmond. The queen, in order to allay the disturbances caused by these noblemen, sent to Ireland the real earl of Desmond, and after exhorting him to continue loyal and attached to the crown of England, said, that he might hope by his loyalty to obtain favours and rewards. The earl in thanking her majesty declared, that, after his duty to God, nothing would be more dear to him than to observe faithfully the orders she had given him.

The earl of Desmond was received with universal joy throughout the kingdom, and restored to his title and the estates of his ancestors. Finding himself free, he ordered his vassals to raise troops, and to put on foot an army of two thousand men, conduct which caused great uneasiness to Sidney, the deputy. He endeavoured to fathom the designs of the earl. Some said, that his object was to unite with O'Neill, and create a diversion in Munster in his favour; while others fancied that his preparations were intended to take revenge for the insults he had received from the earl of Ormond, the viscount of Fermoy, the Barrys, and other nobleman. Whatever they might have been, he obeyed a summons that he had received from the deputy, and proceeded to Dublin with a troop of a hundred horsemen, accompanied by Sir Warham St. Leger, the president of Munster, who had been commissioned to guard the frontiers of the English

province during the absence of the deputy, who had undertaken an expedition into Ulster.

Accompanied by the earl of Kildare and other noblemen, the deputy set out from Drogheda, at the head of his troops, in the month of September. He marched through a part of Ulster, and passed near Clogher. The troops of O'Neill harassed his rear-guard on their march. O'Donnel on this occasion paid him homage, and was reinstated by him in the possession of his estates, particularly the castles of Ballyshannon and Donegal, for which O'Donnel, agreed to pay to the crown a revenue of two hundred marks a year. Thus the prince of Tirconnel leagued himself with the enemies of his country to save himself from the attacks of a powerful neighbour.

After this the deputy marched into Connaught, where he re-took the castle of Roscommon, and put a garrison into it, the command of which he gave to Thomas Lestrang. Sir Edward Fitton was appointed president of the province: the O'Connor Sligoe, the O'Connor Don, O'Flinn, and others, made their submissions to the deputy, who obliged them to pay an annual revenue to the crown. He marched afterwards to Athlone where he caused a bridge to be built, and then sent his troops into winter quarters, after placing garrisons along the frontiers of the English province; but all these precautions did not prevent O'Neill from devastating it with fire and sword. The deputy then laid siege to Dundalk, in which he failed.

The great exploits of the earl of Tyrone were not sufficient to save him from ruin. He was brave, and his vassals well disciplined, but they fought better in the field, than in their attacks on towns, or in defending them. The deputy was more frequently victorious by stratagem than by force of arms; he was in possession of fortifications and garrisons from which he made occasional incursions on the lands of Tyrone, and was artful enough to foment discord between that prince and his neighbours. He detached Maguire of Fermanagh, a powerful nobleman of the country, from his interest, and always supported O'Donnel against him; so that O'Neill, finding himself hemmed in on all sides, and his forces weakened, was reduced to the sad alternative of seeking safety among his enemies. He had twice defeated the Scotch; in the first battle he had killed their chief, James MacDonnel, and in the second Surly Boy MacDonnel, brother of the latter, was taken prisoner.* Still his misfortunes forced him

* The Sagum was a warlike dress in use among the Persians, Carthaginians, and the Romans, and here signifies the red uniform of the English.

* War. de Annal. *ibid.* cap. 10.

to have recourse to those whom he had injured. He restored Surley Boy to his liberty, and set out for Northern Clanneboy, where the Scotch to the number of six hundred were encamped, under the command of Alexander MacDonnell, called the younger, brother to Surley Boy, A.D. 1567. O'Neill appeared with a few attendants in the camp, where he was received with apparent politeness; but the Scotch, either through revenge for the injuries they had received from him, or hoping to obtain a considerable reward from the English government, stabbed him with all his followers, and sent his head to the deputy, who exposed it upon a pole on the castle of Dublin.

Such was the end of Shane O'Neill, who had sacrificed every thing for his country. Had his example been followed by the people generally, the English would not have succeeded so soon in reducing Ireland. As to the other nobles of the country, some, in return for the vain title of lord, which bound them to the English government, took the rank of subjects; others, guided by different motives, paid homage to the English, rather than unite for the common cause, so that the interests of religion and liberty were basely sacrificed to the ambition of some and the weakness of others.

English authors have drawn a barbarous picture of O'Neill; he possessed certainly some defects, but we can place no reliance on the testimony of those authors against him. He left two legitimate sons, Henry and John. After his death, he was accused and convicted of the crime of rebellion, and his estates confiscated for the queen's use, by an act of the parliament held in Dublin this year, 1567.* The estates of the other nobles who had been of O'Neill's party in the war, were also comprised in this act of confiscation; namely, Clanneboy and Fews, the patrimony of the two branches of the O'Neills, Kryne or Coleraine, the country of the O'Cahans; Route, belonging to the Mac Quilins; the territory of the Glinnes, in possession of the Scotch, of which James Mac Donnell styled himself the lord and conqueror; Iveach, the country of the Magennises; Orior, that of the O'Hanlons; the district of Ferny, Uriel, Loghty, and Dartry, belonging to four branches of the MacMahons; Truogh, the estate of the MacKennas; and Clancanny or Clanbressail, belonging to the MacCanns. These proprietors, were, however, conciliated in some measure. Turlogh Lynogh, one of the most powerful nobles of the family of

O'Neill, was acknowledged *The O'Neill*, with the queen's consent;† but in order to check his authority, she confirmed Hugh, son of Matthew O'Neill, in the title of baron of Dungannon, and subsequently in that of Tyrone. The others received part of their estates as a favour, to hold from the queen by letters patent. Amongst other absurdities in the statute here alluded to is, the insufficiency of the proofs which are advanced, in favour of the right of the kings of England to the throne of Ireland.

An exact account of the expenditure of this war against Shane O'Neill, was sent to the queen;‡ according to which it amounted to one hundred and forty-seven thousand four hundred and seven pounds sterling, besides the taxes raised on the country. Her majesty also lost about three thousand five hundred men of her own troops, who were killed by the prince of Tyrone and his allies, with several of the Irish and Scotch who had taken up arms against him.

Peace having been partly restored in Ulster, war broke out anew in Munster, between the houses of Desmond and Ormond.§ Their animosities drove them to the fatal alternative of a battle near Drumelin, after which they both were commanded to repair to England, in order that their quarrels might be investigated in council. The subject, however, being too intricate to be tried in England, they were sent back to Ireland, where witnesses might, more conveniently, be examined. They, however, would not submit to the laws; but again took up arms, and recommenced hostilities. In consequence of the complaints of Ormond, the queen sent orders to the deputy to repair to Munster without delay,§ and to put down Desmond. In conformity with these orders, the deputy set out with a few troops, for that province, where he remained three months. The reasons and complaints of both parties being heard, he decided against Desmond, whom he ordered to indemnify his enemy; and on his refusal to submit to this decision, the deputy had him arrested at Kilmallock, and brought to Limerick, where he was accused of high treason for having taken up arms against the queen. Whilst the deputy was waiting the termination of the trial he created John Desmond, the earl's brother, a knight, and appointed him Seneschal of Desmond; this promotion gave great umbrage to the earl of Ormond, who represented to the

* Irish Statutes, reign of Elizabeth p. 309 et seq.

* Camb. reg. Elizab. part 1, p. 131.

† War. de Annal. ibid. cap. 11.

‡ Camb. reg. Elizab. part. 1, 130.

§ Cox. Hist. of Irel. p. 325, 326.

queen that the deputy was partial to Desmond which excited her majesty's displeasure towards him.

Sidney began to feel a dislike to his office of governor of Ireland, being thwarted in his views by the earl of Ormond, to whom he thought the queen listened too attentively. He was also importuned with the complaints of Oliver Sutton, a gentleman of the English province, against the earl of Kildare; and accusations were brought against Sir Edmond Butler and his brother, by lady Dunboyne, MacBrian Ara, Oliver Fitzgerald and others, so that he begged of the court to appoint a chancellor capable of assisting him in the administration of affairs; and this office was, in consequence, conferred on doctor Weston, who landed in Dublin, in the July following. Sidney still continued to request his recall, which he obtained at length, and was permitted to return to England. He brought with him, the earl of Desmond, the baron of Dungannon, O'Connor Sligo, O'Carroll, and others. The earl of Desmond and O'Connor were confined in the tower, and Sir John Desmond sent for to Ireland, to keep them company. O'Connor submitted to the queen and was restored to his liberty; the same favour was soon afterwards extended to the earl of Desmond, on similar conditions.

In the absence of Sidney, Weston the chancellor, and Sir William Fitzwilliams the treasurer of war, governed Ireland as lords justices, by commission under the great seal, dated the 14th of October.* During the administration of the latter, quarrels arose between some private families, which subsequently degenerated into religious feuds. The Butlers were still at variance with the Fitzgeralds; Sir Edmond Butler, brother to Ormond, with Peter Grace, lord of Courstown, in the county of Kilkenny, made incursions on the lands of Oliver Fitzgerald. The O'Connors and O'Morras threatened the possessions of the O'Carrolls. Daniel Mac Carty More renounced the title of earl of Glencar, and assumed that of king of Munster, and entering into a league with O'Sullivan More, MacSweeny, and others, laid waste the domains of Roche, viscount of Fermoy. In Ulster, Turlough Lynogh, who had taken the title of O'Neill, declared war against O'Donnell and his allies the Scotch; and killed Alexander MacDonnell, the murderer of Shane O'Neill. A serious dispute arose in Connaught, between MacWilliam Oughter, (Burke,) and O'Connor Sligo.

There were likewise differences between the earl of Thuomond and O'Seaghnessy.

Such was the state of affairs on Sidney's return to Ireland, in 1568. He landed at Carrickfergus about the end of September, and had an interview with Turlough Lynogh O'Neill, respecting the hostilities which the latter had committed against O'Donnell, the Scotch, and others who were under the protection of the court. O'Neill, however, cleared himself with the deputy, and both noblemen separated on good terms. The deputy was sworn in on the 20th of October, in Dublin, and gave orders that Sir Edmond Butler should be sent for; he did not, however, think fit to obey his mandate.

The deputy convened a parliament in Dublin, in January,* in which angry debates took place between the Catholics and the Protestants, respecting the elections of members for this parliament. The matter was decided by Dillon and Plunket, judges of the grand council, and by the report which was made to parliament by Sir Luke Dillon, who was then attorney-general. Several acts respecting religion, and other public affairs, were passed by this parliament; some of them have been already mentioned; the rest are to be met with in the collection of Irish statutes printed in Dublin in 1621.†

About this time Sir Peter Carew came over to Ireland to take possession of the inheritance of one of his ancestors, who enjoyed the title of marquis of Cork, and large estates in the country. The principal objects of his claims were, the barony of Idrone in the county of Carlow, and the district of Ballymaclean in Meath. Weak as his pretensions were to the barony of Idrone, the ancient patrimony of the Cavanaghs, it was adjudged to him by the deputy and council; but he was not so successful in the claim to Ballymaclean. This was in possession of Sir Christopher Chivers, a man of English origin, and consequently more indulgence was given to him by the council. The trial, therefore ended in an adjustment with the latter.

After the death of Shane O'Neill, who was the support of Catholicity and the terror of the English, the reformed religion began to take root in Ireland. Queen Elizabeth desired nothing more ardently than to extend the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and to rule over the church in this country, as she did in England. The English government adopted every measure likely to advance her views. For this they took care to send over English

* Cox, *ibid.* page 326, 327.

* Cox, *ibid.* page 328, et seq.

† Page 309, et seq.

conformists, attached to the opinions of the court; on whom the bishoprics and other ecclesiastical dignities were conferred according as they expelled the Catholic ministers. To these bishops orders were given to suppress every Catholic institution in their several dioceses, and to establish Protestant free schools, under the guidance of English Protestants, in order that the minds of youth whilst most susceptible of strong impressions, might be seduced.* Laws were enacted, compelling parents to send their children to these schools, and to attend the Protestant service themselves on Sundays. These laws also decreed pecuniary fines against all who refused, which were changed afterwards into the penalties of high treason, so that by acts of parliament, the fidelity and attachment of the Catholics to the religion of their forefathers, were construed into this enormous crime. Every individual, both of the clergy and laity, was commanded to acknowledge the ecclesiastical supremacy of Elizabeth, and to renounce all obedience to the pope and church of Rome.† Many able preachers, both English and Scotch were sent to Ireland. The principal were Goodman, Cartwright, Knox, Janson, Burchley, and Brady. It was hoped that their great eloquence would win the people to them; but the court finding these missionaries unsuccessful, and the Irish still adhering to their own tenets in religion, determined to change matters and attack the heads of the Catholic party. Richard Burke, earl of Clanriccard, a powerful nobleman in Connaught, was arrested by orders of the queen.‡ Ulick and John, the earl's two sons, assembled their vassals, however, and took up arms against the government in revenge for the injury done to their father, and thus procured him his freedom.

The tyranny of the English government excited the alarm of the Irish. Finding the thunder ready to burst and crush them, they saw no hope save in resistance. In Munster they first signalled themselves; the chief of the confederacy was James Fitzmaurice, cousin to the earl of Desmond, MacCarty More, earl of Glencar, MacDonogh, and other branches of the MacCartys, and Fitzgerald of Imokelly.§ The hatred of the Butlers against the house of Desmond, did not prevent Edmond, Edward, and Peter Butler, brothers to the earl of Ormond, from uniting with Fitzmaurice in defence of their

religion. The earl of Desmond, whose memory should be for ever dear to the Catholics of Ireland, was still a prisoner in the tower of London. He had entrusted the management of his estates to James Fitzmaurice, his relative; but Ormond and Thumond, more politic, but less religious than Desmond, had already sacrificed their religion and the freedom of their country to ambition, and a desire to ingratiate themselves with the court.

The first step of the confederates was to depute the bishops of Cashel and Emly, and one of the sons of the earl of Desmond, to go with letters to the pope and the king of Spain, to solicit their assistance. Sidney being informed of their movements, proclaimed them all as traitors, and despatched Sir Peter Carew with a body of troops against Sir Edmond Butler. Carew was so expeditious that he took the castle of Cloghgriman by surprise, and gave it up to plunder. He then marched to Kilkenny, where he defeated a body of light troops. On the other hand, the confederates lost no opportunity of harassing their enemies. James Fitzmaurice intended to besiege Kilkenny, but having no artillery, and the garrison being strong, and provided with every thing necessary to make on able defence, he abandoned his design, and had to content himself with ravaging the estates of the English in the neighbourhood, whilst his allies laid waste the counties of Wexford, Waterford, and Ossory, and proceeded to the very gates of Dublin. The campaign thus passed over in hostile attacks on both sides.

The earl of Ormond was in England when he heard with regret of the rebellion of his brothers in Ireland. He applied to the queen to be permitted to serve against them, promising to bring them back to their duty either by persuasion or by force—and set out by leave of the court, for Ireland. He landed at Waterford, or according to Cox, at Wexford, the 14th of August.* His arrival was immediately communicated to the deputy, whom he soon after joined at Lime-
rick. Ormond sent for his brother Edmond to come to the camp of the deputy, who received his submission, enjoining him to appear before him on his arrival in Dublin. He became security for his brother, who proved faithful to his engagement, by his appearance at the time appointed. To the deputy's questions on the cause of his having rebelled, he answered the representative of majesty with so much haughtiness, that he

* Irish Stat. page 346.

† Peter Lombard, Comment. de lib. c. 19.

‡ Hist. Cathol. lib. tom. 2, lib. 4, c. 4.

§ Camd. Elizab. 1, p. 172. War. ibid.

* Camd. ibid. page 173. Ware, ibid. cap. 12.

was arrested and imprisoned in the castle of Dublin, from which he shortly afterwards escaped. Ormond himself continued faithful to the queen, whose confidence he had gained, by sacrificing what he owed to his God and to his country; the rebellion of his brothers he considered as a stain upon his family. They received a second time, by orders of the queen, a general pardon from the council in Dublin, without being obliged to make their appearance; and by this means were detached from the Catholic party.

Pope Pius V. pronounced the following sentence against queen Elizabeth in 1569.

"Pius, bishop and servant of the servants of God; be it remembered by posterity, that he who is omnipotent in heaven and on earth, hath confided his church which is one Holy, Catholic, and Apostolical, and out of which there is no salvation, to one man upon earth, namely, to Peter, prince of the apostles, and to the bishops of Rome, his successors, with full power to rule over it. This pontiff alone hath been constituted head over all nations and kingdoms, and invested with power to destroy, to separate, to scatter, and subvert; to plant, build up, and link together by mutual charity, in order to preserve the faithful in the spirit of unity, and surrender them whole and entire to their Saviour. In order to fulfil the duties imposed on us by the divine goodness, we labour incessantly to maintain the unity of the Roman Catholic religion which God hath visited with heavy conflicts, to the end, that His own may be tried, and for our correction; but the numbers and power of the wicked have so far prevailed, that no portion of the earth has escaped their attempts to propagate their infectious and detested dogmas, being supported among others, by that slave to every species of crime, Elizabeth, the supposed queen of England, under whom the worst enemies of the church have found security. This same Elizabeth having seized upon the throne, and usurped the authority and jurisdiction of supreme head of the church of England, has again plunged that country into a state of misery, from which it was beginning to emerge and to return to the Catholic faith. Having by the violence of her measures, prevented the exercise of true religion, which that apostate prince, Henry VIII. destroyed, and which Mary, his legitimate daughter, of illustrious memory, had restored, in concert with the holy see; she has embraced all the errors of heresy, and excluded the English nobility from the royal council, which she has filled with obscure heretics. The Catholics have been oppressed,

and the preachers of iniquity established; the sacrifice of the mass has been abolished; prayers, fasting, abstinence, celibacy, and all the rites of Catholicity have been likewise suppressed. She has filled the kingdom with books containing the most flagrant heresies, and not content herself with adopting and conforming to the false and impious doctrines of Calvin, she has forced her subjects to embrace them. The whole of the Catholic hierarchy and priesthood throughout England, have been driven from their livings, which have been bestowed on the heretics. Her decision in ecclesiastical causes have been set up, and the bishops, the clergy, and the people forbidden to acknowledge the authority of the Roman church, or to obey its ordinances and canonical decisions. Thus has Elizabeth compelled most of the people of England, by oath, to subscribe to her nefarious laws, and renounce all authority of the Roman pontiff; to acknowledge her to be head both of church and state; condemning those that have refused, to heavy fines and punishments, whereby those who have persevered in the faith, are overwhelmed with suffering and afflictions. The Catholic bishops and clergy have been loaded with chains, and many of them have ended their days in misery and imprisonment. This persecution is known to all nations, and so clearly proved, that all palliation, argument, or pretext on her part, is unavailing. We find, moreover, that impiety and crimes have increased, that persecution against the religion of Rome has been redoubled by orders of Elizabeth, and that her heart has become so perverted and obdurate, that she has refused to hearken to the charitable counsels of Catholic princes, and has denied admittance to the legates of our apostolical see, into England, who have been deputed thither for the same object. With deep sorrow we are now constrained to have recourse to the arms of justice, and obliged to punish a princess whose ancestors have rendered important services to the church.

"In virtue, therefore, of the divine authority, by which we have been placed on this supreme throne of justice, an office so superior to our capability, we do, in the plenitude of apostolical power, declare that the said Elizabeth, who is herself a heretic, and the encourager of heresy, together with all her adherents, have incurred the sentence of excommunication, and that they are hereby cut off from the unity of the body of Jesus Christ. Moreover, we proclaim her to have forfeited all right to the said throne, and also all dominion, dignity, and privileges

appertaining to it. We likewise declare, that all subjects of every rank in the said kingdom, and every individual who has taken any oath of loyalty to her in any way whatever, shall be for ever absolved from said oath, as also from all duty, fidelity, or obedience, as we hereby exonerate them from all such engagements, and we do deprive the said Elizabeth of her pretended claim to the throne of England. The nobility and others above named, we prohibit to obey her, her ordinances and laws, under pain of becoming subject to the same anathema.

"As the circulation of this bull, by sending it to all places, would become a matter of difficulty, it is commanded, that copies of it be taken and signed by a notary, subscribed by a bishop, and sealed with the seal of our court; they will then have the same power and efficacy as these presents have.

"Given at St Peters, on the 5th of the calends of January, in the year of our Lord, 1569 and 5th of our pontificate."

A parliament was held in Dublin the same year, by which several acts were passed;* among others, one giving to her majesty, a right to estates, and lands in the county of Kildare, belonging to Christopher Eustace, lord of Cotlanston, who was executed, under Henry VIII., for high treason. By a similar act, the estates of Thomas Fitzgerald, knight of the Glynn, in the county of Limerick, and his son Thomas were confiscated, for their rebellion.† The deputy being at Cork, entered the district of Cirricurry, and seized on the castle of Carigoline; after which he marched to Orrery, and took possession of Buttevant. He intended to proceed to Kilmallock, but was prevented by James Fitzmaurice, who scaled the walls, and made himself master of the town, but finding it impracticable to hold it, he set it on fire. The deputy had the town rebuilt, and put a garrison into it, of four hundred soldiers, one hundred horsemen, and some light troops, under the command of colonel Gilbert, whom he appointed governor of the province. Having restored peace to the counties of Cork and Limerick, and received the oath of allegiance of some nobles of these districts viz., Roche, Courcy, Power, Decye and some others, the deputy returned to Limerick.

Soon after, Gilbert was created a knight, at Drogheda, for his services during his administration in Munster. He then went to England, where he married a rich widow; but having died suddenly, Sir John Perrott

was appointed president of Munster in his stead.

War still raged in Leinster and Connaught. Sir Peter Carew endeavoured to reduce the Cavenaghs. The tyranny of Flitton over the inhabitants of Connaught, was so great, that Conoghor O'Brien, earl of Thuomond, although a loyal subject to England, was obliged to take up arms, and in spite of the mediation of the earl of Ormond, who was sent by the deputy to quell the disturbances, they came to an engagement. Thuomond was defeated, and obliged to fly into France, where he met Norris, the English ambassador, who procured him his pardon from Elizabeth. The earl testified his gratitude, by the important services he afterwards rendered to the crown of England, against his country.

Turlough Lynogh O'Neill, who had been acknowledged chief of that illustrious tribe, continued to support the cause of religion in Ulster, A.D. 1570. The noblemen of Ulster and Scotland, made frequent alliances, about that time. O'Neill married the earl of Argyll's aunt, and kept Scotch troops in his pay. This prince was planning an expedition against the English province, but was unhappily prevented from carrying it into execution. His life being endangered by a musket shot he received, either by accident or by design, the Scotch began to desert him, and the tribe was about to appoint another chief. Having, however, recovered; while preparing to accomplish his first project against the English, the deputy dispatched two commissioners, judge Dowdal and the dean of Armagh, on the part of the queen, to his camp at Dungannon; and a treaty was entered into between them, in January, which was ratified by the deputy in the month of March following.

The O'Ferrals, ancient lords of Annaly, at present the county of Longford, surrendered their district to the government, who restored them part of it, on condition of paying one hundred marks a year. Lord chief baron Bath died about this time. He was succeeded by Luke Dillon.

Perrott being appointed governor of Munster, George Bouchier, son of the earl of Bath, and George Walsh were appointed his colleagues; the former to aid him in the military, the latter in the civil administration. This president was successful in a war he carried on against the Confederates, and obliged some of their chiefs, namely, Mac Carty More, lord Barry, MacCarty Riagh, Donough MacTeigue of Muskerry, lord Courcy, and MacDonough, to defray the expenses of the war, which weakened considerably the party of James Fitzmaurice.

* Irish Statutes, page 301.

† Ibid. page 326.

Sidney the deputy obtained permission from the queen to return to England, with orders to appoint in his stead, his brother-in-law, Sir William Fitzwilliams, who was sworn into office in St. Patrick's cathedral, Dublin, in April.* The Irish characters, for printing, were introduced into Ireland the same year, by Nicholas Walsh, the chancellor of St. Patrick's, and John Kerne, treasurer. Government gave orders to have prayer books printed in the Irish language, in order to seduce the people, but their efforts did not succeed.

Brien Cavenagh, son of Cahir MacArt, who was created baron of Balian by Queen Mary, caused great disturbance in Leinster; he was a brave and accomplished nobleman.† He killed Robert Brown, lord of Malrenkam, for having insulted him. Brien's pride made him so formidable to his neighbours, that Sir Nicholas Devereux and the principal inhabitants of Wexford, assembled, to check his progress. They came to an engagement, which was fatal to Devereux; he lost thirty gentlemen on the field of battle, besides several soldiers.

Connaught was also in a state of rebellion, at the head of which were the Burkes of Clanriccard; who could not bear the tyrannical government of Fitton. They therefore took up arms, and together with their allies, the Scotch, devastated the whole country. Tranquillity was at length restored to the province, says Cox, by a victory which captain Collin, with one company of infantry gained over the Scotch, who amounted to a thousand men.‡ Elizabeth saw that the rebellion in Connaught was caused by Fitton's severity; he was consequently removed from the government of the province, and appointed treasurer. The O'Morras and O'Connors of Leinster, made attempts to create a diversion in favour of the rebels in Connaught; they burned Athlone, and made some incursions on the English province, where they committed terrible devastation. In Ulster, Brien Mac-Feliny O'Neill made himself master of Carrickfergus, and then set it on fire.

Thomas Smith, an Englishman, and counsellor to the queen, finding that his countrymen were making rapid fortunes in Ireland, at the expense of the old inhabitants, and wishing to have a share in the spoils, asked permission from his royal mistress, to send over his son to found an English colony at Ardes, in Ulster. He had two objects in view; first, to procure an extensive estate

for his son where he might become a powerful nobleman; secondly, to conceal from posterity, in a foreign land, the ignominy of his birth, being illegitimate. The queen having given her consent, young Smith was equipped for the enterprise. One Chatterton being appointed his governor, with a suitable retinue, they sailed for Ireland; but on approaching the place of his destination, unfortunately for Smith he met Brien MacArt O'Neill, to whom Ardes belonged, ready to receive him. The pretended lord of Ardes was killed in a skirmish, and his troops dispersed by Brian Mac-Art.

Cambden gives a different account of the above circumstance. He assumes, first, that the queen of England had a right to bestow what did not belong to her.* It is true that her predecessors often pronounced sentence of confiscation against those who never acknowledged their authority, and who were always opposed to them. This authority of the kings of England, with respect to the greater part of Ireland, particularly Ulster, was confined to the permission which they granted to their subjects, to seize on the possessions of others by force; which permission being given, the resistance of the proprietor was construed by the English, into rebellion. Our author emphatically observes, that Thomas Smith, moved with compassion for neglected Ireland, obtained leave from the queen to send over his bastard son to establish at Ardes, on the eastern coast of Ulster, a colony of Englishmen, in order to civilize the semi-barbarous inhabitants of that country. We might be induced to think that christian charity was the motive of Smith's conduct on this occasion, but that we are told, that this Englishman had already divided the lands of Ardes amongst his followers, promising to each foot soldier a hundred and twenty acres; to a horseman two hundred and forty; and to others in proportion to their rank, on condition of paying him an annual rent of one penny an acre, without mention of any thing for the old proprietor. By this it is obvious, that a pretended desire of civilizing the inhabitants of Ardes was a species of pretext to invade their lands. As to the epithet barbarous, which Cambden applies to the people of Ardes, and the word perfidy to Brien Mac-Art, for having killed an enemy who came armed to dispossess him; it is the general style of the English, who believe that their adversaries' obedience should be measured according to their will, and who always de-

* War. *ibid.* cap. 13.

† *Cambd. Elizab.* part 2, p. 240.

‡ *History of Ireland*, p. 339.

* *Elizabeth*, part 2, p. 240, 241.

fine the self-defence of a people whom they oppress, by the term barbarity.

Walter Devereux, viscount Hereford, was created by the queen, earl of Essex, in 1573. This nobleman was descended in a direct line from the ancient counts d'Evreux, descendants of the dukes of Normandy, by Robert, archbishop of Rouen, and count d'Evreux.* In order to gratify him, the queen whose most attached favourite he was, gave him the half of certain lordships, which had been confiscated in Ulster, with the title of captain general of that province, on condition of repairing thither with two hundred horse and four hundred foot, whom he was to support for two years at his own expense.† To induce men to join readily in this expedition, they were flattered with the hope of estates; whoever should have served without pay, in the cavalry for two years, was to receive four hundred acres of land, and those who served in the infantry, were to have similar terms, viz., to receive two hundred acres on condition of their paying an annual rent of two pence per acre.

Fitzwilliam, then lord deputy, was envious of his new rival; and fearing that his own merits would be eclipsed by a nobleman invested with royal authority, he made use of all his influence to counteract this enterprise.‡ In order to reconcile both parties, the queen commanded Essex to take his patents for the government of Ulster, from the deputy. This difficulty being removed, the earl, accompanied by several English nobles, who wished to be sharers of his fortune, and witnesses of his exploits, sailed for Ireland and landed at Carrickfergus about the end of August. He was waited upon and complimented by Brien MacFelimy, O'Neill, and other Irish nobles, who did not suspect him in the beginning; but on seeing the train that accompanied him, they left him on a sudden, and joined the standard of Tirlagh Linogh O'Neill.

The earl of Essex had scarcely landed in Ireland when he wished to return to England. From the many difficulties he met with in his undertaking, and the armed hostility of the inhabitants of Ulster, he found

himself abandoned by degrees, by those noblemen who accompanied him. The earl of Leicester, desirous of keeping him at a distance, opposed his wish to leave Ireland. He was at length, however, permitted to return to England, after an expedition, the only result of which was, the loss of large sums of money.

James Fitzmaurice continued to devastate the lands of the queen's partizans in Munster, A.D. 1574. He frequently fought against John Perrot, governor of the province, and was often victorious; having defeated the royal troops at Kilmallock, Sanid, Kuillehugie, and Cluonie, where Captain Morgan was killed, and his troops dispersed.*

The queen, alarmed at the successes of Fitzmaurice, sent orders to her deputy to offer him terms of peace; declaring that she desired more to preserve her authority in Ireland than to persecute religion. Fitzmaurice agreed to lay down his arms, provided that the persecution against the Catholics of the province would cease; and that the earl of Desmond and his brother John, who were prisoners in the Tower, would be set at liberty. These conditions were willingly accepted by the queen, and Fitzmaurice put a stop to hostilities. Elizabeth gave orders to liberate the earl and his brother: she had them brought before her, and admonished them to put an end to a rebellion which disturbed the public peace. The earl replied, that he never wished to rebel, and that his own loyalty, and that of his ancestors, to the kings of England, were well known, but that he could not bear the tyranny practised by her majesty's ministers upon the people for their religion. The queen dismissed both with apparent kindness, promising to fulfil the treaty she had concluded with Fitzmaurice. The perfidious princess, however, sent orders secretly to the captain of the ship that was to bring them to Dublin, to give them up to the deputy who resided there. She also despatched a secret communication to the latter, to retain the earl with him in Dublin, and to send his brother John to Munster, in order to bring James Fitzmaurice with him to that city, that the three might confirm and sign the treaty that had been made with the queen. Such was the plausible but treacherous motive assigned; but the secret determination was, to have the three beheaded together. The earl, however, being apprised of the design, fled immediately. He owed his life to the swiftness of his horse, by which he

* Baker, chron. p. 346. Cambd, Elizab. part 2, page 255.

† War. ibid. c. 13. Cambd. ibid. p. 256.

‡ The earl of Leicester was honoured with the title of grand equerry to the queen. He was youngest son to the duke of Northumberland, who was beheaded in the first year of Mary's reign. His grandfather was Dudley, who is ranked, by English historians with Empson, one of those infamous leeches of the public money, during the reign of Henry VII., and who was put to death in the first year of Henry the eight's reign.

* Hist. Cathol. Hib. tome 2, lib. 4, cap. 8. Retal. Girald. cap.

arrived, after five days, with his brother and cousin James Fitzmaurice, in the remotest part of the county Kerry. The earl of Desmond was so far incensed against the English government by this new act of treachery, that he began the war with more vigour than before, whereupon he was proclaimed a traitor; the government offered a reward of a thousand pounds and forty pounds a-year to any that would give him up alive, or five hundred pounds and twenty pounds a year for his head.

The deputy marched his forces to Munster, to quell the disturbances caused by the Fitzgeralds, and gave, in his absence, the government of the English province to the earl of Kildare.

War was not the only scourge with which Ireland was afflicted at this time. The plague carried away numbers in the English province, whilst the Irish, who were animated by the promises they received from Rome and Spain, were every where up in arms. Fitzwilliam, the deputy was recalled A. D. 1575, after much importunity on his own part.

The queen again turned her thoughts towards Sidney for the government of Ireland. He was better acquainted than any of his countrymen with the state of affairs there, and consequently better calculated to govern it; but he knew well the difficulty of subjugating the country, which made him averse to undertake the office. In order, however, to fix his mind to the attempt, the queen sent over a fresh reinforcement with warlike stores, and promised him twenty thousand pounds a-year. Pleased with these hopes, Sidney sailed in September for Ireland, and on account of the plague in Dublin, landed at Skerries, whence he repaired to Drogheda to be sworn into office.

Having learned at Drogheda, that Surley Boy Mac-Donnel was laying siege to Carrickfergus, and had killed forty men and their commander captain Baker, he marched at the head of six hundred men, and forced Surley Boy to abandon his enterprise. He then pacified the O'Neills, O'Donnells, M'Mahons, Maguires, and other nobles of the North. After this expedition to Ulster, Sidney marched into Leinster, where he found the county of Kildare, particularly the barony of Carbury, laid waste by the O'Morras and O'Connors. The King's and Queen's counties had shared the same fate; but Rory O'Morra made peace with the deputy at Kilkenny, through the interference of Ormond. After leaving Kilkenny, Sidney marched through the counties of Waterford,

Cork, and Limerick. He then passed through Thuomond and Galway, administering justice in all these places; received the submission of the Burks of Clanriccard, who had rebelled, and left garrisons in the towns on his route to Dublin.

The plague ceased in Dublin and in the English province in 1576, but the tyranny of the English was a continual scourge. The country appeared a desert; the towns were destroyed by the marching and counter-marching of the troops, after whom, as they passed along, nothing was to be seen but wretchedness and desolation, particularly in Louth, Meath, Kildare, Wexford, Carlow, and the King and Queen's counties, which were at one time harassed by the O'Morras and O'Connors, and again by the English troops.

In the deputy's letters to the queen on this subject, he complained that the undertakers* in the two latter counties were so poor and so few in number, that he was obliged to leave a garrison of two hundred soldiers to protect them, whilst the produce of both counties did not amount to a twentieth part of what it cost the crown to support them. He also gave her an account of his services, namely, that he had re-built Killmallock, and imposed a tax of two thousand pounds on the inhabitants of Connaught, to re-build Athenry, which had been burned by the Mac-an-Earlas, that is, the children of the earl of Clanriccard; and that he had taken the castles of Ballyclare and Ballinasloe from that nobleman, and had received the submission of the O'Connor Don and O'Flin, at Roscommon, who wished to be governed by English laws. He likewise mentioned that Connaught was disturbed by the Scotch, allies of the Burkes of Clanriccard; that Longford had agreed to pay all arrears which were due; that Brefny was tranquil; that he had appointed Thomas Lestrangle and Thomas Dillon, commissioners in Connaught for the settlement of private quarrels; and lastly, that he had made Robert Dampart high sheriff of the province.

The affairs of religion were not more prosperous than those of government; the churches were abandoned; the priests were dispersed; the children left without baptism, and brought up in ignorance, the natural consequence of one religion endeavour-

* These undertakers were needy Englishmen, who were sent over to establish a colony in those counties, between whom the estates of the O'Morras, O'Connors, and other noblemen which had been confiscated under the pretext of their having rebelled, were divided.

ing to establish itself on the downfall of another. The ministers of the old religion were driven from their sees, while those of the new were too few to supply their places. These last were Englishmen, sent to preach the new doctrine, but were not attended to by the people; they were shepherds without flocks. The attachment of the Irish to the Catholic religion has been unexampled. Notwithstanding the severe laws that were enacted by Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Elizabeth, down to the accession of James I., it is a well established truth, that during that period, the number of Irish who embraced the reformed religion did not amount to sixty, in a country, which, at the time, contained about two millions of souls. With all her power, Elizabeth could not boast of having established the Protestant church in Ireland. The marked abhorrence of this nation to every innovation in religion, made this politic princess dread the consequences of forcing their conscience; she therefore waited a more favourable opportunity, and enjoined the archbishops and bishops to watch only the interests of the church. She appointed William Gerald, chancellor, and Sir William Drury, president of Munster.

The two latter having landed in Dublin, in June, the chancellor took possession of his office. The deputy wished to bring Drury to Wexford, and have him installed in the presidency of Munster, but was obliged to change his plan; having received a letter from the mayor of Galway, informing him that the Burkes of Clanriccard were again in arms with their vassals; that they had brought back their allies the Scotch, set fire to the gates of Athenry, which had been lately rebuilt, and pulled down the arms of the queen; and that the inhabitants were plundered and their dwellings destroyed.

The deputy immediately set out for Connaught, where he arrived after three days, to the great astonishment of the rebels, who quickly withdrew to their fastnesses. Finding no enemy to contend with, he took possession of the castles and fortresses of the earl of Clanriccard, whom he sent prisoner to Dublin, to answer for the conduct of his sons. He then visited Galway, where he remained for some days, and from that went to Limerick, where Drury was installed president of Munster, after which they both proceeded to Cork.

The new president exercised the greatest severity in the province of Munster, except in the palatinate of Kerry, which the earl of Desmond considered to be exempt from the royal authority. A dispute arose upon

this subject between him and the president, whom he accused to the deputy of having raised exorbitant and arbitrary taxes on the people.

The Burkes of Clanriccard, whose father was kept a prisoner in the castle of Dublin, rebelled again, and called the Scotch to their assistance. They laid siege to Ballyriagh or Loughreagh, a castle within the possessions of the earl their father; but the garrison, which consisted of veteran troops, under the command of Thomas Lestrangle and captain Collier, experienced officers, found no difficulty in dispersing a body of men, collected in a hurry and without discipline or arms. The deputy marched thither with his army, and being assisted by Mac William Oughter, a powerful lord of the family of Burke, in Connaught, he completely quelled the disturbance, restored Mac William to his estates, and appointed Nicholas Mally governor of the province, after conferring on him the honour of knighthood, according to his instructions from the queen.

In the mean time, the earl of Essex undertook a second expedition into Ulster, which proved fatal to him. He had many enemies at court, the principal and most formidable of whom was the earl of Leicester. The latter inherited the talents and artifices of his father; he was well versed in the intrigues of the court; the favourite of Elizabeth, and a sworn enemy to Essex, who was then sent back to Ireland with the empty title of lord marshal, which by its attractions would necessarily render his fall more sure. He was forced soon after, by his enemies, to resign his command. The insult being too great to be borne, he was seized with a dysentery, and died in Dublin, after recommending his son, who was about ten years of age, to the protection of the deputy. The earl of Leicester was suspected of having caused Essex to be poisoned, which is not improbable, as Leicester married the countess of Essex during the lifetime of her husband, which ceremony was again performed after his death.

The nobility of Leinster forwarded complaints similar to those that were brought by the earl of Desmond, against Drury, for his extortions in Munster, A.D. 1577.* A memorial was laid before the deputy, representing that their liberties and privileges were violated by an exorbitant and unreasonable tax, which exceeded twelve pounds sterling for every plough-land, while the parliament

* Ware, de Annal. lib. chap. 19. Camd. ibid. page 280.

alone possessed the right of levying taxes. Displeased with his reply, they forwarded an appeal to the queen, by three deputies, Scurlock, Nettekyl, and Burnel, bringing also letters signed by lords Baltinglass, Delvin, Howth, Trimleston, and others in the name of the English province. The queen referred them to her council for their decision; the lords Kildare, Ormond, Gormans-town, and Dunsany, having been examined, they answered, that it had been always customary to impose taxes on the king's subjects in Ireland, but at the same time, entreated that they might be raised with more lenity.* The queen finding that the petitioners wished to dispute her authority, sent the three commissioners to prison, and despatched orders to her deputy in Ireland, to arrest the petitioners, to fix the tax at five marks for each plough-land; and to punish all abuses in the collection of them. Matters being thus arranged, the petitioners submitted, and were set at liberty, as well as their commissioners.

About this time, Sir John Desmond, brother to the earl, married the daughter of the earl of Clanriccard, who had been divorced by her first husband O'Rourke. By this marriage he formed a close connection with the house of Clanriccard, the object of which was to aid each other against their enemies. This alliance caused uneasiness to the government, and made them watchful of the earl of Desmond's movements, whose loyalty was already doubted.

CHAPTER XLII.

AFTER Garret Fitzgerald, earl of Desmond, had escaped from prison in Dublin, and from the perfidious design the queen had formed to exterminate himself and family, he was extremely cautious in his conduct towards the court; but never lost sight of the interests of religion, which he secretly supported and which he considered as his first and most important duty. He placed no reliance on the repeated treaties with Elizabeth who had so often deceived him. Deeming it prudent to take precautionary measures, he sent his relative, James Fitzmaurice to Rome, to consult with Gregory XIII. about preserving the faith in Ireland, and resisting its avowed enemies. Fitzmaurice first went, according to his instructions, to the court of France, where he was well received by the king, who seemed willing to

assist the earl of Desmond in his plans to support the Catholic religion, but was prevented by his council.* After this Fitzmaurice went to Spain. Philip II. recommended him strongly to the pope, and requested his holiness to take under his protection the persecuted Catholics of Ireland.

Whilst James Fitzmaurice was seeking the aid of foreign princes, Rory or Roderick O'Morra and O'Connor Faly were vindicating their country's freedom against the queen's ministers, who practised every species of tyranny against the Catholics. The estates of these noblemen were confiscated in the reign of Mary. Rory, by his bravery, recovered the district of Leix, and kept possession of it till his death. He surprised and burned many towns belonging to the English in Leinster; among others Naas, Carlow, Leighlin, Rathcoole, and Ballymore. Being attacked by some royalist troops, he took their captains Harrington and Cosby prisoners, and brought them to his usual retreat in the middle of a wood. Here, however, he was soon after betrayed by a servant, and surprised in the night by Robert Harpool, at the head of two hundred Englishmen. His safety now rested on his courage; his soldiers were at too great a distance to assist him; the only persons with him were his wife, his cousin John O'Morra, and an aged nobleman of the same family, unable to defend himself. Followed, however, by his cousin, he opened a passage through the enemy with his sword, and after wounding several of them, escaped. The two officers who had been prisoners were set at liberty by the English, who had the baseness and cruelty to stab the wife of O'Morra, and the old nobleman, without pity for her sex, or for the infirmity of his years.

MacGiolla Phadruig Fitzpatrick, prince of Ossory, who became an English subject by accepting the title of baron from that government, made some incursions into Leix, at the head of five hundred of the queen's troops. O'Morra marched to meet him with four hundred men; but unfortunately wishing to reconnoitre the enemy before the action, he was surrounded by a detachment, and was the third that fell. Such was the end of this noble and generous man, whom the English term an arch rebel. Fitzpatrick was not the only Irishman (of the ancient race,) who was base enough to sacrifice the interests of his religion and country, for titles of honour which were generally despised by his countrymen.

* Baker's Chron. page 352.

* Relat. Girald. cap. 19.

Francis Cosby being appointed governor of Leix, ruled that country as a true tyrant. His son Alexander, equalled him in cruelty; and wreaked his vengeance on inoffensive Catholics, for the hard treatment he had received from O'Morra. Having convened a meeting of the principal inhabitants, in the castle of Mollach, under pretence of the public welfare, he had them all murdered by assassins posted there for the purpose, violating thereby all honour and public faith. One hundred and eighty men of the family of O'Morra, with many others, were put to death upon this occasion. This cruel and bloody tyrant took such delight in putting Catholics to the torture, that he hanged men, women, and children, by dozens, from an elm tree that grew before his door, at Stradbally, where he resided.

Cahal or Charles O'Connor Faly, was not indifferent to the sufferings of the Catholics; being joined by Conal Mageoghan of the family of Moy-Cashel, he took up arms, and gave many a check to the tyrants. An Englishman named Macforty, expressly commissioned by the queen to assassinate O'Connor, fell by the sword of him whom he meant to sacrifice to the hatred of that princess.*

Sir Henry Sidney disgusted with the office of governor, and finding that his services were treated with contempt, solicited with eagerness his recall,† which he obtained at length, and having regulated all public matters, he resigned the sword of justice to Sir William Drury, president of Munster. Sidney was considered an upright man; he had filled high offices in England with integrity; and as a proof of his disinterestedness, it is affirmed, that he never, though four times lord justice, and three times deputy of Ireland, appropriated to his own use an inch of land in the country, which was a rare example among his countrymen.

James Fitzmaurice having arrived in Rome, was received with distinction by pope Gregory XIII. In this city, he met with Cornelius O'Moel Ryan, titular bishop of Killaloe, and Thomas Stukely.‡ Nothing certain is known either of the family or country of the latter; some assert that he was natural son of Henry VIII., others, that he was the son of an English knight and an Irish lady; however, his conduct proves him to have been a knight errant that was seeking to improve a moderate fortune.

The sovereign pontiff evinced great zeal for the Irish Catholics, to whom he sent

several letters. He exhorted them to persevere in the faith, and to support the cause of religion against the heretics. The earl of Desmond he appointed chief of the holy league, and made James Fitzmaurice, who was then at Rome, his lieutenant, who, in case of accident, was to be replaced by Sir John Desmond, the earl's second brother, and the latter by James, his youngest brother.

The pope gave a large sum of money, and had two thousand men raised in the States of the Church, for the expedition to Ireland. Hercule de Pise, an experienced general, was appointed to command them. All things being prepared and the troops embarked on board a small fleet, the command of it was given to Thomas Stukely, whose orders were to sail for Lisbon, and to wait there for James Fitzmaurice, who was to go thither by land. On reaching that port, Stukely found that Sebastian, king of Portugal, was preparing a considerable expedition for the war in Africa. This prince readily prevailed on him to join his fleet, promising that he would bestow on him rich rewards, and that he would assist him in the war in Ireland. Stukely accompanied Sebastian to Africa, determined, at all hazards, to advance his own interest. On their arrival, a sanguinary battle was fought in which three kings lost their lives, namely, Sebastian, king of Portugal, Abdelmelic, king of Mauritania, and Mahumet, who was the promoter of this unlucky expedition. Stukely, and the greater part of his Italians, shared their fate, a just reward for his disloyalty.

Fitzmaurice having reached Portugal by land, was indignant at finding that Stukely had betrayed his cause.* Having no resource left, he collected the remnant of his Italian force, which had returned to Spain, with some Cantabrians given him by his Catholic majesty, amounting in the whole, to about eight hundred men. He then sailed for Ireland with six vessels, provided with all kinds of ammunition, and arms for four thousand men. He was accompanied by Cornelius, bishop of Killaloe, and Doctor Sandus, an English priest, as legate from the pope. This little fleet arrived, the end of July, 1579, at Ardnacant, which the English call Smerwick, in the western part of the county Kerry, near Dingle. In this harbour there is an islet fortified by nature; on one side it is washed by the sea, and on the other defended by a steep rock, leaving a passage, where it is joined to the continent by means of a draw-bridge. Fitzmaurice

* Hist. Cathol. *ibid.* cap. 7.

† War. de Anna. Hib. cap. 20.

‡ Camb. reg. Elizab. part 2, on the year 1578.

* Hist. Cathol. *ibid.*

knowing well the importance of this place as an arsenal for the succours that he expected from Spain, added other works to render its natural situation impregnable. All kinds of provisions were put into it, and a garrison of 600 men, the command of which was given to Sebastian de Saint Joseph.

As soon as the arrival of James Fitzmaurice was known, he was complimented by Sir John Desmond, his brother James Desmond, and several noblemen of Munster, who joined them to prepare for the war against the heretics.* While they were raising troops for this purpose, John Desmond attacked Tralee, in which there was an English garrison; he put Henry Davella, Carter, and some others of their chiefs to the sword, and dispersed the remainder. Fitzmaurice marched, at the same time, towards Connaught with a few followers, to prevail on his friends, whose intentions he was aware of, to join in the common cause; but on his way he was attacked by Theobald Burke, eldest son of Sir William Burke, of castle Connel, who, from a desire to please Elizabeth, sacrificed the interests of religion and of his country. Finding it impossible to avoid an engagement, Fitzmaurice resolved to conquer or die. Being wounded in the breast by a musket ball, and roused to a last effort, he cleared a passage through the enemy, and cut off the head of Theobald Burke with a single blow. The brothers of that captain fell also, and their entire force was routed. The victory, however, proved a dear one to Fitzmaurice. His wound being mortal, he died in six hours after the action, after making his confession and receiving the last sacrament from an English priest called Alan, who always accompanied him. Although the death of this illustrious chief filled the Catholics with alarm, still their courage was not broken down; and the command of the forces was given to John Desmond, whose zeal was equal to his bravery.

Elizabeth, grateful for the services received from the Burkes of Castle Connel, who had rid her of an enemy so formidable as James Fitzmaurice, wrote a letter to their father William Burke, and to console him for the loss of his children, settled a yearly pension on him, of two hundred marks, to be paid from the exchequer, she also created him a peer of the realm, under the title of lord baron of Castle Connel. The old man died through excess of joy, for the new title.†

Sir John Desmond took the command of

the Catholic army, and justified, by his heroic actions, the choice which James Fitzmaurice, when dying, had made of him. In order to check the career of Desmond, Drury the deputy marched towards Munster at the head of four hundred infantry and two hundred cavalry, attended by marshal Bagnal, Malby, Wingfield, Waterhouse, Fitton, Masterson, and other subaltern officers. He was also joined by the lords Kildare, Mountgarret, Upper Ossory, and Dunboyne, with two hundred horsemen, and a few foot soldiers. On arriving at Kilmallock, the deputy sent word to the earl of Desmond, and a few other lords of the province whose loyalty he suspected, to appear before him, in his camp, at Kilmallock. After some hesitation, the earl repaired to the deputy, who gave him up to the lord marshal; but policy soon induced him to set him at liberty, as he knew, that Sir John Desmond, the earl's brother, was encamped, with the Catholic army, at Sleavelogher.

Sir John Desmond having received intelligence through his spies, that the deputy was marching to attack him, left his camp at Sleavelogher, and went to influence the barony of Connillo in the county Limerick, in his favour. He posted himself advantageously, in the castle of Gortantiburudi, near a forest called Blackwood;* whither the deputy sent a strong detachment under captains Herbert and Price, with orders to force his camp. On the appearance of the English, both armies drew up in order of battle; the first shock was favourable to the heretics, but they were afterwards cut to pieces by a body of men, which Desmond had concealed in the wood; and which attacking them in flank, soon put them to flight. A great number was killed and amongst them Herbert and Price.

The loss of this battle, caused great affliction to the deputy, but he was relieved, by the arrival of six hundred English, under captains Bourcheir, Carew, and Dowda, sent by the queen, to Waterford, to reinforce the army. Sir John Perrot arrived in Cork, with six vessels to protect the coast. Being joined by this reinforcement, the deputy went on another equally unsuccessful expedition to Connillo. Having fallen sick from excess of fatigue, he sent for Malby, the governor of Connaught, to command the troops, and after conferring the honour of knighthood on Bourcher, Stanly, Carew, Moore, Pelham, and some others, he withdrew to Waterford.

* Camd. ibid. ad an. 1579. Relat. Girald. cap. 22. Baker, page 355.

† Camd. ibid. Baker ibid.

* Hist. Cathol. ibid. Relat. Girald. cap. 23. War. de annal. Hib. cap. 21, Camd. Elizabeth.

Malby now assuming the command of the army, he left three hundred infantry, and about fifty horse at Kilmallock, under the orders of captain Bouchier, and marched with the remainder, to Limerick. After refreshing his troops, he led them to Eanaghbeg in the district of Connillo, and encamped near an abbey called Monaster Nenay, where some auxiliaries arrived from the Burkes, of Clanriccard and the Lacy's, who joined them. Determined to drive away the enemy, John Desmond assembled all his force to give them battle; but the ardour of some of the troops, who began the engagement, by pursuing the English (who were flying,) to too great a distance, nearly proved fatal. Being surrounded by these fugitives, who were superior in numbers, they would have been cut to pieces, but for the prompt relief brought by Desmond. The action now becoming general, both sides fought with equal bravery till the right wing of the enemy beginning to give way, and one of their principal officers being killed, they were entirely routed, after a combat of an hour and a half. Desmond remained master of the field of battle, with all the cannon and baggage; he lost only Thomas son of John Fitzgerald his paternal uncle, and Sir Thomas Brown, with some foot soldiers.

The troops of Desmond having refreshed themselves after the victory, marched from Connillo to Atharlam.* The garrison of Kilmallock being apprised of this movement, sallied forth to dispute their passing. An engagement ensued, in which both sides fought with equal bravery and success; but after a terrible slaughter victory declared in favour of Desmond, and the remainder of the enemy withdrew into the town. This victory was followed by another at Gort Na-Pissi, where ten battalions of English were cut to pieces.

* Camden and other English authors after him, do differ from the Irish writers, respecting the above battles. The presumption of the Englishman makes him suppose that every thing belongs to him, and that he ought to be victorious though he be defeated. We here quote two authors who are equally worthy of belief, with the English. One is Philip O'Sullivan, whose father was one of the principal actors in this war, and who scaled the walls of Youghal, when it was taken by Desmond. The other is Daniel, or Dominick O'Daly, archbishop of Conimbed, whose father Cornelius O'Daly had for some time the command of the forces under the earl of Desmond. These authors may be considered as eye-witnesses of the facts that are given, they ought not to be suspected of partiality or inaccuracy in their accounts, more than Camden, who wrote on what he had never seen, according to the prejudices of his countrymen. The impartial reader will judge and decide.

Desmond after this made incursions upon Ormond, and carried off great booty; the Butlers then collected their forces, under the following chiefs: Edward and Peter Butler, brothers to the earl of Ormond, MacPieris Butler, baron of Dunboyne, and Purcel, baron of Luochne, and went in pursuit of Desmond as far as Knock Grafuin or Mount Grafuin, where a bloody battle was fought, which terminated in the total defeat of the Butlers.

The earl of Desmond, who had till now kept an appearance of peace with the queen, began to remove the mask; and to act with his brother John Desmond. He carried off considerable booty from the plains of Cashel, after putting the garrison of that city to flight, which was commanded by Robert, an Englishman. At the same time, Daniel O'Sullivan, prince of Beare, defeated a body of English near the monastery of Bantry.

Sir William Drury, deputy of Ireland, whom we left sick at Waterford, died in September—Malby's authority was now at an end in Munster; however, previous to his return to Connaught, he placed garrisons in the towns of Rakele and Adare, in the county of Limerick. The privy council appointed Sir William Pelham, lord justice *ad interim*. He was sworn into office in October, in Christ's church, Dublin, till the court should nominate a deputy. After this ceremony, the new lord justice conferred the honour of knighthood on Gerard the chancellor, and Edward Fitton. He also sent letters patent to the earl of Ormond, appointing him governor of Munster, and nominated Sir Warham St. Leger, high sheriff for the same province. The chancellor was despatched to England, to inform the queen of the state of affairs in Ireland; the seals being given, during his absence, to Adam Loftus, archbishop of Dublin.

All things being thus arranged, the lord justice proceeded on his route to Munster, attended by three bodies of troops, lately come from Berwick; were called "red coats," from the colour of their uniform. On his arrival at Kilkenny, he held assizes, at which he presided in person, and condemned Edmund MacNeill, and a few others, to death for high treason. He reconciled the earl of Ormond to the baron of Upper Ossory, obliging them to give bail for mutually repairing the damages which had been caused by their dissensions. He went to Cashel in October, where he was joined by the earl of Ormond, at the head of two hundred and thirty men. From that city he wrote a flattering letter to the earl of Desmond, to in-

duce him to repair thither under pretext of wishing to reconcile him to Malby, but the earl could not be prevailed upon to trust him. Pelham afterwards went to Limerick, where he was honourably received by Malby at the head of the army, and by the mayor and a thousand citizens under arms. From Limerick he proceeded to the village of Fannings, which was the rendezvous of the army. Here he was visited by the countess of Desmond, who brought him letters from her husband, with an apology for not obeying his orders. The lord justice was not satisfied with this, and sent Ormond to the earl of Desmond to know his final intentions, but on his returning an evasive answer, it was decreed, that he should be publicly proclaimed in the camp as a traitor, unless he submitted within twenty days; and the troops were ordered to lay waste his lands, at the expiration of that time. Viscount Gormanstown and the baron of Delvin signalized their zeal in the cause of Desmond on this occasion. These noblemen were Catholics, and though members of the council, and companions of the lord justice in his expedition, they generously refused to sign the sentence which was pronounced against Desmond, whereupon they were reprimanded by the council in England.

The earl of Desmond, finding himself condemned, marched towards Cork hoping to create thereby a diversion which might check the ravages that the enemy were committing in the territory of Connilo. Following the advice of his relative Fitzgerald, seneschal of Imokilly, he attacked Youghal, which he took and gave up to plunder. Dermot O'Sullivan, of the noble family of Beare, contributed greatly to the taking of this town, by his intrepidity in scaling the walls, at the head of a body of infantry which he commanded, notwithstanding the obstinate defence of the besieged.* He destroyed a body of troops under captain White, which had been sent by sea from Waterford, by the earl of Ormond, to relieve Youghal. By way of retaliation for the taking of this place, Ormond made an inroad into Connilo, where he was bravely opposed by the seneschal, and though he remained master of the field of battle, he sustained a heavy loss in killed. After pillaging and burning the whole country, and treating the inhabitants with cruelty, he marched towards Cork, plundering every place as he passed. He was, however, greatly harassed by John Fitzmaurice, the seneschal, who gained an important advantage over the red coats near Lismore.†

When Ormond arrived in Cork, finding the season far advanced, he ordered the troops into winter quarters. He then proceeded to Cashel, through Youghal, where, to appease the queen's anger for the taking of this town, he had the mayor hanged, under pretence of his not having defended it against Desmond. He gave orders to have the walls rebuilt, and left a garrison in it of three hundred men, under Captains Pierce and Morgan.

The earl of Desmond, who saw his forces diminishing, while those of the enemy were increasing every day by reinforcements sent from England, wrote letters to the principal noblemen in Leinster, whom he knew to be well disposed towards them, begging their aid in defence of their religion and country, against the common enemy. Whether these letters made any impression or not on the lords of Leinster, they took up arms the following year, in the cause which Desmond so nobly defended.

The lord justice, who had remained in Limerick, set out for Galway, attended by the earl of Thuomond, and renewed the privileges of that city.* From thence he proceeded to Athlone, and afterwards to Dublin, where he continued for some time. William Norris arrived at the same time from England, with one hundred and fifty horsemen. They were sent by the lord justice to garrison Newry, where Norris died on Christmas-day.

Towards the end of January, Pelham left Dublin for Wexford, where he presided at the assizes, held for civil and criminal cases. Thence he repaired to Waterford, where he was honourably received. The earl of Ormond joined him in that city, and having intelligence that a detachment of the enemy was marching towards Dungarvan and Youghal, they despatched Captain Zouch, with four hundred infantry and one hundred horse, to defend those towns.

After remaining three weeks at Waterford, Pelham went to Clonmel, where he was again joined by Ormond. He then proceeded to Limerick. The chancellor of the church in that city was arrested on suspicion of holding a correspondence with the earl of Desmond; and the bishop was confined to his palace for the same cause.

The lord justice and Ormond having removed to Rathkeale in March, to consult together on the operations of the campaign, they resolved in council to divide the army and act separately. Ormond marched his

* Hist. Cathol. Hib. *ibid.*

† Hist. Cathol. Hib. *ibid.*

* Cox, Hist. of Ireland, p. 362.

division towards Slevelagher, burning and destroying the country as he passed. Pelham took the rout towards Slevemish, near Tralee. Finding it impossible to proceed farther, he fell back to besiege the fortress of Carrikifoyl, which belonged to Desmond. The commander of a detachment of his army, when passing through the territory of Clanmorris, obliged Fitzmaurice, the lord of the country and baron of Lixnaw, to give him hostages as a pledge of his loyalty. This inhuman officer had the hostages hanged, violating thereby the rights of war.* His crime, however, met with a due chastisement; he was attacked at Ardfert by the troops of Fitzmaurice, and his men cut to pieces. Pelham, having reached Carrikifoyl, laid siege to the castle; the garrison of which consisted of nineteen Spaniards and fifty Irish, commanded by an Italian engineer called Julio. Having effected a breach, Captain Macworth entered at the head of a strong force, put part of the little garrison to the sword,† and caused the remainder, together with their chief, to be hanged. Askeaton and Ballyloghan, the last fortresses belonging to Desmond, shared the same fate.

The lord justice left four companies in garrison at Askeaton, and returned to Limerick in the beginning of April, 1580. After giving his troops some repose, he recommenced hostilities, devastating the lands of the Mac Auliffs, as far as Slevelagher: he then penetrated into the county of Kerry, towards Castlemaine, whence he carried off large herds of cattle, but the army, being badly paid, began to mutiny, which checked his further operations for a while.

Such was the state of affairs in Ireland, when pope Gregory XIII. addressed the following letter to the Irish clergy and people:—

“Gregory XIII. to all and every of the archbishops, bishops, prelates, princes, earls, barons, and all the inhabitants of Ireland, greeting, health, and apostolical benediction.

“Whereas we have exhorted you by our letters, during these last years, to recover your freedom, to defend and preserve it against the heretics; to aid also and support, with all your strength, James Geraldine, of happy memory, who had ardently undertaken to break the yoke of slavery, which the English, who have deserted the holy Roman church, have imposed upon you.

It was our will that you would speedily

and courageously have assisted the said James, who fought against the enemies of God and of your country. In order to support you in your zeal, we have granted to all who will repent and confess their sins, and who have followed the said James, the defender and protector of the Catholic faith, and his army, and to those who will join and assist, either by their counsel, arms, or warlike stores; a full and general pardon of all their sins, the same as the sovereign pontiffs have been accustomed to grant to those who were engaged in war against the Turks, or for the recovery of the holy land. Having learned with grief that the said James has (as it hath pleased the Lord,) lately fallen in fighting valiantly against the enemies of his country, and that our dear son John Geraldine, his cousin, has with equal piety and greatness of soul, by the assistance of God, in whose cause he is engaged, succeeded him in his command, and has already performed acts of heroism, for which the Catholic faith is deeply indebted to him; we therefore exhort you all in general, and each one in particular, with all the affection of our soul, and urge and require of you, in the Lord, to assist the said John, your leader against the heretics, with all your resources, as you have assisted James when living. Confiding in the mercies of the omnipotent God, and supported by the authority of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, we give and grant to all and each of you, who are engaged with and assist the said John and his army, a plenary indulgence and remission of your sins, by a due observance, on your part, of the conditions contained herein, viz., to confess your sins and receive worthily. The same privileges are granted to you, as have been granted to those who have fought against the Turks for the recovery of the Holy Land.

“Given at Rome at St. Peter's, under the Fisherman's ring, the 13th day of May, 1580, and in the eight year of our pontificate.”

Thus did Gregory XIII. endeavour to remedy the evils which had been inflicted on Ireland by Adrian IV., one of his predecessors. He wished, by separating that country from England, to repair the imprudence committed in bestowing it upon Henry II., under the specious pretext of establishing the faith in it, and reforming the morals of its people. Gregory's plan, however, was too weak, and the evil too deeply rooted. Desmond and his adherents were betrayed by some of their countrymen, and Elizabeth, having no impor-

* Wareus, *ibid.* cap. 22.

† Hist. Cathol. Hib. *ibid.*

tant wars to maintain against the neighbouring powers, turned all her thoughts to Ireland.

Some Catholic lords in Munster, who were suspected of holding a correspondence with the rebels, were summoned to appear before the lord justice at Limerick, and account for their conduct.* They all, with the exception of Lord Barry, submitted. Cormac, son of Teague Mac Carthy of Muskerry, having displayed particular zeal in the royal cause, had his share in the rewards; and soon after found an opportunity of signalizing himself. James Desmond,† the earl's youngest brother, either to chastise him for his perfidy or to revenge some private wrongs, made incursions on his lands at the head of one hundred and fifty men, and carried off considerable booty. Donnal the brother of Cormac, collected all the forces he could muster, and having pursued Desmond, they came to an engagement, which was fatal to the latter. After seeing all his men fall by his side, and being himself mortally wounded he had the misfortune to be made prisoner, and given up to Warham St. Leger, the high sheriff of the province, and Captain Rawleigh, who had him put to death in Cork for high treason. His head was cut off, and exposed on the gate of the city, to serve as a warning to others. In order to reward his services, Cormac Mac Teague was created a knight by the lord justice, and appointed high sheriff of the county of Cork.

The earl of Ormond, who commanded a body of troops at Adare, marched towards Buttevant, where the whole army suffered from an extraordinary malady, which they termed the "mild correction." It was a kind of violent head-ache, which lasted for two or three days, and deprived those who were attacked by it of their understanding; it was not, however, fatal to many.

After the contagion had ceased, Ormond divided his army into two parts;‡ one he led to Castle Island, in the county of Kerry, and sent the other to Tralee, the place of rendezvous. He then marched, with his army in three divisions, towards Dingle, plundering the country as he marched, and shedding the blood of the Catholics without mercy, so that not one would have escaped, had it not been for the protection granted to several by Sir William Winter, the English vice-admiral, who commanded a squadron in the port of Bantry, to prevent the

Spaniards from making a descent. From this time we may date the decline of the cause of Desmond. He had lost his cousin James Fitzmaurice, and his brother James Desmond, the country was laid waste, and provisions became so scarce, that many who were attached to his cause, were forced, for want of subsistence to abandon him.

The reformation in the Church of England was disturbed at this time by the arrival of a body of Dutch fanatics,* who called themselves *the family of love*. They preached in public their wild doctrine, "that none but those who belonged to their family would be saved," and maintained, that perjury before a magistrate who was not of their family was no crime. They had several volumes containing their dogmas translated into English, and published under the affected titles of, *Gospel of the kingdom*, *Domini-cal Sentences*, *Prophecy of the Spirit of Love*, and others of a similar import, all of which were burned by orders of the government, and the authors expelled the kingdom.

At this period the court appointed Arthur Grey, lord baron of Wilton, and knight of the order of the garter, deputy for Ireland; he landed at Dublin in August. Some noblemen of Leinster and Meath beheld with indignation the Catholic clergy persecuted; the holy sacrifice of the mass abolished; their churches profaned by the new ceremonies of the reformers, and dreading fresh innovations, united to defend their religion.† The chiefs of this confederacy were James Eustace, viscount of Baltinglass, Fiach Mac-Hugh, chief of the O'Byrnes of Wicklow, and captain Fitzgerald, who withdrew from the queen's service for the purpose of joining in it. The plot, however, having been discovered before it was ripe for execution, some of the leaders were arrested and put to death.

The new deputy having learned previous to his receiving the sword, that Baltinglass and Fiach MacHugh, with their confederates, were posted in the defiles of Gleandaloch, determined to dislodge them; for which purpose he collected all the English troops in Leinster, both foot and horse, and marched to Gleandaloch, where he found the Irish ready to receive him. The battle began in a wood which was lined with cavalry, under the command of lord Grey. The combat was long and obstinate, but victory having at length declared in favour of the Irish, a

* Cox, Hist. of Irel. page 365.

† Camd. reign of Elizabeth, part 2, ad an. 1580.

‡ Cox, Hist. of Ireland, page 365.

* Baker, Chron of Eng. on the reign of Elizabeth. Camd. Elizabeth, ad an. 1580.

† Hist. Cathol. Hib. ibid. cap. 14.

dreadful carnage was made of the English troops, and the deputy with his cavalry, was forced to fly. The English lost eight hundred soldiers, besides Sir Peter Carew, colonel Moor, and captains Audely and Cosby. This last commander was particularly cruel, as has been already observed. His greatest pleasure consisted in putting the inoffensive Catholics, and even their infants, to death before his door. This blood-thirsty tyrant, however, met with his reward at last.*

Pelham having regulated the affairs of Munster, where he left two thousand eight hundred and twenty foot soldiers, and three hundred and ninety-five horse, under the command of Sir George Bouchier, passed through Connaught, and confirmed Malby in the government of that province. He proceeded to Dublin in September, and gave up the sword of justice to the new deputy in the cathedral of St. Patrick.

According to some writers, James Fitzmaurice had brought to Ireland eight hundred Italians and Spaniards, and had fortified Smerwick as a garrison and arsenal for the rest of the Spaniards who were expected. It is also stated, that he left six hundred men in it, under the command of Sebastian de Saint Joseph; but Camden and Ware fix the arrival of these troops in Ireland, in 1580. However, this may be, the new deputy, in order to clear his reputation, which was sullied by his defeat at Gleandaloch, determined to besiege Smerwick, and drive away these foreigners. The earl of Ormond had already failed in the same plan. Having marched from Tralee to lay siege to this fortress, a sally of the besieged prevented his continuing it, and he was obliged to join the deputy, who had already arrived at Rathkeal.

Every thing being prepared, the deputy, accompanied by the earl of Ormond, captains Zouch, Rawleigh, Denny, Mackworth, and others, marched towards Smerwick at the head of eight hundred, or according to others, of fifteen hundred men, to besiege that fortress, while Sir William Winter blockaded it with his squadron by sea.† The siege lasted for forty days, the place being well provided, and obstinately defended; so that the deputy finding the winter draw near, and knowing the inconvenience of being encamped in bad weather, was resolved to accomplish by treachery, what he could not effect by force. For this end he displayed a flag of truce, and demanded a parley. An Irish nobleman named Plunket, belonging to the garrison, was very zealous in the cause

of the Catholics, and strongly averse to any truce with the reformers, alleging that they possessed neither probity nor honour, and could not therefore be relied upon. Sebastian, the governor, was opposed to Plunket's advice. He was desirous of capitulating, and went forth from the castle attended by Plunket, who was to act as interpreter. The deputy received him with politeness, and proposed to them to capitulate, and that he would allow the garrison to march out with all the honours of war. Plunket used every effort to prevent the treaty from being concluded, by giving false versions of the proposals of both parties. It appeared, however, by his countenance and mode of speaking, that Plunket was not a true interpreter, upon which they had him arrested. They then entered into a treaty; an Englishman, who was acquainted with the Spanish language, being the interpreter. Sebastian returned joyfully to the fortress, saying that he was surrendering the place to the English upon honourable terms, and that seeing matters so desperate, he thought it prudent to save the garrison. The captain of the Cantabrians, and Hercule de Pise, inveighed loudly against the treaty, saying, that so far from fearing for the place, they would be able, if necessary, to oppose the enemy in the field; but the soldiers, who preferred life to glory, declared for the governor, and lost both. Though they surrendered on conditions which were sworn to by the deputy, they were immediately ordered to lay down their arms, and were cruelly slaughtered by the barbarous English. The governor alone escaped, but was banished from the kingdom. Plunket was reserved for a worse fate—his arms and thighs being dislocated with hammers. It is from this event that *fides Greia*, or the faith of Grey, became a proverb in the country, whenever mention were made of any signal act of treachery being committed. The fortress of Smerwick being evacuated, a strong garrison and governor were placed in it by the deputy. The government of Munster was then consigned to the earl of Ormond. Four hundred and fifty men were left under captain Zouch, whom the deputy appointed commander of Kerry and Desmond. He placed troops in the other cities, towns, and villages of the province, and gave orders to the principal officers to destroy with fire and sword, every place that continued faithful to the earl, and to bring the war to a speedy termination. He then returned to Dublin.

The deputy received intelligence in Dublin, that the earl of Desmond had passed into

* Hist. Cathol. Ibern. ibid. cap. 6.

† Hist. Cathol. ibid. c. 15. Relat. Gerald. c. 13.

Connaught with two hundred men, to join the earl of Clanriccard's two sons who had taken up arms; that viscount Baltinglass, with the O'Byrnes, O'Morras, Cavenaghs, and Keatings, were collecting a great force, and that Munster, Connaught, and a part of Leinster, were under arms. He was greatly alarmed at the news, but the arrival of a hundred and fifty horsemen, and six companies of infantry from England, gave him fresh confidence. With this reinforcement, and his other troops, he scoured the territories of O'Faly, Fearcall, Kinalyagh, and Ely. He condemned O'Molloy, lord of Fearcall, to death as a rebel; the O'Connors Faly, MacGeoghegans of Kinalyagh, and O'Carrolls of Ely, he appeased, and thus crushed the conspiracy in its cradle.* The earl of Kildare, and his son-in-law, the baron of Delvin, who were suspected of holding correspondence with Baltinglass and the other Catholics, were arrested and given in custody to Wingfield, master of the ordnance. At the same time, the earl's friends persuaded his son, Henry Fitzgerald, to withdraw for a while to the country of Offaly, from which he derived the title of baron. He there fell into the power of the O'Connors, who, for his own safety, detained him against his will till the fate of his father should be known. The deputy sent the earl of Ormond to demand him. The O'Connors at first refused to give him up, but fearing that by detaining the young nobleman, they might injure the father, they sent him to Ormond, who brought him to Dublin. He was then, together with his father the earl, and the baron of Delvin, sent to England, where all three were committed to the tower.

A report was spread at this time of a conspiracy to surprise and seize the deputy in the castle of Dublin. Though this was never clearly proved, the persons suspected were capitally punished; John Nugent, one of the barons of the exchequer, and several others being put to death.

Captain Rawleigh repaired to Dublin to complain of the Barrys and Condons in the county of Cork, and obtained a warrant to seize on Barryscourt, and other estates belonging to Barry, lord of that castle. Rawleigh received a fresh reinforcement, and set out from Dublin, to execute his commission. Barry being apprized of Rawleigh's design, set fire to his castle, and the seneschal of Imokilly lay in ambush to intercept his march, so that Rawleigh was obliged to effect his escape to Cork, sword in hand. Viscount

Baltinglass who had taken up arms in the cause of religion, against the queen, wishing to detach his neighbour the earl of Ormond, from the interests of Elizabeth, wrote him a strong and interesting letter upon the subject. Amongst other things, he said, that if holy Thomas of Canterbury had not died for the Roman church, he never would have been earl of Ormond.* Cambden adds, that this nobleman was descended from a sister of Thomas a Becket, and that to expiate the murder of the holy prelate, Henry II. had bestowed large estates in the district of Ormond, on the ancestors of the earl.

The deputy having gone to visit Munster, gave the government of the English province during his absence, to Loftus, archbishop of Dublin, and to the earl of Kildare.† These governors having met at Tara in July, 1581, the earl set out, by orders of the council, at the head of two hundred horse, and seven hundred foot, to propose terms to viscount Baltinglass; but having failed in this he withdrew. The enemy taking advantage of his retreat, burned the town of Newcastle, in the county of Wicklow. In the mean time, the deputy on his way through Munster, appointed captain Zouch governor of that province, and returned to Dublin through Connaught.

Nicholas Nugent chief justice of the common pleas, having given some displeasure to the queen, was removed, and Sir Robert Dillon appointed in his stead. It was decreed at this time that the cavalry should be placed in garrison, to prevent their being a burden to the public, and the prices of forage were regulated.

Zouch, governor of Munster, was in garrison at Dingle, where several of his men died of sickness. Having learned that the earl of Desmond and David Barry were collecting their forces near Achadoe, in the county of Kerry, he marched with his army towards Castlemaine, and surprised the earl, who was obliged to withdraw to a wood called Harlow wood. At the same time, Fitzgerald, commonly called the seneschal of Imokilly, made incursions in the neighbourhood of Lismore, and being attacked by a detachment from that garrison, he killed twenty-five of them, and put the rest to flight. Whilst Zouch was at head quarters in Cork, an occurrence took place, disastrous both to religion, and to the earl of Desmond, who defended it so gloriously. David Barry, and

* Cambd. reign of Elizab. part 3, ad an. 1583. Baker, Chron. of England, page 361. Cox, Hist. of Ireland, page 367.

† Ware, de Annal. ibid. cap. 23.

* War. ibid. Camd. Elizab. part 2, ad an. 1580.

Fitzgerald, seneschal of Imokilly, though in arms for the common cause, had a dispute which broke out into an open rupture at this time, and destroyed the harmony and union which ought to subsist between the supporters of the same cause.

Barry and Fitzgerald were encamped near mount Dromphinin, on the right bank of the Blackwater, which falls into the sea at Youghal. Desmond and his brother John, who were posted on the opposite bank, were particularly interested for the reconciliation of these noblemen who were to share in the perils of the war: and John Desmond having undertaken to bring it about, repaired to the camp for that purpose. Zouch and Dowdal having learned, through a spy, that John Desmond was to cross the river the day following, on his way to the camp at Dromphinin, set out, during the night, from Cork, with a strong force. They arrived at break of day at Castlelyons, and posted themselves near a wood through which Desmond had to pass. This nobleman, not suspecting that an enemy was so near, had the misfortune to fall into their hands, with James, son of John Fitzgerald, lord of Stonacally, who accompanied him. Having refused to surrender, they were surrounded and taken by the enemy, and brought to Cork, but Desmond, who was mortally wounded, died on the way. His head was cut off and sent to Dublin, where it was fastened to a pole and put upon the top of the castle; and his body tied to a gibbet on the gates of Cork, where it remained for three or four years; till it was at length carried into the sea by the wind. James Fitzgerald was put to death.

After this expedition, Zouch surprised the camp of David Barry, and dispersed his troops, avenging thereby the garrison of Bantry, which was put to the sword some time before by Barry and MacSweeney. Tranquillity being restored to Munster, the troops in this province was reduced to four hundred foot, and fifty horse. They were, however, soon obliged to increase them.* Fitzmaurice, baron of Lixnaw, with his sons, took up arms again to revenge some injuries he had received from the government: and made himself master of Ardfert, putting the garrison, under captain Achin, to the sword. He also took the castle of Lisconnell, and forced the troops who defended it to leap over the walls, and afterwards devastated the districts of Ormond, Tipperary, and Waterford, without meeting any opposition.

Zouch, governor of Munster, having re-

ceived a reinforcement of two hundred men, under Sir Henry Walloppe and captain Norris, marched towards Kerry, to check the progress of the baron of Lixnaw, A.D. 1582.* He retook Ardfert, Lisconnell, and other places which were abandoned by the baron, and having defeated a body of the enemy near Lisconnell, he proceeded to Limerick, from whence he despatched captain Dowdal in pursuit of that nobleman. On coming to an engagement, the latter having lost a hundred and forty men upon the spot, was forced to retreat. Dowdal re-victualled his garrisons with the booty he took, and placing a strong fence in Ardfert, returned to Cork.

Notwithstanding his misfortunes, Desmond again appeared near Athdare, at the head of a few troops, and attacked the garrison of that town, in a sally which they made. He killed several of their men, with two of their officers, and obliged the rest to take refuge within the fortress.

Thomas Butler, lord of Cahir, was at this time created a peer of the realm, with the title of lord baron of Cahir†. He was descended from James, fourth earl of Ormond, and his second wife Catherine, daughter of Garret Fitzgerald, earl of Desmond. Lord Arthur Grey, deputy of Ireland, was recalled to England in August; Adam Loftus, archbishop of Dublin, and chancellor of Ireland, and Sir Henry Walloppe, treasurer of war, being sworn in lords justices in his stead. About this time doctor Sanders, or Sanderus, a native of England, and apostolical legate in Ireland, died. He led an exemplary life, and was particularly zealous in the Catholic cause.‡ He is styled a traitor and arch-rebel, by Protestant writers. This holy man, broken down by fatigue, and disappointment at seeing impiety triumphant, died of a dysentery in a wood, where he lay destitute of all relief. He received the sacraments from Cornelius, bishop of Killaloe, who continued with him to his last moments.

The earl of Ormond landed at Waterford in January, with a reinforcement of four hundred Englishmen, who were placed under the command of captains Bouchier, Stanley, Barkly, and Roberts. This nobleman was also intrusted with the government of Munster, by a commission from the queen. He obtained an increase to the soldiers' pay, of two pence a day, by which he gained the love and confidence of the army. His first expedition was against the earl of Desmond. Not satisfied with having renounced the re-

* War. *ibid.* cap. 24. Cox, *ibid.* page 371.

† Nichol's Rudiments of Honor.

‡ Hist. Cathol. *ibid.* cap. 16.

* Hist. Cathol. *ibid.*

ligion of his ancestors, he also wished to destroy him by whom it was supported; apostacy which was but too faithfully imitated by his descendants. Having received intelligence that that earl, and a few of his followers, were in Harlow wood, he surprised and cut off several of them, dispersing the rest, and forcing them to abandon their chief.

We have now come to the last year of the life of Desmond, A.D. 1583. Finding himself unassisted by the Spaniards, and deserted by his adherents, he became a fugitive through the country. On arriving in the county of Kerry, with a few followers, he took refuge in a small house in the middle of a wood, called Gleam-a-Ginkie, four miles from Tralee, where he was subsisted by plunder, and whatever Goron or Goffred Mac-Sweeny, who was faithfully attached to him, could procure by hunting.* Being surprised at length by his enemies, his head was cut off, and sent to Cork, whence it was brought soon after to England, fastened on a pole, and thus exposed to public view on the badge of London. Such was the end of the illustrious house of the Fitzgeralds of Desmond: the Maccabees of our day, who sacrificed their lives and properties in defence of the Catholic cause. Their tragical fate was brought about by the treachery and wickedness of their countrymen. James Fitzmaurice was the victim of the Burkes of Castleconnel; James Desmond was betrayed by the lords of Muskerry; John Desmond fell into the snares of the reformers; and Ormond had the honor of ending the scene by the death of this chieftain, the fifteenth earl of his family.† His extensive estates, whose revenue exceeded, at that time, four hundred thousand crowns, having been surveyed by Sir Valentine Brown, viscount Kenmare's ancestor, who was sent to Ireland for the purpose, were divided among the English who supported the war against him, and particularly the earl of Ormond, who had a large share in the spoils.

The Catholic lords who were engaged in the same cause with Desmond, seeing the unhappy state of affairs, thought of providing for their safety. James Fitzmaurice, viscount Baltinglass, chief of the Catholics in Leinster, withdrew to Spain, where he died soon afterwards. Some were won over by the queen's promises, and others submitted till a more favourable opportunity might arise.

Tranquillity being in a manner restored to Ireland, government turned their thoughts

towards the business of the state. Sir Nicholas Bagnal, Sir Lucas Dillon, and James Dowdal, were sent to Ulster, with a commission to settle the affairs of that province with the baron of Dungannon, and the deputies of Turlogh Lynogh and O'Donnel.

CHAPTER XLIII.

PERSECUTION, which had somewhat abated during the war, began anew with increased severity, after the death of the earl of Desmond, and the other defenders of the Catholic cause. It was enough to be an Irishman to be persecuted, and a Catholic to be crucified. Their neighbours, the English Catholics,* were not exempt from the persecution. In order to form a rampart against heresy, establishments were founded in the Catholic countries, for the education of youth, whose parents had not renounced the religion of their ancestors. These were called seminaries. William Alan, educated at Oxford, and a learned man, founded one at Douay in 1568, which was made a college. This house was protected by the pope, who increased its revenue by an annual pension. The duke de Guise founded a similar establishment at Rheims, and Gregory XIII. instituted one in Rome for the same purpose.

The Catholics of Ireland were as zealous in the preservation of their faith as those of England. Protected by Philip II., king of Spain, they founded in the Catholic countries, seminaries for the education of their youth, in order to save themselves, and others, from the contagion of heresy. The college of Douay, in Flanders, was the first of these establishments. It was founded in 1596, by the efforts of Christopher Cusack, a priest of the county of Meath, who applied his own patrimony and the contributions of his friends, to this pious undertaking.† He assisted also in founding similar houses at Lille, Antwerp, Tournay, and St. Omer; and was president general of all. St. Omer is the only one that does not exist at present.

France generously afforded an asylum to these voluntary exiles,‡ and gave them a house on the hill of St. Genevieve. They were kindly received by the people of Paris, who in this imitated their illustrious fellow-citizen, John Lescapier, baron de St. Just,

* Cambd. *ibid.* ad an 1580, p. 315, et seq.

† Harris, *hist. of Irel.* vol. 2, p. 252, et seq.

‡ Messingham *Florileg. Insule.* 55, *Epistol. dedicat.*

* *Relat. Gerald.* cap. 24. *Hist. Cathol.* cap. 15. *War. ibid.* cap. 28.

† *Relat. Gerald.* *ibid.*

and president of the parliament. This virtuous nobleman and true Christian, was deeply affected for the state of religion in Ireland; and much interested for the fate of the Irish priests who were banished from their country on account of their religion. These were looked upon as martyrs for Christ, and labourers destined to cultivate his doctrine. They were brought by this illustrious Frenchman from an obscure dwelling, and settled in a more commodious place, while he was providing a regular seminary, and funds necessary for its support. Retirement was a favourite virtue of this pious and good man. Every day that could be spared from public business, he passed with the Irish exiles. Devotion to God and his saints, the conversion of heretics, the propagation of the faith, and salvation of souls, were always favourite subjects of conversation between him and these noviciates. He was frequently with them in the refectory, where his humility was such, that, forgetful of his rank as first magistrate of France, and as a proof of his respect for the exiled clergymen, he always chose the last place at table. According as they had completed their studies, and were prepared to return to their country, their illustrious patron, in order to prove their capability, had them examined by *Perè Binet*, a learned jesuit of the time; he then himself presented them to cardinal *Retz*, bishop of Paris, to receive their mission from him; after which they were furnished with clothes and every thing necessary for the voyage, at his expense. This was the beginning of the establishment of the Irish house in Paris.

The college of the Lombards being deserted by the Italians, the trustees conferred it upon the Irish students in Paris, by an act dated 9th July, 1676, which was confirmed and ratified by letters patent in August 1677, and registered in the parliament of February 1680. This college, which was in a state of ruin, was rebuilt by the united care of two Irish ecclesiastics, *Maginn* and *O'Kelly*; the former abbot of *Tulles*, the latter, prior of *St. Nicholas de Chapouin*. In memory of this service they are acknowledged by the agents of the college, as its restorers. These two benefactors were authorized to rebuild it, and obtained, for that purpose, letters patent, dated March 1681, and registered the 19th August of the same year.

Seminaries were also established in *Bordeaux*, *Toulouse*, and *Nantes*, for the Irish;* the two former, under the patronage of *Queen Anne of Austria*. The seminary of *Bour-*

deaux was first founded in 1603, by *Francis de Sourdis*, cardinal and archbishop of that city. *Louis XIV.*, granted an annual pension to this house, and to that of *Toulouse*, at the solicitation of the queen his mother.

Other nations were equally zealous to contribute their support to the religion in Ireland. Cardinal *Ludovisius* founded a college for Irish students in *Rome*, in 1628, and endowed it with a yearly income of six hundred Roman crowns; and in order to enable the establishment to support a greater number of students, he bequeathed to it a vineyard fifteen miles from *Rome*, and an annual pension of one thousand crowns.

Baron *George Sylveria* founded, at *Alcala de Henares*, a college for Irish priests, towards the close of the sixteenth century. This nobleman was a native of Portugal, but an Irishman at heart; his mother was a *Mac-Donnel*, and of Irish parents. He endowed this establishment with two thousand pounds sterling a year, and one thousand pounds for the support of the chapel, which was dedicated to *St. George the martyr*.

At *Seville* there are two colleges: one a royal establishment for the Irish, and dedicated to the immaculate conception of the blessed Virgin. *Sarapater*, a canon of *Seville*, was one of its benefactors. The second, called *St. Gregory's college*, being dedicated to *Pope Gregory the great*, who sent *Augustin* as apostle to England, was founded for the English, who have since abandoned it. It belongs at present to the Irish.

In 1582, there was a college founded at *Salamanca* for Irish priests, by the states of the kingdoms of *Castille* and *Leon*. Its revenues having decreased, *Philip III.*, took it under his protection in 1610, and restored it.

The Irish priests have a seminary in *Lisbon*, founded in 1595, by *Ximenes*, who was interred there. Mass is offered every week, for the repose of his soul. Cardinal *Henriques* founded about the same time, a college for Irish priests at *Evora*, dedicated to *St. Bridget*. It afterwards fell into the hands of the jesuits.

These seminaries were filled with learned ecclesiastics, who, after they had completed their studies, returned to their own country to console the faithful, and administer to them spiritual assistance, in which they were seconded by the truly apostolical zeal of the jesuits. These establishments did not fail to attract the attention of the English court; they were considered as very dangerous to the government, and opposed to the reformation of the church. In order to remedy this, an edict was published, commanding all who had

* Harris *ibid*.

children, wards, or relations in foreign countries, to send, within ten days, their names to the judge of the district, to recal them within four months, and present them immediately on their return, to the said judge. By the same edict, it was prohibited to send them money; and every one was strictly forbidden to receive these seminarians or jesuits into his house, or to support, nourish, or relieve them in any manner, under pain of being considered rebels, and punished according to the laws. In consequence of this proclamation, several priests, jesuits, and monks, suffered martyrdom with Christian fortitude, amongst whom were the two celebrated jesuits, Personius and Campianus.

Dermod O'Hurly, archbishop of Cashel, was the first martyr this year in Ireland.* He studied at Louvain and in Paris with celebrity; and was the professor of law in the former of these universities; he went afterwards to Rome, where he was kindly received by Gregory XIII., who appointed him archbishop of Cashel. Full of zeal for the salvation of his brethren, he set out, after his consecration, for Ireland, where he found all things in a state of anarchy. The see of Cashel was held by Miler Magrath, an apostate monk of St. Francis;† the altars were overthrown, the Catholic clergy, left without an asylum, and were forced to assume women's apparel. All, however, did not diminish the zeal of the new bishop of Cashel. He taught in the Catholic houses, and confirmed the faithful in their religion, making no distinction of province or diocese.‡ Being with Thomas, lord baron of Slane, in the county of Meath, he was recognised by the chief justice of the King's Bench, who sent intelligence of his discovery to Adam Loftus, the chancellor, and Henry Loftus, the treasurer, who were at the head of the government.§ They immediately gave orders to the baron to send them the prelate in chains. He had, however, escaped, but the baron, dreading the rigour of the laws enacted against those who harboured priests, pursued him as far as Carrick-on-Suir, where he was arrested in September at the earl of Ormond's, and brought a prisoner to Dublin. He was loaded with chains and confined in a dungeon till Holy Thursday of the following year, when he was brought before the chancellor and treasurer. They tried every means to make him renounce the pope's authority and acknowledge that of

the queen, who would appoint him to the see of Cashel; but the holy prelate's perseverance in the ancient religion, and firm adherence to the authority of the vicar of Jesus Christ, caused the most cruel tortures to be inflicted upon him. He was hanged on the seventh of June, without the city, before daybreak, in order to avoid any tumult which so inhuman a spectacle might produce among the people.

About the same period we discover two celebrated martyrs, Gelasius O'Culennan, abbot of the monastery of Boyle, of the order of St. Bernard, in the county of Roscommon, and Owen O'Melkeren, a priest. These ministers of Christ, after long and cruel sufferings, were hung in Dublin, on the 1st of November, for that cause which the archbishop of Cashel had supported to his death. In order to avoid a tedious digression, we must here refrain from giving a circumstantial account of all those who suffered martyrdom in Ireland, from the commencement of the Reformation. In the course, however, of this history, we will meet many, both in this and the succeeding reigns, although certain English writers affirm with their usual effrontery, that Elizabeth never interfered with the religion of her subjects.*

Sir John Perrot was sent deputy to Ireland, in June, 1584. His commission, which he was to retain according to the queen's pleasure, authorized him to make peace or war; to punish or pardon any crime, except that of high treason against her majesty and that of forgery; to issue proclamations, impose fines, dispose of the estates of the rebels, exercise martial law, and convene parliaments with the queen's consent. He had the appointment of all officers, except the chancellor, treasurer, the three principal judges, and the master of the rolls. He had also the right of conferring livings, except archbishoprics and bishoprics; and, in fine, he possessed power over everything relative to government, and the administration of justice.†

In order to become acquainted with the affairs of Ireland, the deputy spent eighteen days in consultation with the privy council, which was composed of the archbishop of Dublin, the chancellor, the earl of Ormond, treasurer, the bishops of Armagh, Meath, and Kilmore, Sir John Norris, president of Munster, Sir Henry Wallop, treasurer of war, Sir Nicholas Bagnal, knight marshal,

* Hist. Cathol. ibid. cap. 19.

† War. de Arch. Casseliens.

‡ Hist. Cathol. ibid.

§ Analecta sacra, part 3. page 48 et seq.

* Baker, Chron. p. 359.

† War. ibid. cap. 26.

Robert Gardiner, chief justice, Robert Dillon, chief justice of the Common Pleas, Lucas Dillon, chief baron, Nicholas White, master of the rolls, Richard Bingham, chief commissioner of Connaught, and Sirs Henry Cowley, Edward Waterhouse, Thomas LeStrange, Edward Brabazon, Geoffrey Fenton, secretary of state, Warham St. Leger, and Valentine Brown. The deputy, having made himself fully acquainted with the state of Ireland, laid down his plan of government, and sent over James Fitzgerald, son of the earl of Desmond, to England. The countess, his mother, had given him as a hostage to Drury, the deputy, who confined him in the castle of Dublin.

Perrot set out from Dublin in July, to visit the provinces of Connaught and Munster. On his arrival in Galway, he endeavoured to reconcile the lords of that province, and settle their disputes. Thence he proceeded to Limerick, where he learned that the Scotch allies of Surley Boy MacDonnel, amounting to a thousand men, had made a descent on Ulster. He also discovered a rebellion to be hatching in Munster by O'Neill, and obliged those whom he suspected most to give hostages. He confided the government of the county of Cork to Judges Walsh, and Miagh, the sheriff, Sir William Stanley, and the lords Barry and Roche. He placed the provost marshal over Limerick, and appointed the earl of Clancarty, Sir Owen O'Sullivan, and O'Sullivan More, to the government of Desmond. He left Kerry to the care of the sheriff, lord Lixnaw, and the president of the province, and returned to Dublin in August.

The deputy was now preparing for an expedition into Ulster. Having collected a thousand infantry, and some light troops, with the militia of the province, he marched to Newry, in the county of Down, attended by a great number of officers and noblemen. He confirmed the truce which had been previously agreed upon, between the government and Turlogh Lynogh, Magennis, MacMahon, Turlogh Brasilogh, and other Irish lords of that province, from whom he received hostages. The deputy having learned that the Scotch islanders were at Lough Foyle, in the northern extremity of the province, sent a fleet to disperse them; but the Scotch, being informed of his intentions, set sail, and gained their own coasts in spite of the English admiral. The deputy, accompanied by Ormond and other nobles, proceeded on the right bank of the river Bann, where he laid waste the lands of Brian Carrows, and forced him and Surleboy to re-

tire with their troops to Glancomkeane, during which time general Norris and the baron of Dungannon plundered without mercy, the estates of Ocahane, and carried off a booty of two hundred oxen. About one hundred, however, of his army were cut to pieces by Brian Carrow's men, and subsequently about the same number, who had been sent to succour the first body. Norris himself was wounded, and Oliver Lambert made prisoner on the lands of Ocahane.

The time passed in mutual skirmishes between the Ulstermen and the English; victory being sometimes in favour of one party, sometimes of the other. Meriman, an English captain, made great booty: while Norris surrounded the wood of Glancomkeane, plundering at the same time, the estates of Brian Carrows. The deputy marched northwards to besiege Dunluce, and sent his artillery by sea, for that purpose, to Portrush, an island near the coast: whence it was brought to the camp before Dunluce. It may be easily inferred, that a place not provided with cannon, could make but a feeble resistance. Donfert soon afterwards shared the same fate, which obliged Surleboy to surrender and give hostages.

The deputy having left two hundred infantry and fifty cavalry in garrison at Coleraine, returned to Newry about the end of September. Turlogh Lynogh gave him up the son of Shane O'Neill, as a prisoner. Conn, son of Neil Ogue, or the young, lord of Clanneboy, was forced, by orders of the deputy, to surrender half of his estates. The government of Ulster was divided between Turlogh Lynogh, baron of Dungannon, and Sir Henry Bagnal, after which the deputy returned to Dublin in the month of October.

In April the parliament was convened in Dublin. The deputy was desirous to introduce the English dress among the Irish nobles. To this they were opposed, as they deemed a conformity in apparel as a mark of their subjection. To induce them to comply, the deputy presented English costumes to Turlogh Lynogh, and other Irish noblemen. One among them jocosely observed to the deputy, "you will then give my chaplain permission to walk the streets with me in petticoats, and the rabble will laugh at him as well as at me;" to which the deputy gravely replied, that order and decency required that conformity in dress.

Eastern Brefny was divided into a barony, it has since been called the county of Cavan.* The parliament which assembled in Dublin

* Ware, *ibid.* cap. 27.

had amongst those who composed it, four archbishops, and twenty bishops, Protestants of course. The other members were, the earls of Ormond, Kildare, Tyrone, Thumond, Clanriccard, and Glencar; the viscounts Buttevant, Gormanstown, Fermoy, and Mountgarret; the barons Athenry, Kinsale, Slane, Delvin, Killeen, Howth, Trimleston, Dunsany, upper Ossory, Louth, Curraghmore, Inchiquin, Castleconnel, and Cahir. The lower house was but thinly attended, as not more than twenty-six towns had returned their representatives. Several laws were enacted, amongst which was the Baltinglass act, by which James Eustace, viscount Baltinglass, and his brothers Edmond, Thomas, Walter, and Richard, were accused and convicted of high treason. Their properties were consequently confiscated.* An act was also passed to enable Laurence de la Hide of Moyglare, in the county of Meath, to succeed to the estates of his grandfather, Sir Walter de la Hide, which were confiscated in the reign of Henry VIII. After this the parliament was prorogued to the 29th of May.

Previous to the meeting of this parliament, it was discovered, by an investigation held in Cork, that several lordships belonging to the crown were usurped by different individuals:† thus, the estate of Cloghroe, was taken possession of by one Lombard, constable of the castle of Dublin; and Callen, or Glynn, between Cork and Kinsale, was usurped by Richard Roach of Kinsale. It appeared also that the lordship of Kinelmeaky, which Barry Ogue then farmed, formerly belonged to the crown, and paid rent to the exchequer, and that O'Mahown Carbry had seized on it in the middle of the fifteenth century, under the protection of MacCarty Riagh, to whom he surrendered half, and that Canogher O'Mahony was in possession of it when he lost his life in the rebellion of Desmond.

The great severity which was practised in Connaught by Sir Richard Bingham, the governor, gave great displeasure to the nobles of that province.‡ Many of the Catholic clergy and laity were put to death: O'Connor Roe, aged eighty years was hanged, notwithstanding the nobility of his birth; several of the O'Connors, Burkes, O'Kellys, and other noblemen, shared the same fate. This mode of acting was called by the English, "*good government*." The tyranny of the governor prevented many of high rank

from attending the assizes, held by him in Sept., at Doneymoney, in the county of Mayo. Among this number were two of the Burkes, who withdrew with their families, to a castle situate in an island in lake Mask. With the design of surprising them, Bingham crossed the lake in boats, with a troop of armed men, they were, however, vigorously repulsed by the Burkes, who forced them to retreat precipitately to their boats; and so great was the confusion that Bingham threw himself into the water, and escaped with difficulty. His treatment of Feargus O'Kelly was equally cruel. To avoid his persecution, this nobleman was forced to seek an asylum in the woods, with his followers, from whence he made frequent incursions upon the reformers. The treacherous governor deceiving him with false promises, received him into favour. O'Kelly was not, however, permitted to enjoy peace long. Bingham sent a force to besiege him in his house on Christmas-day, while he was at supper. O'Kelly being alarmed, got his family safe through a subterranean passage, that led to a considerable distance from the house; he then asked to speak with the commander through a window, where, after reproaching him for his perfidy, he shot him, and a soldier who stood by him. After this the enemy set fire to his house, but O'Kelly had the good fortune to escape through the passage also.

The persecution was equally severe in the other provinces. Norris, president of Munster, did not yield to the governor of Connaught in cruelty.* The Catholics were hunted in all directions. It may be observed, that whatever might have been Elizabeth's hatred towards them, she was ably seconded by her ministers in Ireland, who laid their snares to make the most innocent appear guilty. The two MacSweeneys, Gelasius and Bernard Fitzgerald, of the house of Desmond, and Donald Macraha, all noblemen of Munster, were inhumanly put to death. Daniel MacCarty, son of the prince Muskerry, Dermot O'Sullivan, of the house of Beare, and many other nobles, were obliged to be continually under arms, to defend themselves against those sanguinary men, or to wander in the mountains and woods, to escape their pursuit.

The parliament which had been convened the preceding year, met again in April, 1586, and was dissolved in the month of May following, after having passed several acts.† Those mentioned in the eighth and ninth chapters of this sitting are most interesting.

* Irish Stat. 27th of Elizab. reg. p. 373, et seq.

† Cox, Hist. of Ireland, page 382, 383.

‡ Hist. Cathol. ibid. cap. 21.

* Hist. Cathol. ibid. c. 22.

† Book of Irish Statutes, p. 403, et seq.

The first gives an account of the suits against the late earl of Desmond and his adherents, in the war he had carried on against Elizabeth, with the confiscation of their estates, and contains the names of many nobles and gentlemen who had lost large possessions for their attachment to the Catholic faith. In them is to be found a list of about one hundred and forty proprietors stripped of their possessions in Munster alone; a thing unprecedented in the history of Europe, if we regard the extent of the province, but still inconsiderable when compared to the numerous confiscations under James I., the tyrant Cromwell, and the prince of Orange, throughout the several provinces of the kingdom, on account of their faith. It is this, perhaps, that has merited for the Irish the character of "*gens flecti nescia*;" a nation that will not bend, which indeed, is their true characteristic with respect to religion. The ninth chapter of the above statutes contains the act of confiscation against John Browne of Knockmonhie, and of several of the nobility, for the same cause.

Numbers of Englishmen, invested with commissions either in the armies or magistracy, came at this time to glut their avarice, and seek their fortunes in Ireland. Without mentioning any other, the estates of the earl of Desmond were equal to satisfy many of these adventurers. These estates lay in the counties of Limerick, Cork, Kerry, Waterford, Tipperary, and Dublin, and the yearly income from them amounted to upwards of seven thousand pounds—an immense sum at that time. The queen wishing to colonize Munster with Englishmen, ordered a certain number of acres in the following counties to be distributed among them. Sir Christopher Hatton received estates in the county of Waterford; Sir Walter Raleigh, in the counties of Cork and Waterford; Sir Edw. Denny, Sir William Harbart, Charles Harbart, John Holly, captain Jenkin Conwey, and John Campion, in the county Kerry. Estates were likewise given in the county of Cork to Sir Warham St. Leger, Hugh Cuffe, Sir Thomas Norris, Arthur Robins, Arthur Hyde, Edmond Spencer, Fane Beecher, Hugh Worth, and Thomas Say; in the counties of Cork and Waterford, to Richard Bacon; in the county of Limerick to Sir William Courtney, Francis Barkley, Robert Anslow, Richard and Alexander Fitton, and Edmond Manwaring; Sir Edward Fitton received estates in the counties of Limerick, Waterford, and Tipperary; William Trenchard, George Thorton, Sir George Bourcher, and Henry Bollingsly in the county of Limerick. Lastly,

Thomas Duff Butler, earl of Ormond, had a considerable portion of Desmond's estates in the county Tipperary, bestowed on him; a recompense but too well merited for his services against, and his cruel persecution of that nobleman.

The estates of Desmond being thus disposed of, circulars were sent into the counties of England to invite the younger sons of families to come and take possession of other estates that were confiscated. One of the conditions was, that they should hold them in fief, at three pence per acre, in the counties of Limerick, Connillo, and Kerry, and at two pence in those of Cork and Waterford, and that no Irishman should be suffered to reside on them.

The tyranny of Bingham, governor of Connaught, forced the Burkes to act again on the defensive. For this purpose the Clan-Donnells, the Joices, and other tribes of the province, were gained over to their party, and the castle of lake Mask, generally called the castle of Necally, or of Thomas Roe, was fortified. Bingham was at the time laying siege to the castle of Clan-Owen, in Thomond, which Mahown O'Brien, the lord of the district, who was more attached to the Catholic cause than his namesake the earl, was commander of. The castle of Clan-Owen was not sufficiently strong to maintain a siege against so powerful an enemy, but O'Brien would not surrender, and died in defending it. The castle was then razed to the ground. Bingham, after this marched to besiege the castle of Necally, where he was checked in his career. Having arrived at the borders of the lake, he summoned the garrison to surrender, and offered them a general pardon for the past. The besieged, however, replied, that they looked upon the castle as their best security, and would not trust to the promises of an Englishman. Bingham, incensed with their reply, embarked his troops in boats, and approached the island where the castle stood, which was difficult of access. The soldiers on their landing, were thrown by the besieged into the sea, so that Bingham after witnessing the loss of his boats and seeing several of his men killed, considered himself fortunate to escape with a part of his forces. The besieged dreading a second attack, which might prove more successful than the first, abandoned the lake, and got safe to shore, where they were joined by many of their friends. We discover at this time a striking instance of the treachery and dishonourable conduct of Bingham; Richard Burke, one of the chief confederates, or as the English term them, rebels, being

desirous of making peace with the government, submitted to Bingham, with a promise to be loyal to her majesty. Bingham received his submission, but under a pretence that Burke would betray him, he had him arrested and condemned to death.

Complaints of the tyranny of Bingham in Connaught, having been sent to Perrott, the deputy, orders were given to grant protection to the Burkes and other rebels of the province. Bingham, incensed at this order, repaired to Dublin to have an interview with the council, at which mutual recriminations took place between the deputy and himself; but on hearing that the rebels in Connaught had re-commenced hostilities, he returned. He found the province in a state of confusion; the Clandonnells and Clangibbons having joined the Burkes, whose courage was raised by the arrival of two thousand Scotch. His first step was to send commissioners to the rebels, to propose terms of peace, and to learn the cause of their disturbing the country. They answered, *what have we to do with this Calliagh (bastard)?* meaning Elizabeth — *we have been very silly to have so long submitted to a woman, &c.* The governor immediately collected his forces at Ballinrobe, where he was joined by the earl of Clanriccard, Bermingham, O'Kelly, and others. His measures were guided by the movements of his enemy, who, after many marches and counter-marches, encamped at Arnare, on the river Moy, in Sligo, where they were surprised and cut to pieces by the English.

The deputy was alarmed at the intelligence he had received, that the Scotch islanders had made a descent in the north; and sent orders to the baron of Dungannon to oppose them, till he would repair thither in person. Tirlagh Lynogh O'Neill was now too old for service. Perrott, in the mean time, collected his troops, and set out from Dublin for Ulster, in June. On arriving at Dungannon, he was received by the nobles, who came to offer him their services. He found that a body of four hundred Scotch islanders had arrived, under the command of Alexander, son of Surlyboy MacDonnell, and were joined by some of the natives, commanded by Ogue and Hugh Mac-Felim, sons of Conn Mac-Neill, O'Kelly, Mac-Cartan, and other noblemen of the province. They intended to assemble in the county of Antrim, but were harassed by captain Stafford, who forced them to cross the river Bann to Tyrone. They, however, recrossed the river, and withdrew towards Dunluce, and from thence to Inisowen, where they were joined by a fresh reinforcement of Scotch. Hugh Duffe O'Don-

nell, and an English captain named Merriman, having learned that the Scotch intended to surprise Strabane, marched the whole night in order to prevent an attack. The following morning they arrived in presence of each other; but the Scotch general, by his imprudence, lost the victory, with his life. He sent a proposal to Merriman, who commanded the English, to decide the battle by single combat. The latter accepted the challenge, but to secure the victory, a gladiator who took the name of Merriman, was chosen to fight Alexander. The combat having begun with equal animosity, the Scotch general was first wounded; but Merriman was the victim of his master's dishonor, being killed upon the spot. The English captain perceiving his adversary exhausted from his encounter with the gladiator, entered the lists, sword in hand, to the great astonishment of Alexander, who thought his enemy had been defeated. They fought for some time, but Alexander having received a dangerous wound in the leg, was obliged to yield to the Englishman, who had his head cut off, and sent to Dublin to be exposed to the public view. The Scotch being left without a leader, lost their courage, and abandoned the field to the enemy.

The success of Sir John Perrott in the government of Ireland, did not secure him against his enemies. Loftus, archbishop of Dublin, and chancellor, manifested much resentment towards him, on account of his wish to apply the revenues of St. Patrick's church to the support of the university: he was also constantly opposed in council by Marshal Sir Nicholas Bagnal, Fenton the secretary, Bingham, governor of Connaught, and others, so that his best acts were undervalued by the court.

The deputy still dreading a revolt of O'Donnel, and other noblemen of Ulster who refused to give him hostages; in order to allay his apprehensions, bethought of an expedient worthy of a pirate or a robber, destitute of all honour or good faith.* He sent to Dublin for a merchant, called John Bingham, whom he ordered to freight a vessel with wine and other merchandize, on board of which were fifty armed men. He then sent word to the captain to sail towards the coasts of Tyrconnel, and to stop in some of its ports, as if to sell his cargo, but to endeavour to decoy young O'Donnel on board, and bring him to Dublin. This plan succeeded according to the deputy's wishes. The vessel cast anchor in lough Swilley, on the borders of

* Hist. Cathol. *ibid.* cap. 24. Pet Lombard de regno Hibern. comment. c. 24. War. *ibid.* cap. 31.

Tyrconnel. The report was soon spread, and every one, either to purchase goods or through curiosity, repaired on board. Amongst the number was Hugh, son of Magnus O'Donnel, prince of Tyrconnel, aged fourteen years, accompanied by Eugene MacSweeny, lord of Tueth, MacSweeny of Fanid, and Sir Eugene O'Gallachuir. The captain of the vessel, delighted with their visit, received them with attention; but what was their surprise on finding themselves conducted by armed men into the hold of the vessel, while they were weighing anchor. The nobles who belonged to O'Donnel's suite obtained their liberty by giving hostages; and the captain, content with his spoil, sailed for Dublin, where he gave up the young prince of Tyrconnel, and the hostages, to the deputy, who had them confined in the castle. Though the news of the taking of young O'Donnel was pleasing to the English in general, it was looked upon by all honourable men as a trait of black perfidy and punie faith.*

Perrot applied, long before this, for his recall. Finding a powerful faction raised against him, who laboured to blacken him in the eyes of the court, he wrote an urgent letter to the queen, begging that she would exonerate him from the commission of the lord lieutenancy. The princess paid attention to his request, and appointed Sir William Fitz-William to succeed him. Perrot, on his return to England, was imprisoned for some offence, in the tower, where he died suddenly.

Some Irish authors flourished at this time. According to Stanihurst, Thomas Long, professor of canon and civil law in the university of Paris, wrote some tracts in Latin. One was entitled "*De speciebus contra mendacem Monachum*;" the others a Dissertation on Aristotle; and a Select Thesis on some points of law, dedicated to Charles, cardinal de Bourbon.

Richard Creagh, a native of Limerick, also lived at this time. He studied at Louvain with applause, and received the order of priesthood. He went afterwards to Rome, where he was consecrated by the pope, archbishop of Armagh. He was author of some works, viz.—a Treatise on the Irish Language; an Ecclesiastical History; a book of Controversy; a Chronicle of Ireland; the Lives of some Irish Saints; and a Catechism in the Irish language. By orders of the English government, this holy prelate was at length arrested on account of his religion, and imprisoned in the tower. It was then

that the pretended ordination occurred at the Nag's head tavern, so called, from the head of a horse being the sign of the house. The Irish prelate was offered his liberty and a great reward to ordain the false bishops of the reformation; but this he firmly refused.* He died after a long imprisonment in the tower of London, A.D. 1585. Edmond Tanner, a native of Ireland, doctor in theology, and cotemporary of Richard Creagh, wrote commentaries on a work of St. Thomas.

Other authors were also born in Ireland about this time. Among them we find John Usher, mayor of Dublin; Nicholas Walsh, bishop of Ossory; and John O'Kearny, treasurer of St. Patrick's church, Dublin. Richard Stanihurst already mentioned, was the author of many works. After studying for some time at Oxford, he returned to Dublin, his native city. Although deeply connected with the Protestants, being the maternal uncle of the celebrated Usher, he belonged to the Catholic church, and to practise his religion with more freedom, left his native country and retired to the Netherlands. There he lost his wife, after which he embraced holy orders and became a priest. Being well known for his great learning, he was appointed chaplain to Albert, archduke of Austria, at that time governor of the Low countries. Besides his Essay on the affairs of Ireland, which has been already alluded to, and which is the least considerable of his works, he wrote, in his youth, a work entitled, "*Harmonia seu catena dialectica in Porphyriam*." This was first printed in folio in London, in 1570, and 1579, and subsequently at Lyons and Paris. He wrote two books on the life of St. Patrick, printed at Antwerp in 1587. He also composed a work, which was printed at Antwerp in 1609, and was called, "*Hebdomada Mariana*," which signifies, the week of Mary, taken from the orthodox fathers of the Roman Catholic church, in memory of the seven festivals of the blessed Virgin Mary, and arranged for each day in the week. After this he wrote a work entitled "*Hebdomada Eucharistica*," which was printed at Douay in 1614. He wrote also a description of Ireland, which he dedicated to Sir Henry Sidney, who was de-

* "They importuned, with vehemence, a certain Irish archbishop, whom they had in prison in London, to assist them in their difficulty, and offered him rewards and his liberty, if he would preside over the ordination of these men. But the good archbishop could not be prevailed upon to lay his sacred hands on the heretics, or to be an accessory to the sins of others."—*Sanders on the English schism*, b. 3, p. 297.

* Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes.

y of the kingdom ; it was published by Illingshed. He translated the first four books of Virgil's *Æneid* into heroic verse ; his work was printed in London in 1583, with some of David's Psalms, and other cursory pieces in Latin and English. He composed a tract on the principles of the Catholic faith. In 1615 he published, at Douay, a Latin work entitled "*Brevis Præmissio*," &c.; or short premonition, on a book written by his nephew Usher, called, an Historical Explanation, &c. Richard had a son named William Stanihurst, born at Brussels in 1601 : he entered into the order of the jesuits at the age of sixteen. The great number of works which he published made him very celebrated. A catalogue of them by Sotvellus is to be met with in the library belonging to the society of writers.

Daniel O'Malone, a friar of the order of St. Jerome, and professor of theology in the college of Bologna in Italy, published some Latin works which were printed at Venice, and afterwards at Douay and Antwerp.

Thadeus O'Dowling, a learned doctor in theology, and chancellor of the church of Leighlin, has given his "*Annales breves Hiberniæ*," and an Irish grammar, which may be found in the library of Trinity College, Dublin.

Thadeus Dunn appears, says Harris, in his 13th chapter of writers, to be a native of Ireland. He was a physician of Locarno in Switzerland, where he lived in exile for his religion. A work on medicine and a chronological treatise on the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt, have been written by him. These works were printed at Tiguri in Switzerland.

CHAPTER XLIV.

IN 1588, the last war which the Catholics of Ireland had to maintain against Elizabeth and the whole array of English sectarians, commenced. This was called the war of Tyrone, because the earl of that name was the chief leader ; it was long and bloody. Philip O'Sullivan in his Catholic history, calls it *Bellum quindecim annorum*—the fifteen years war. It began in the thirty-first, and ended in the forty-fifth year of Elizabeth's reign, which was also that of her death. This war raged with all the fury that national enmity, and an ardent zeal for religion could excite. From the plans that were adopted, it promised to be more favourable to the cause of religion and liberty, than

any of the preceding wars undertaken for the same end. Before we enter upon a circumstantial detail of this war, it will be necessary to make known the state of affairs in Ireland, and the character of the inhabitants at that time.

The Irish Catholics founded strong hopes on the promises of the Spaniards. The latter indeed, sent them some assistance, but it was inconsiderable, and disproportioned to the undertaking. They were better supported by James VI. of Scotland, who, either to revenge the death of his mother, Mary Stuart, who was executed after a captivity of nineteen years, or to secure to himself the right of succeeding to the thrones of England and Ireland, secretly afforded help to the Irish, who were opposed to the court. As the want of union is generally fatal to the best cause, so the ambition of some of the Irish chiefs induced them to prefer their own interest to the general good. Some were seduced by titles of honour ; others were attached to the English court through political views, while others, fearful of success, continued neutral.* The house of Desmond was now extinct. Ormond and Thomond, two of the most powerful in Munster, had embraced the reformed religion. They received many favours for their attachment to the court, and knew how to turn the misfortunes of their neighbours to their own advantage. Daniel MacCarrha, prince of Clancarrha and earl of Valentia, was more devoted to pleasure than to war. Being advanced in years he cultivated the friendship of the English, and wasted his patrimony in entertaining them. His sole desire was to be permitted to live a Catholic. Dermot and Donogh MacCarthy were at variance about the sovereignty of Alla ; O'Sullivan, prince of Beare was contending with Owen, his paternal uncle ; Ulick Burke, earl of Clanriccard, after he had killed his brother John, became devoted to the English court, which he strove to conciliate towards him ; the other branches of the Burkes of Connaught were disputing about the lordship of Clanwilliams. Tegue O'Rorke quarrelled for the possession of the principality of Brefny with his elder brother. Many of the nobility of Leinster who were well disposed to oppose heresy and usurpation, were already broken down by repeated wars in their own districts, and bereft of all power to aid the common cause ; viscount Baltinglass who had sacrificed all for his religion, had died in Spain. No confidence was placed in the earl of Kil-

* Hist. Cathol. Ibern. tom. 3, lib. 1, cap. 6.

dare, on account of his being brought up in the principles of the reformed religion. From these causes have arisen the disunion among the Irish, and the consequent misfortunes of that unhappy country.

The Catholic History of Ireland furnishes a list of all the principal Irish, ancient and modern, who abetted or opposed this war. The author calls them princes, and introduces the provinces in order, commencing with Munster. Those who, in opposition to religion and their country, espoused the cause of the queen, are first given.

The modern Irish princes who supported the interests of the queen.

In Munster.—Thomas Butler, surnamed duff, or the black, earl of Ormond; Barry the great, viscount Buttevant; Mac-Pieris Butler, baron of Dunboyne; Courcy, baron de Courcy; Burke, baron of Castleconel, and his son Richard; Theobald Burke, son of Richard, surnamed Naval, a claimant to the principality of Clanwilliam: MacPheoris, or Bermingham, baron of Dunmoris.

In Leinster.—Henry, William and Gerald Fitzgerald, earls of Kildare; St. Lawrence, baron of Howth.

In Meath.—Preston, viscount Gormans-town; Nugent, baron of Delvin; Fleming, baron of Slane; Barnewal, baron of Trimelstown; Plunket, baron of Louth; Plunket, baron of Dunsaney; Plunket, baron of Killeen.

The ancient Irish princes who supported the cause of the queen.

In Munster.—Donagh O'Brien, prince of Limerick, earl of Thuomond; MacCarty Riagh, prince of Carbury; Charles MacCarty, son of Desmond, baron of Muskerry; Morrough O'Brien, baron of Inchiquin.

In Connaught.—O'Connor Don, prince of Magherry Connaught.

In Meath.—O'Melachlin, a prince.

Our author in giving the names of the ancient and modern Irish who espoused the cause of Elizabeth, adds the Anglo-Irish who were settled in Ulster, which he calls the royal, or English faction. He next enumerates those that fought against the enemies of religion, whom he names the Irish and Catholic party. He begins with Ulster, because the inhabitants of that province were the chief actors in the war. The men of Ulster were in fact, more zealous in the cause of religion and liberty than any of the other provinces. If their example had been fol-

lowed, the sway of the English would have been inevitably destroyed in Ireland. The Ultonians are to this day the victims of their own zeal, through the degeneracy of those whose ideas were less generous than their own.

The ancient Irish who fought for the Catholic faith.

In Ulster.—Hugh O'Neill, prince and earl of Tyrone, and his adherents, namely Magennis, prince of Iveagh, Mac-Mahon, prince of Uriel, Mac-Guire, prince of Fermanagh, O'Cahane, prince of Arachty, James and Ranald Mac-Donnel, princes of Glynn, and O'Hanlon, prince of Orior. O'Donnel, prince of Tyrconnel, and his adherents, viz, Mac-Sweeny, prince of Tueth, Mac-Sweeny, prince of Fanid, Mac-Sweeny, prince of Bannach, O'Dogherty, prince of Inisowen, and the O'Buills or Boyles.

In Munster.—O'Sullivan, prince of Bere and Bantry; Daniel O'Sullivan More, or the Great, whose father, prince of Dunkeran, was exonerated from any share in the war, on account of his great age; O'Connor Kerry, prince of Arachty; Donogh Mac-Carty Mac-Donogh, son of Cormac, and Dermot Mac-Carty Mac-Donogh, son of Owen, both claimants for the principality of Alla; O'Driscoll, prince of Cothlie; O'Mahony of Carbury, O'Donovan, O'Donoghoe of Onachte, O'Donoghoe of the Glynn. *See p 484.*

In Connaught.—O'Rourke, prince of Brefny; Mac-Dermot, prince of Moy-Lurg; O'Kelly, prince of Mainech.

In Leinster.—Though the principal men in this province were attached to the queen's cause, several of the ancient nobles took up arms in defence of the faith, particularly the Cavanaghs, O'Connors Faley, O'Mordhas or O'Morris of Leix, and the O'Byrnes.

In Meath.—Mageoghegan, a prince.

The example of the latter was followed by some other nobles in Munster, of English origin,* viz, Roche, viscount of Fermoy; Richard Butler, viscount of Mountgarret; Mac-Moris, or Fitzmaurice, baron of Lixnaw; Thomas Butler, baron of Cahir; Patrick Condon, a prince; Richard Purcell, baron of Luochoe; William Fitzgerald, knight of Kerry, and lord of Rafinnan; Edmund Fitzgerald, called the White Knight. All these we have already mentioned were in possession of their estates, when they took up arms in defence of the faith. Some estranged themselves from the court party,

* Hist. Cathol. ibid.

at the cost of their properties and espoused the Catholic cause; namely, Florence and Daniel Mac-Carty, to whom the principality of Clancarrha belonged for some time; O'Connor, prince of Sligo; James Fitzgerald, earl of Desmond; Mac-William Burke; Raymond Burke, baron of Leitrim; and Owen O'Morra.

Several nobles, equal both in birth and virtue to those already named, though not chiefs of tribes, espoused the Catholic cause,* namely, Niallgarve O'Donnel, Cornelius O'Driscoll, Dermot O'Sullivan, Fiach O'Birne, Cormac O'Neil, Cornelius O'Reilly, Dermot Mac-Carty Riagh, William Burke, Bernard O'Kelly, Richard Tirell, Bernard O'Morra, Walter Fitzgerald, Dermot O'Connor, Peter Lacy, Edmond O'Morra, James Butler, Morrough Mac-Sweeny, Ulick Burke, Daniel Mac-Sweeny, Richard Maggeoghagan, Manus Mac-Sweeny, Maurice O'Sullivan, Thadeus O'Mahony, of Carbury, and many other powerful lords.

It is strange, however, that all the ancient and modern Irish, who abetted the cause of heresy, were Catholics, with the exception of three or four who had embraced the reformed religion.† The latter were guided by their principles, the former by a blind respect for the shadow of legal authority.

As soon as Fitzwilliam had received the sword of justice, as deputy of Ireland, care was taken to make him doubt the sincerity of Tyrone. This prince, called Hugh O'Neill, was son of Fardorach, baron of Dungannon, whom English writers call Mathew, and grandson of Conn O'Neil, on whom Henry VIII. conferred the title of earl of Tyrone.

Both in respect to birth and Fortune, Hugh O'Neill was undoubtedly one of the first noblemen in Ireland.‡ If to these advantages we add that of his having been a good citizen, he surpassed them all. He was descended, by uninterrupted succession, from several monarchs of Ireland. St. Patrick, the apostle of this island, found the supreme sceptre in the tribe of the Hy-Nialls, in the beginning of the fifth century, in which it continued to the usurpation of the provincial kings, in the beginning of the eleventh. O'Neill was also the most powerful prince in landed property, money, men, and arms, not only in his own province but in all Ireland. His mind was just, and had been carefully formed in the best schools in Ireland, and subsequently in England, where he frequented the court for some

became a general favourite. The queen, who considered him as a useful instrument to reduce Ireland, loaded him with honours. He was, by birth, baron of Dungannon; but in order to abolish the title of O'Neill, which was considered so superior to every other, she conferred that of earl of Tyrone on him, and ordered him to take his seat in parliament. With a design of serving his country, the earl acted cautiously towards the queen by seeming to embrace her views.

Tyrone had a strong relish for war. During his stay in England, he studied the military science with considerable success.* On his return to Ireland he received the command of two regiments, consisting of six companies, whom he trained to the art of war, and according as they became well disciplined, sent them home with rewards. Those dismissed were replaced by others, who were instructed in like manner. He gave fire-arms to the country people also, to induce them to hunt, and thereby made them expert in the use of them; so that, in a short time, almost the whole province was trained to arms. He obtained the consent of the council to bring over plates of lead from England, under pretext of roofing a castle he was building at Dungannon; and the merchants, who were desirous of making a profit by the transaction, exceeded the privilege which had been granted, by sending over larger quantities. Tyrone had the lead converted into bullets. Besides the private depots which were to furnish the wants of the troops under his orders, he had others, into which he secretly collected provisions and warlike stores. Such were the measures adopted by him, whilst he waited for a favourable opportunity to raise the standard of revolt—measures which proved his skill as a general.

The first cause of Tyrone's quarrel with Elizabeth, was the hospitality with which he received some Spaniards that were cast by a storm upon the coasts of Ulster. A misunderstanding prevailed for a long time between Philip II., king of Spain, and the queen of England. Treaties of peace were often entered into between them, and as frequently broken off. The sovereignty of the Low Countries had already been wrested from Philip, by the States of Holland, under the advice of William prince of Orange, and transferred to the duke d'Anjou. Queen Elizabeth assisted Philip's rebellious subjects, of whom Alexander Farnese, prince

* Hist. Cathol. Ibern ibid.

† Hist. Cathol. Ibern. ibid. cap. 3.

‡ Pet. Lombard, de Hib. Comment. oap. 28.

* Petrus Lombard, ibid. War. de Annal. Hib. cap. 36.

of Parma, was named governor, and, on the other hand, Philip sent aid to the Catholics of Ireland against Elizabeth.

Such was the state of affairs, when a treaty of peace was proposed, this year, between Spain and England. A certain number of commissioners appointed on both sides, assembled with this object at Ostend, but came to no conclusion. Philip, finding these negotiations unavailing, turned his thoughts to war, and determined to make a descent upon England. For this purpose he equipped the most formidable fleet that had been ever known, from whence it was called the invincible armada.* This fleet consisted of one hundred and thirty vessels of various sizes, having on board nineteen thousand two hundred and ninety troops, eight thousand and fifty sailors, two thousand and eighty men from the galleys, and two thousand six hundred and thirty pieces of cannon. The prince of Parma, governor of the Low Countries, received orders to hold himself in readiness, with the fifty thousand men he commanded, and to have boats of a crooked form, and deep in the centre, (each of which was to contain thirty horses,) constructed. With these boats he intended to convey his army to the mouth of the Thames, at the time of the intended arrival of the fleet from Spain.

On the other hand, all the measures necessary to oppose the designs of the Spaniards, were adopted. Admiral lord Charles Howard, and vice-admiral Sir Francis Drake had orders to repair on board the fleet at Plymouth. Lord Henry Seymour, at the head of forty English and Dutch ships, was appointed to guard the coasts of the Low Countries, to prevent the prince of Parma from sailing. The land forces were stationed along the southern coast, under the command of the earl of Leicester, who established his head quarters at Tilbury, near the mouth of the Thames. The ports of Milford, Falmouth, Plymouth, Portland, the Isle of Wight, Portsmouth, the mouth of the Thames, Harwich, Yarmouth, and Hull, were fortified, and strongly garrisoned.

Matters being thus prepared on both sides, the Spanish fleet, commanded by Don Alphonso Duke of Medina Sidonia, and Jean Martin Recalde, vice-admiral, sailed from the Tagus on the 20th May. Soon after sailing the fleet was dispersed in a violent gale. Having, however, collected the vessels again

with difficulty, they appeared in July on the coast of England. The fleet stationed at Plymouth set sail immediately, and in the course of six days three battles were fought with unequal success. The Spaniards, hoping to receive assistance from the prince of Parma, cast anchor opposite Calais. The Spanish admiral dispatched a courier to the prince, with orders to join the fleet with his troops, and, in the mean time, to send him some cannon balls, of which he was in extreme need. This the prince could not accomplish, being blockaded in his own ports by Seymour, who was, at the same time, about to join admiral Howard's squadron.

Besides this, the boats which were built being in a leaky condition, were not in a state to put to sea. The expedition was fatal to the Spaniards, but the English, according to their national characteristic, boast too highly of their success. The Spanish fleet was in the beginning shattered by a violent storm, and on the coast of Britain it was disappointed of the succours that were expected from the Low Countries, with which hope the expedition had been principally undertaken. In their battles with the English, the Spaniards were in want of ammunition; their fleet too, consisted of large ships hard to be managed, without frigates or small vessels, so necessary in an engagement. The advantage was entirely in favour of the English. Their vessels were superior in number, and their force of every variety; besides which they were on their own coasts, and had every thing requisite for their fleets.

All hopes of succeeding on the shores of England being destroyed, the Spanish admiral sailed for Spain through the Orkneys. When coasting round the north of Ireland, his fleet was wrecked, whereby he lost more men and ships than in his battles with the English. The disappointment evinced by Philip when informed of this circumstance, and of the defeat of his fleet, was mildly expressed with these words, "I sent them to fight against men, not with the elements."

The Spaniards who escaped the fury of the waves were hospitably sheltered by the Irish nobles, and among others by O'Neill of Tyrone, O'Rorke, Mac Sweeny, &c. Camden incorrectly and maliciously says, that many of the Spaniards were put to death on this occasion by the Irish. His account in this accords with the atrocious murders that the queen's minister in Ireland committed at the time, who sought out the Spaniards every where, and had about two hundred of them put to death. His cruelty in this was

* Camd. Elizab. part 3, ad an. 1588. Baker, Chron. of Eng. reign of Elizabeth. p. 374.

not, it is said, approved of by the queen. The same minister persecuted likewise many of the Irish who afforded an asylum to the Spaniards.

A remnant of the Spaniards who were cast upon the north coast of Ireland, divided themselves and proceeded into the country parts to seek relief. Some of them, with their captain, presented themselves to Hugh O'Neill; this prince received them with so much kindness that the soldiers expressed an eagerness to continue in his service. The captain being recovered from his fatigues, took his leave of O'Neill and set out for Scotland, from whence he might pass with greater security to the Low Countries, and from thence to Spain. Being in company one day, he boasted of the goodness, the humanity, and liberal disposition of prince O'Neill. One of the company, jealous of the praises that were lavished by this officer upon O'Neill, formed a slight intimacy with him, and gaining his confidence, observed, that if he had any letters to send to O'Neill, he would, with pleasure, undertake to deliver them as he was going to Ireland. The Spaniard, not suspecting his wicked design, gave him a letter wherein he avowed his gratitude and remembrance of his kindnesses; offering him, at the same time, his services with the king and the court of Spain. This faithless messenger, whom Camden calls Hugh Gavalere, and others Conn Mac-Shane, natural son of Shane O'Neill, instead of going to Ireland, proceeded straight to London, where he gave up the Spaniard's letter for O'Neill, to the council. He added, that O'Neill was secretly plotting against the queen, and had given letters to the Spanish officer for the king of Spain, in which he sought assistance against her, and that the offers of service which this Spaniard had made to him, appertained to the same end.

When the above information was given against O'Neill, an order was sent to him, in the name of the queen and council, to appear at court, in order to clear himself. O'Neill, desirous of retaining the confidence of the court for some time longer, repaired to London in May, 1590, attended by a retinue suited to his rank; and pleaded his cause so ably, that he was judged to be innocent, in spite of the treasurer, William Cecil, who possessed great influence, and was equally hostile to the Catholics and the Irish nation. The prince of Tyrone being reconciled to the queen and council, returned to Ireland.

O'Rourke prince of Breffny was not so fortunate as the prince of Tyrone. He had afforded shelter to three hundred men belong-

ing to the crew of a Spanish vessel which had foundered on the coast of Sligo, and being summoned by the deputy to deliver them up to her majesty's ministers, he replied, that neither his honour nor religion allowed him to surrender Catholics who had implored his protection, to be put to death. In the mean time, to secure them against the further pursuits of their enemy, he sent them to Tyrconnel, to Mac-Sweeney of Tueth, who had already hospitably entertained Antonio de Leva, and nearly a thousand men, who put to sea soon afterwards, but were unhappily lost within view of the shore.*

In order to punish the supposed disobedience of O'Rourke, Bingham, governor of Connaught, marched against him with a strong force, both English and Irish. Among the latter was Ulick Burke, earl of Clanriccard. O'Rourke, who had but two hundred men commanded by Mac-Sweeney, surnamed Muracha Na-Mart, who had come from Munster, and about the same number of vassals, who were hastily armed, was attacked at Droumdhathic. Unable to resist so superior a force, especially as Muracha was wounded, by which he lost an eye, he was forced to retreat. Being thus driven from his district, he was forced to resort to the goodness of Mac-Sweeney Tueth, who received him with generosity. After this he proceeded to Scotland, with the hope of obtaining succour to enable him to recover his possessions; but James VI., king of Scotland, having previously made peace with Elizabeth, notwithstanding her barbarous treatment of his mother, Queen Mary, had O'Rourke arrested, in violation of all the sacred rights of hospitality towards a man, whose only crime was his having exercised that virtue to men in distress, whom the most inhuman could not view in the light of enemies. This monarch sent him in chains to Elizabeth, who ordered him to be hanged at Tyburn, without even the form of a trial. When O'Rourke's last hour was approaching, he was visited by a Protestant bishop, who exhorted him to conform to the religion of the queen and of the state; but all his importunity could not shake the faith of that illustrious man, who firmly replied: *Remember from what you yourself have fallen; think of returning to the church, that you may regain the grace of God: as for me, I shall die in the religion which you have deserted.*†

Rossa Boy MacMahon, chief of the noble tribe of the MacMahons of Monaghan, having died without issue, Aodha Rua, or Red

* Hist. Cathol. *ibid.*

† Petr. Lomard. *ibid.* p. 344.

Hugh MacMahon, his brother, succeeded to his title and estates;* but having cause to dread the other branches of that tribe, namely, Patrick, son of Art Moil MacMahon, Ebhir, or Iber, lord of Farne, and Brien, son of Hugh Ogue, lord of Dartry, who were powerful and aspired to the succession, he applied to William Fitzwilliams, the lord deputy, and promised him seven hundred oxen if he would interpose his authority, and secure to him the right of his ancestors. This iniquitous judge, wishing to benefit by the division that prevailed between the MacMahons, began by taking possession of Monaghan, the chief town of their principality. He put a sheriff, or judge, with a strong garrison into it. He then divided some of the lands between Hugh the Red, and Patrick MacMahon, leaving to the former, the title of MacMahon: and lastly, he adjudged to Iber and Brien, the lordships of Farne and Dartry, with which they were to be content. Such was the decision of an English minister, who, like the monkey with the oyster in the fable, took care to reserve the better part of the spoils for himself. All further complaints were interdicted. MacMahon, however, having expressed some dissatisfaction, and having refused to pay to the deputy what he had already promised, the latter accused him of some pretended crime, and in order to give an appearance of justice to his proceedings, he appointed twelve jurors to try him, with orders, however, to find him guilty.† The jurors, with some idea of honesty, exclaimed against an order so unjust, the result of which must be to sway their opinion, and make them to condemn, contrary to their conscience, an innocent man. Twelve others, who proved to be less scrupulous, were then appointed, by whom MacMahon was condemned to death. The inhuman sentence was carried into execution at Monaghan. His estates were confiscated, and a great part of them given to Sir Henry Bagnall and captain Henslow; the remainder was divided between some branches of the MacMahons, on condition of their paying an annual tribute, and a vessel of wine to the deputy. This matter was subsequently made the subject of complaint against him to the council of England, from which he had some difficulty to clear himself. Brien, lord of Dartry recovered all those estates afterwards, and was acknowledged chief of the MacMahons.

According to the best authors, Ireland was celebrated in former ages for her schools,

which were frequented by foreigners. They produced many persons who were celebrated for their sanctity and profound erudition, and supplied several universities in Europe with the best professors: but much of this celebrity was lost by the invasion of the English in the twelfth century.* These new-comers, intent upon amassing wealth, no longer thought of the engagements which had been entered into between their sovereign and Adrian IV.—viz., to restore religion in Ireland, and reform the morals of the inhabitants; an engagement which, though groundless and absurd, was the only plea for their usurpation. On the contrary, they laboured to abolish all learning, whereby the minds of the people would be enlightened and their morals cultivated, by forcing the inhabitants to exchange science for war, in order to defend their patrimonies. A proposal being once made to the council of England, to found a university in Ireland for the instruction of youth, one of the principal members, who was also a bishop, opposed it strongly.† One of his friends expressing his surprise on seeing a Catholic bishop frustrate so holy and salutary a measure, the prelate answered that he had not decided as a bishop of the Catholic church, but as a senator of England. It was the policy of England to deprive the Irish of every opportunity to polish and improve the people, and in order to render them contemptible, to suffer them to fall into the grossest ignorance. This cruel policy forced the nobility of the country to send their children to foreign countries to learn a knowledge of the sciences which were denied them at home.

Queen Elizabeth was the first to infringe upon this policy, which had been observed during four centuries. She founded a college in Dublin for the encouragement of Protestantism, which it was intended should be introduced into Ireland, A.D. 1591.‡ In order to anticipate her majesty's intention, Adam Loftus, Protestant archbishop of Dublin and chancellor of Ireland, called a meeting of the mayor, aldermen, and citizens, at the exchange, where he delivered an impressive discourse on the necessity of restoring the sciences; and represented to them, that, if they would promote so valuable an undertaking, and give, for that purpose, the old monastery called *All Saints*, which had been granted to them by Henry VIII., on the suppression of religious houses, it would be

* Hist. Cathol. ibid. vol. 2, lib. 4, cap. 23.
Petr. Lombard. ibid. page 341, 342.

† Petr. Lombard. ibid. page 342.

* Venerab. Bed. Hist. Eccles. Passim. Cambd. Brit. p. 730. Usser. Prim. Eccles.

† Pet. Lombard. Comment. de req. Hib. cap. 18.

‡ War. de Annal. cap. 33, 34, 35.

pleasing to the queen. This proposal was unanimously approved of, and Henry Usher deputed to obtain from the queen the patents necessary for its foundation, which were immediately granted. Loftus repaired to the exchange to thank the magistrates, on the part of her majesty, whose letter he showed them. Workmen were employed to pull down the monastery, on the site of which a handsome college was erected, and dedicated to the blessed Trinity. Thomas Smith, then mayor of Dublin, laid the first stone. This college was erected into an university by a charter, dated 30th of March, 1592. William Cecil, baron of Burleigh, grand treasurer of England, a knight of the order of the garter, and secretary of state, was the first chancellor of Trinity College; Adam Loftus first provost, Luke Challoner, William Daniel, James Fullerton, and James Hamilton, were the first fellows, and the celebrated James Usher or Usserius, Abel Walsh, and James Lee, the first Bursars. This foundation was confirmed in 1638, by a charter from Charles I., who caused regulations to be drawn up for the government of the college, and the discipline to be observed in it. Michael Morus or More, of the celebrated tribe of the O'Morras of Leix, was the last Catholic provost of this college. In the time of James II., he was forced to surrender that dignity on account of his religion, and share the same fate with his king. He went to Rome, where he became acquainted with cardinal de Noailles, who became so attached to him, on account of his erudition, that he brought him to Paris. He became rector of the university in that city, and president of the college of Navarre, where he died.

This year was remarkable for the celebrated declaration or edict which Elizabeth issued against the ministers of the Catholic religion.* It is filled with invectives against the king of Spain, and the pope, the priests, seminarians, and Jesuits. Ecclesiastics, and all who received them into their houses, were condemned to pay heavy fines, under an absurd pretext of high treason, which consisted in their refusal to embrace the reformed religion, and acknowledge Elizabeth supreme head of the church. The following is a copy of her edict:

"Although we have had for thirty-three years, during which God hath secured to us a peaceful reign, sufficient cause to hope that the strong and wicked malice of our enemies, particularly the king of Spain, (who has without provocation disturbed our kingdom,)

would at length have subsided on his part, and that of his allies; and that he, with other Christian princes, would unite with us after the war which he had kindled would end, to establish a general peace. But we now find that the contrary has arisen, and that the warlike preparations which he, the king of Spain, hath made, are of the most extensive and formidable character. The God of armies, however, has been pleased to permit, that those who cannot live content with their condition, and in peace, fall by their own imprudence into disasters and distress; and we therefore discover that this king, who has possessed dominions and wealth of greater magnitude than any of his predecessors, or any other monarch in the world, and who has declared an unjust war against France and us, by plotting during two years, the destruction of our realms, has fallen, together with his army, into disappointment and ruin.

"It is now obvious to us, that the king of Spain, in order to add a new appearance to his rash and extraordinary measures, has lately caused a Milanese, his own subject, to be raised to the popedom, and has influenced him to apply the treasures of the church to the raising of troops in Italy and other countries (which are free from war,) for the purpose of sending them under the command of his nephew into France, to take possession of that kingdom, which has always assisted the church in her necessities. This war, which has been undertaken with so much care and splendour both by sea and land, must necessarily affect our kingdoms and our crown.

"We are likewise convinced that this king has, for the purpose of establishing his designs through the influence of the pope, so disposed to favour him, entered into treaty with some chiefs who have been our ungrateful subjects, and linked in rebellion with the people, who, influenced and paid by the king of Spain, enrolled themselves in great numbers; some from necessity, and some to escape the punishment due to their crimes and perfidy. To maintain and support them in their pursuits, certain places called seminaries have been established in Spain and at Rome, where they become instructed, and after they are made conversant in the arts of sedition, are secretly sent back into our kingdom, well supplied with money from the pope, to influence all with whom they treat, to renounce their allegiance to us, under a hope of being assisted by the Spaniards, who would load them with the riches and spoils of our faithful subjects.

"For these objects the priests oblige, by

* Relat. Girald. cap. 26, page 171, et seq.

an oath, our people with whom they hold intercourse, to renounce their allegiance to us and transfer it to the king of Spain; likewise to aid his army on their landing, and the more effectually to accomplish their purpose, they impose on a credulous people, by saying that bulls have been obtained from the pope, whereby indulgences and a promise of heaven are held out to those who will range themselves under their standard, and that those who will act in opposition, are loaded with curses, with threats of hell, and condemnation.

"And although such attempts of the pope have been long practised in some countries, we have saved our kingdoms from their influence by the efficacy of the laws enacted against rebels and those guilty of high treason, and not against religion, as has been falsely advanced by the favourers of these base views; which is the more flagrant from criminal suits having been instituted, in which none were condemned or put to death except for treason, and for their avowal, that they would aid and assist the pope and his army if sent to invade our realms.

"It is a matter also of notoriety, that none of our subjects have been put to death for their religion, in as much as many possessed of riches, and possessing a contrary belief to ours, are punished neither in their properties, their lives, nor their freedom, and are subject only to pay a certain fine for their refusal to frequent our churches; which is on our part a clear refutation of the aspersions and calumnies that have been propagated in foreign countries, by those who have fled from their own.

"Notwithstanding all this, we know for truth, that some leaders in these receptacles called seminaries, or Jesuitical colleges, have again endeavoured to influence the king of Spain to make new attempts upon Ireland, by promising to assist his army on their landing, with many thousand men, although his fleet had met with signal disasters in its first attempts at invasion. Though prudence and experience of the past should show this king how inefficient his plans against England must ever be: still he has been solicited to renew his efforts, under similar false promises and misrepresentations.

"The king of Spain's particular adviser is a theologian named Person, who endeavours by such means to gain the Catholic king's favour, and succeed in becoming his confessor; similar information has been conveyed to the pope through another theologian called Alan, the reward of whose treachery towards us has been a cardinal's hat:

these men have provided their patrons with a list of names of those who have espoused, or would espouse their cause, particularly in the maritime parts of our kingdom, and would join the standard of the Spaniards on their landing. Although the pope and king of Spain must be aware that the advices and opinions of these men are frivolous and false, still they are looked upon as fit instruments to keep the people attached to their wicked designs, and many of them have been, within the last ten or twelve months, secretly despatched into England, to assure their adherents, (as has been made known to us through some who have been lately arrested) that in the ensuing year, the entire forces of Spain will be directed against England. Some, however, of the Spanish council more prudent than the rest, seeing that no important advantages would attend such an enterprise, think that France or the Low Countries, Scotland or Ireland, whither some seminarians have been sent for this object, would afford better hopes and prospects of success to the Spanish arms.

"Though convinced now of the intentions and designs of Spain against us, still we doubt not but God, who is the protector of the just cause, will, as he has already done, defeat them. It is the duty of us, therefore, who have received the throne from the hands of the Almighty, to use all the means within our power, under the divine protection, and with the help of our faithful subjects, to make the laws available against rebels, so that by increasing our forces, we may crush the power of our enemies.

"First, we require that the clergy of our church take care, by their doctrine and example, to instruct the people in the gospel, and in their duties to God and to us, particularly as some rebels, with their chiefs, are continually endeavouring, by means of their seminaries, to seduce the simple and unsuspecting.

"Secondly, with respect to our armies by sea and land, intended to suppress those extraordinary forces which are to come from Spain, we hope, that by the good orders we have given, we shall resist our enemies more effectually than we have yet done: still we earnestly entreat our subjects to assist us with their resources in men and money, and with their advice, and to pray that God will protect our cause, which is that of nature, honour, and necessity, and which we have undertaken for the safety of our country, for the safety of your wives and children, your properties and freedom against those cruel and avaricious despoilers.

"Thirdly, in order to defeat the secret machinations of these seminarians, jesuits, and other traitors, who are urging the king of Spain to his present designs, and under a garb of sanctity, insinuate themselves into the minds of our subjects, and encourage them to rebel; we have determined to send commissioners immediately to all the counties, provinces, towns, villages, and seaports of our kingdom, with orders to make every necessary effort for the discovery of such characters as think, that any obedience whatsoever is due to the pope or to the king of Spain.

"Being aware that several of these seminarians, disguised in female attire, enter our kingdom, and by assuming the name of foreigners, gain admittance into the universities, courts of princes, and the families of noblemen, we expressly command each and every one, of what rank, sex, condition, or dignity soever they be, even the officers of our household, the ministers and magistrates, the heads of families and pastors, to search carefully for all who, within the last fourteen months have frequented their houses, and have lived, slept, eaten with, or laboured for them, or may labour for them in future; also to give a return of their names, rank, and quality, their birth-place, and where they have lived for a whole year before they came to their houses, on what they subsist, how they have been employed, what places they frequented, and those with whom they keep intercourse, and if, at the periods prescribed by law, they have attended divine service in our churches.

"We likewise command that these enquiries, with the answers given them, be committed to writing by the heads of each family, and that they be carefully preserved, in order that they may be resorted to by our commissioners as they may think proper, both for the discovery of doubtful characters, and to convince them of the correctness and loyalty of the fathers of families.

"Should any hesitate to answer, or appear to waver in their testimony, it is our will that they be forthwith arrested, and brought under a strong guard to the nearest commissioner; and, that the same measure be enforced against the heads of families, who will manifest omission or lenity in their investigations: and that our commissioners shall punish, according to the degree of their offences, such as may be known to have favoured suspected persons, or to have neglected giving them up within twenty days after the publication of this decree. They shall be subject to the same penalty as traitors and rebels, and likewise will be deemed their abettors and accomplices, in faith of which we ordain, expressly and firmly, that no favour or respect be shown to either rank or dignity; and finally, that no neglect be tolerated in those who have not discovered traitors, or used their exertions for the discovery of them; which so far from being contrary to law, are in accordance with the most ancient laws and customs of our kingdom, for the maintenance of that obedience which is due to us and to the stability of our government. Given at our palace of Richmond, on the 18th of October, 1591, in the thirty-third year of our reign."

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The above declaration is founded on false reasoning. Elizabeth alleges that high treason alone was punishable by death: still, she condemned those who refused to take the oath of supremacy, to death, and deprived them of their estates, their refusal being considered as an act of high treason. She conceals her venom and bad faith under an appearance of justice, resting the proofs of her innocence on the cases of some of her rich Catholic subjects, who were condemned to pay a fine only when they omitted attending the churches of the reformers; but she has never been accused of having condemned all her Catholic subjects to death on account of their religion. Her fury was levelled in particular against the clergy who were opposed to the reformation, whilst the rich compounded matters by suffering in secret, and escaping her tyranny, by paying a sum of money.

About the year 1592, eleven priests and Jesuits were arrested in Connaught, and Munster, amongst whom was Michael Fitzsimon, a priest, and son of an alderman of Dublin.* They were brought to Dublin, and accused in presence of the deputy, of having been concerned in the rebellion of Baltinglass. This was the pretext made use of, but their real crime was, that they preached against the reformation, and the supposed supremacy of Elizabeth, which was then high treason. Michael Fitzsimon was hanged in the public market place.

The horrid fate of Hugh MacMahon, chief of the ancient tribe of the MacMahons of Monaghan, which has been already mentioned, alarmed the neighbouring noblemen, who, each in turn, expected the same treatment.† Hugh MacGuire, prince of Fermanagh, was particularly affected by MacMahon's untimely end. The deputy having sent a sheriff to his district without his con-

* Ware, *ibid.*

† Peter Lombard, *ibid.* cap. 24, page 243, 244.

sent, he collected his forces and prepared to defend himself. This English magistrate was called Willis, and was followed by two hundred men, women, and children;* and instead of discharging the duties of his office, he pillaged the country, and raised contributions every where. Maguire marched against him, and forced him and his followers to seek safety in a church, where he would have put them all to the sword, had it not been for the interference of Tyrone, who saved their lives, on condition that they would quit the province.

Thomas Jones, Protestant bishop of Meath, sent a minister of his church, about this time to the abbey of Cluaincois or Clunes, in the territory of Monaghan, to preach the reformation.† The zeal of this minister was not confined to the people in the neighbourhood of the abbey. He proceeded to the districts of Fermanagh, where he gave the Catholics considerable uneasiness about their religion, by endeavouring to force them to embrace the reformation. He intimidated those who persevered in their faith, by accusing them of high treason, and thus became master of their estates. However, his tyranny was of short duration, as he was burned in his house, with all his retinue. The suspicion of the government immediately fell on Maguire. He was summoned to appear before the English judges, but as he would not acknowledge their authority, he refused to obey, and had recourse to arms, whereon he was proclaimed a traitor.

In the mean time, Hugh O'Donnel, Daniel MacSweeney, surnamed Gorm, and Fluan O'Gallachur, were arrested by stratagem, as we have already observed, and imprisoned in the castle of Dublin, A.D. 1594.‡ After a close confinement of nearly seven years, they found means to escape with Henry and Art, sons of Shane O'Neill, and Philip O'Reilly. Fiach O'Birne, the implacable enemy of the English, and young Edward Eustace, of the illustrious house of Balthin-glass, contributed greatly to their escape. These noblemen having gained over the jailers, sent the illustrious captives a piece of linen, as if for clothing. O'Donnel cut it into stripes, which he tied together, by means of which they all descended at midnight, safely into the trench, except Art O'Neill, who was dangerously wounded by a stone that fell from the wall, and of which he shortly afterwards died. Thus delivered from prison, they left the city before day-

break. It was then the depth of winter, the roads were bad, and they were obliged to take bye-paths, in order to escape the pursuit of their enemies, so that they suffered great fatigue and hardships before they arrived in Ulster.

Hugh O'Donnel, prince of Tyrconnel, called by the Irish *Bal Deargus O'Donnaill*, from a red spot on his body, was next to O'Neill in point of power. Though not twenty years of age, he was remarkable for his prudence and other virtues, particularly for his zeal in the Catholic cause. On his arrival in Tyrconnel, his father being far advanced in years, gave him up his own right; whereupon he was unanimously elected, and crowned prince of Tyrconnel, by O'Pheile, who was the minister of that ceremony in the family of O'Donnel.

As soon as O'Donnel was in possession of the principality, he generously determined to use all his power against the enemies of his religion and country.* The first time he signalized himself in their cause was when captain Willis made some inroads on the estates of Tyrconnel. This officer having entered the district with a few troops, endeavoured to raise contributions. The prince, however, marched against him, and forced him to seek safety in an old monastery, where he was immediately surrounded by the troops of Tyrconnel. The Englishman finding himself hemmed in, and without any hope of succour, implored the clemency of the prince; who generously gave him his freedom, on condition of his telling those who had sent him that the queen and her lieutenants treated the Irish unworthily; that they impiously profaned the Catholic religion, and were cruelly persecuting the ministers of Jesus Christ; that they were degrading the Catholic nobility, and that, instead of administering justice, they were continually committing abuses, and usurping the estates of others; and lastly, that he would not allow his people to pay tribute any longer to the English. O'Donnel having dismissed the English captain and his men, thought of securing allies to defend the common cause. He took care to conciliate the principal noblemen of the country towards him, all of whom were branches of the house of Tyrconnel;† namely, Eugenius MacSweeney of Tueth, Donat MacSweeney of Banach, Daniel MacSweeney of Fanid, John O'Dogherty of Inisowen, the *O'Buildhils* or Boyles of Boylagh, and many others. O'Rourke of Brefny,

* Ware, *ibid.* cap. 36.

† Hist. Cathol. Ibern. vol. 3, lib. 2, cap. 6.

‡ Hist. Cathol. *ibid.* cap. 4.

* Pet. Lombard, *ibid.* p. 348 Ibid, p. 351.

† Hist. Cathol. *ibid.* cap. 6. Pet. Lombard *ibid.* page 345, et seq.

who sought an opportunity to revenge the death of his father who had been executed in London, was amongst the allies of Tyrconnel.

Maguire, prince of Fermanagh, was already in arms against the English, when Edmond MacGowran, archbishop of Armagh, and primate of all Ireland, arrived. He was sent by the pope to encourage the Catholic nobility of Ireland to defend their religion: and also brought promises of assistance from Philip II., king of Spain. In order to fulfil his commission, the archbishop visited the princes and lords of Ulster, but generally resided with the prince of Fermanagh.

Maguire, accompanied by the primate, entered Connaught sword in hand. Bingham, governor of that province, sent a detachment against him, under William Guelfert. Both armies having met in a place called Skiethna-Fheart; a brisk engagement ensued between the cavalry, but Maguire having forced his way through the ranks, killed Guelfert with his lance; and the English seeing their chief fallen, took to flight, leaving the field of battle to Maguire. This nobleman's joy for his victory, was, however, changed into sorrow by the death of the primate, who was killed by some English that were retreating. The Irish of the Catholic party, determined to treat, not only the English Protestants as enemies, but also the Irish Catholics who assisted them. On this principle, O'Rourke and Maguire marched together to Annaly, at present the county of Longford, belonging to the O'Ferrals; where they destroyed every thing by fire and sword, and carried away immense booty. William O'Ferral, lord of that country, advancing with a body of cavalry to wrest the spoils from his enemy, was killed by Maguire, and his men put to flight.

Fitzwilliam, lord deputy of Ireland, was recalled in August, and succeeded by Sir William Russel, youngest son of the earl of Bedford; who on his arrival in Dublin, was sworn into office, and was informed, by the council, of the state of affairs in Ireland.

The disturbances continued in Ulster, where the Catholic party were gaining strength by the union of the lords of the province.* The English government became alarmed, and despatched an army against Maguire who kept the field. The earl of Tyrone and the marshal Bagnall were appointed to head this expedition. The policy of Tyrone still prevented him from declaring against the queen, or even remaining neutral. Maguire seeing the preparations that were making against him, and the danger with

which he was threatened, sent to O'Donnel for assistance, who granted him a small body of Irish and Scotch, the former being armed with axes, and the latter with arrows; but even with this reinforcement, the prince of Fermanagh's army was inferior in numbers to the enemy. The English having reached the banks of the river Earne, began to cannonade the Catholic army, which was posted on the opposite side, from which the latter suffered severely, having but their arrows to oppose the enemy's artillery—at length, Tyrone having discovered a ford, crossed the river at the head of his cavalry, and broke Maguire's infantry; but this advantage was not important in consequence of his being wounded by the arrow of an Irish archer in the thigh. Maguire having then rallied his cavalry and infantry, forced the enemy to cross the river. The old animosities between Tyrone and Bagnall broke out anew on this occasion. Bagnall, as commander-in-chief, claimed the glory of the action, while the only advantage that was gained over the Catholics, was chiefly due to the bravery of the earl. O'Donnel having arrived in Maguire's camp with a fresh reinforcement, the night after the battle, was desirous of attacking the English; but was prevented by a secret express from Tyrone, who begged of him not to undertake any thing against the English army, whilst he remained among them, as his liberty would be endangered. Tyrone left the camp shortly afterwards, and went to Dungannon to get cured of his wounds.

In the mean time, Richard Bingham, governor of Connaught, laid siege to Inniskillen, a fortress belonging to Maguire.* He took possession of it much less by his valour, than by the treachery of one MacCraine, which implies *filius scrophæ*—who was an officer of the garrison, and a favourite with Maguire. The disposition of this man corresponded with his face, which was hideous. Being bribed by Bingham, he opened the gates of the castle to him, and was the only person that was spared by this general, who had every man, woman, and child, (except the traitor) put to the sword. After this expedition, Bingham garrisoned the castle of Enniskillen, and returned immediately to his province, to avoid meeting with O'Donnel and Maguire, who were superior to him in strength.

The Catholics of Leinster, having been already persecuted under the government of John Perrot, the deputy, many of them were

* Hist. Cathol. *ibid.* cap. 7.

* Hist. Cathol. *ibid.*

forced to abandon their dwellings and take up arms to defend themselves against the rigour of the laws that were enacted against them.* Sir Walter Fitzgerald, of the house of Kildare, was among the number. This knight was called Vater Riach, or the brown, from the darkness of his complexion. He withdrew to Gloran, in the county of Wicklow, to Fiach Mac-Hugh O'Birne, whose daughter he had married. Fiach was a powerful nobleman, and always opposed to the English. He was one of the most important allies of the celebrated viscount Balinglass, when that nobleman took up arms against Elizabeth; but after the fall of the viscount, he was restored to favour with the government, and his house was an asylum for the persecuted Catholics. Several young gentlemen followed the fortune of Walter Fitzgerald, with whom he made war against the English. He defeated Dudley Bagnall, brother to the lord marshal, who attacked him with the troops of the garrison at Leighlin, Dudley himself being found among the slain. He also made incursions into Ormond, where he defeated the Butlers and their chief, Peter Butler, nephew to the earl Ormond; and afterwards made inroads on Leinster and Meath, and became the terror of the English Protestants. In order to prevent the consequences of his rapid victories, the deputy proposed terms of peace, and a general amnesty, which he thought prudent to accept.

Walter Fitzgerald lived in peace for some years; but the war in Ulster giving rise to fresh persecution in Leinster, he again flew to arms, with Fiach O'Byrne, Terence Feilim and his son Raymond, George O'Morra, and others. These confederates had many skirmishes with the Protestants, in which they were sometimes the conquerors, and were sometimes defeated; but being at length overcome by the superior number of their enemies, some of their chiefs, amongst whom was Walter Fitzgerald, fell into the hands of the English, and gave a glorious testimony of faith, by shedding their blood in its defence.

The war still continued to rage in Ulster. O'Donnel surrounded the castle of Enniskillen which had been surprised some time before by the English: but had not the artillery necessary for carrying on the siege in form. The deputy received intelligence of this, and marching to the assistance of the town, had provisions conveyed to the besieged, and after losing a great number of his men, returned to Dublin. In the mean time the

prince of Tyrconnel deputed James O'Healy, archbishop of Tuam, to Philip II., king of Spain, to inform that prince of the state of affairs in Ireland, and remind him of the promises he made to the primate MacGauran, of assisting the Catholics in Ireland.* The prelate was kindly received by his Catholic majesty, who gave fresh assurances of aid, and dismissed him with presents; but he had not the happiness to bring back the answer to O'Donnel, as he was lost on his passage to Ireland.

O'Donnel still kept up the blockade of the castle of Enniskillen;† his design being to reduce the place by famine. The garrison seeing themselves hard pressed, despatched MacCraine, who had lately betrayed the place, with five others, to apprise the English of their distressing situation. These emissaries having crossed the river in a small boat, fell into the hands of a party of the Irish, and were cut to pieces. The English government was well acquainted with the state of the garrison of Enniskillen, and resolved to relieve it. Stores of biscuit, salt meat, cheese, and every thing necessary, were provided; the number of the troops raised for its relief amounted to two thousand five hundred infantry, and four hundred cavalry, commanded by Sir Henry Duke, governor and lord marshal of O'Faly, who received orders to force the prince of Tyrconnel from his entrenchments. O'Donnel received intelligence of the preparations that were making against him, and being determined to meet the enemy, he despatched a courier to the earl of Tyrone, with a letter, informing him of the danger to which he was exposed, and that he was resolved to shed the last drop of his blood in defence of his country's cause, against the English, adding, that he would consider him as his enemy, if he refused to assist him in so pressing an emergency.

O'Neill convened his council, in order to examine the despatches of the courier. He hesitated at first, from fear that O'Donnel had engaged too hastily in this war, and that he calculated on doubtful aid from the king of Spain; on the other hand, he thought it wrong to forsake the prince of Tyrconnel in his dilemma, who was his ally, relative and friend; though dreaded that if he were defeated it would prove fatal to the cause of religion, in favour of which he intended immediately to declare himself. Tyrone therefore despatched Cormac O'Neill his brother, at the head of one hundred horse, and three

* Hist. Cathol. Ibern. *ibid.* cap. 2.

* War. *ibid.* c. 37. Hist. Cathol. c. 8.

† Hist. Cathol. cap. 11.

hundred foot, to Tyrconnel. The latter immediately sent a detachment of a thousand foot, under the command of Maguire and Cormac O'Neill, to meet the English, who were approaching his camp with rapid strides. Maguire and O'Neill set out on their march, and arrived in the evening, on the banks of the river Farna, where they saw the English army under Sir Duke, posted on the opposite side. Both armies passed the night in firing on each other. At break of day, the English general having discovered a ford, made his army cross the river, and marched towards the enemy in battle array. The battle began at eleven in the morning, and lasted till night with great slaughter on both sides; but the English were at length completely routed, by the superior skill of the Irish generals, and the bravery of the soldiers under their command. Those who escaped the carnage endeavoured to repass the river, but being pursued by the Irish, several were drowned in endeavouring to escape. According even to their authors, the loss of the English was immense, which avowal from Englishmen is worthy of remark.* From O'Sullivan we learn that they lost four hundred men. He even mentions the place where the battle was fought, *vadium biscocorum panum*, or, the ford of biscuits; the confusion of the English being so great, that they were obliged to throw the biscuit which had been intended for the garrison of Inniskillen, into the river. This garrison having now lost all hopes of succour, from the defeat of their countrymen, opened the gates to O'Donnel. That prince restored it to Maguire to whom it belonged.

After the reduction of Enniskillen, Tyrconnel marched to Connaught to revenge the tyranny which had been practised in that province by Bingham, the governor. He carried terror wherever he passed, putting every English Protestant, from the age of fifteen to sixty, who could not speak Irish, to the sword. Tyrconnel afterwards entered Annaly, and burned the district of Longford, which belonged to the O'Ferralls. It had been usurped by an English Protestant, named Brown; so that the English in Connaught who escaped the sword of the conqueror, being deprived of all they had amassed, except those who were under the protection of the garrisons and fortresses, were obliged to return to England, highly indignant with those who had induced them to seek their fortunes in Ireland.

Theobald Burke, a powerful lord of Con-

naught, of the house of MacWilliam, was deprived about this time by the English, of the estates of his ancestors, and confined in a dungeon at Athlone. Being rescued from his captivity, he had recourse to O'Donnel, who gave him a body of men, to assist him in recovering his patrimony. Burke thereon returned to his province, laid siege to Bealike, one of his fortresses, which was in possession of the English, and defeated George Bingham and other chiefs, who were advancing at the head of an English army, to the relief of the besieged. Such was the state of affairs in Ulster. War was raging between the principal nobles of the province and the English. Disturbances also began to break out in the provinces of Leinster and Connaught.

Hugh O'Neill, earl of Tyrone, had acted his part ably. He had spent seven years in organizing his forces, and in providing provisions, and all sorts of warlike stores. He always appeared to act in the queen's interests, still the English distrusted him, while the Irish blamed his inactivity. He only waited a favourable moment to avow himself. Until this year, (A.D. 1595,) he had been thwarted by Tirlogh Linogh, cousin to Conn O'Neill, first earl of the name, and son of the brother of Con More O'Neill, who was father of the earl. Tirlogh assumed the name of O'Neill; disputed the principality of Tyrone with Hugh, and was supported by the greater part of the tribe, who despised English titles, and considered the name alone to be much more honourable. On the death of his rival, he was acknowledged as the *O'Neill*. He then renounced the title of earl, removed the mask, and declared against the queen. He was afterwards nominated commander-in-chief of the league, which consisted of several branches of the O'Neills, Maguires, MacMahons, Magennises, Mac Donnels, O'Cahans, O'Flannagans, and many other powerful nobles of the province, with their vassals.* O'Donnel, on his side, commanded the Tyrconnel faction. These princes sometimes acted separately, but always for the good of the common cause, which was that of their religion and their country.

CHAPTER XLIV.

THE frequent victories which the Catholics of Ireland gained over the English, alarmed the court of England. The queen was so

* Cambd. Elizab. ad. an. 1594, page 658.

* Pet. Lombard ibid. page 352.

O. Mahon
p. 252

afflicted by these disasters, that she determined to put an end to them by subduing the Catholics. For this purpose, she sent for the old troops who were serving in the Netherlands, against Philip II., and despatched three thousand of them over to Ireland, under the orders of Sir John Norris, with the title of captain-general.* This diversion was highly favourable to Spain. Phillip II., had given the command of the Netherlands to cardinal Albert, archduke of Austria; he collected the Spanish forces, under the pretence of raising the siege of Fere, in Picardy, by which means he took the towns of Calais and Ardres, leaving to Henry IV., the opportunity of taking the town of Fere.†

Norris having landed with his forces in Ireland, was joined by the deputy, and the troops under his command, in all amounting to about ten thousand men. The deputy requested that Baskerville should have the command of this reinforcement, but the court thought proper to confer it on Norris, as being more experienced. He had already served in Ireland, as governor of Munster; and having afterwards commanded the English army in Brittany and the Low countries, against the king of Spain, he was considered to be the ablest captain in England, and capable of opposing Tyrone.‡ He was so fully persuaded of this himself, that, in taking leave of the queen, he said he would reduce O'Neill, to obey her majesty, or force him to leave Ireland. He did not, however, accomplish his promise.

O'Neill having heard that Norris was marching towards Ulster, collected his forces, and began hostilities, by taking a fort called Portmor, on the Blackwater, near the district of Tyrone, where there was an English garrison, the fortifications of which he destroyed. He then marched to lay siege to Monaghan. In the mean time, in order to vindicate his conduct, O'Neill wrote letters in the form of manifestoes, to the earl of Ormond, Wallop, and Russel the deputy, declaring to them, that it was not his wish to make war, but to live in peace with the queen, provided he and his followers were allowed to profess the religion of their ancestors, on which condition he was ready to lay down his arms.§ He wrote in the same terms to the queen and captain Norris; but the two last letters were intercepted and

suppressed by marshal Bagnol, who, though O'Neill's brother-in-law, was his avowed enemy. However, instead of receiving favourable answers to his letters, he was proclaimed a rebel and a traitor to his country, with O'Donnel, O'Rourke, Maguire, and MacMahon.

English writers, who turn every thing to the advantage of their own nation, allege that O'Neill became alarmed at the preparations that were getting up against him, and also at Norris's marching towards Ulster at the head of a veteran army. According to them he wrote respectful and submissive letters to the English commander, and to other English chiefs, imploring their intercession with the queen, to procure him a general pardon for the past. The English policy required that this falsehood should be made public, in order to break off the treaty of alliance which the prince of Tyrone had concluded with the king of Spain, and to prevent him sending over the succours he had promised.* The plan was well laid. A messenger was sent to Brussels to publish the pretended letters patent of the queen of England, containing O'Neill's pardon, in order that the governor of the Low Countries might make known to his master, the king of Spain, the supposed peace between Elizabeth and Tyrone; but the imposture was soon afterwards discovered by the seal of England being affixed to them instead of Ireland, which was always used to authenticate any act respecting that nation. It is probable that the report of O'Neill's reconciliation made some impression on the court of Spain, as they put off sending the succours which had been promised to O'Neill, and as the latter suspended for a while, his warlike operations, and kept himself on the defensive.

The English government was still desirous of treating with O'Neill, and the other Catholic confederates; for which purpose they agreed upon a truce of two months, from the 27th October, till the beginning of January. In the mean time the castle of Monaghan surrendered to the besiegers, commanded by Conn son of O'Neill, O'Donnel, and MacMahon. The truce ended on the 1st January. On the 8th the government sent a commission to Sir Robert Gardiner and Sir Henry Wallop, with full power to conclude a treaty with the Catholics of Ulster. The commissioners repaired to Dundalk; but the Irish, through distrust of the English, refused to meet them, so that they were obliged to hold the conference in

* Hist. Cathol. vol. 3, lib. 3, c. 1. Pet. Lombard, p. 389, et seq. Baker's Chron. cap. 383.

† Abridg. Chron. of the Hist. France, by Presid. Hayn. on the year 1596.

‡ Cambd. Elizab. part 4, ad. an. 1597, page 701.

§ Cambd. Elizabeth, ad an. 1595.

* Peter Lombard, *ibid.* page 391, et seq.

a plain, in presence of the two armies. The Catholics demanded three things to be granted: 1st—a general liberty of conscience; 2nd—a full pardon for the past; and lastly, the entire removal of their garrisons, their sheriffs, and other officers of justice from the province, except the towns of Newry and Carrickfergus. The English commissioners not approving of these articles, the conference ended without coming to any decision, except that of renewing the truce till the first of April.

At the expiration of this, Russel the deputy, and general Norris, led their army to Dundalk. The jealousy between these two noblemen about the command, was the cause of much disunion. The deputy left Dundalk with his army, to possess himself of Armagh; but O'Neill, accompanied by Maguire, O'Cahan, the two sons of O'Hanlon, and other nobles, met him on his march. The action began at Killeluona with great fury on both sides, but the English were forced to retreat to Newry, leaving six hundred men dead on the field of battle. O'Neill's loss did not exceed two hundred men.*

The ill success of the deputy in Ulster made him quit the province, and return to Dublin. He gave up his command of the troops to Norris. The Catholics of Leinster were in arms; Fiach, son of Hugh, chief of the O'Byrnes of Wicklow, and Donal Spaniagh, or the Spaniard, chief of the Cavenagh's, having united their forces, ravaged the whole country from Dublin to Wexford. The O'Connors acted in the same manner in Offaly. Connaught was disturbed, and the inhabitants being joined by a body of Scotch, carried terror wherever they marched. The deputy led his army to this province, and besieged Loismage castle, belonging to O'Madden. He summoned the garrison to surrender, but was answered by the besieged, that were his army composed of deputies, they would hold out to the last. However, as it was not fortified, he made himself master of it, the besieged having lost about forty-six men.

The deputy left the affairs of Ulster to Norris, who marched towards Monaghan, in which there had been a garrison, since it was abandoned by the Irish. O'Neill on receiving intelligence of the march of Norris, intercepted him at Cluoin Tiburuid, in a plain at a short distance from Monaghan. Both armies were divided by a rivulet. The English general endeavoured to force his passage, but was twice repulsed by the Irish fusiliers; he

had a horse killed under him, and he, with his brother Thomas Norris, was wounded; after which the action of an individual decided the victory. An officer called Segrave, belonging to the army of Norris, and a native of the county Meath, led on a detachment of cavalry to attack the quarter where O'Neill fought. In the midst of the engagement, Segrave forced his way to the earl of Tyrone, and engaged him in single combat. The two heroes having broken two lances each on the shield of his adversary, fell. At this moment O'Neill attacking his adversary with his sword, slew him, and by his defeat completed the defeat of the English, who left seven hundred men dead upon the field of battle. The loss of the Catholics was inconsiderable. The day following Norris wishing to return to the charge, was repulsed with some loss at Bealach-Finnuis; Monaghan surrendered to the Catholics, and the garrison marched out with the honours of war.

Whilst O'Neill was supporting the cause of religion so gloriously in Ulster, O'Donnel marched to the relief of the Catholics in Connaught. Young George Bingham occupied the castle of Sligo at that time, with a garrison of two hundred men, both English and Irish. Bingham, who had an insatiable thirst for wealth, left the command of the castle of Sligo to Ulick Burke, and sailed, with part of the garrison on board two boats, for Tyrconnel. After coasting for some days, he landed at Rathmullin, a municipal town belonging to MacSweeney Fanid, in the territory of Kilmacrenan; this English pirate taking advantage of MacSweeney's absence, who was in O'Donnel's army, pillaged the town, and the Carmelite convent,* and carried off considerable booty. On his return to Sligo, he divided part of these sacred spoils amongst his soldiers who had assisted him in the sacrilege. Ulick Burke observing this Englishman's partiality, from his having withheld from the Irish any share in these favours, determined to be revenged. Having formed his plan, he appointed a day for carrying it into execution; the Irish belonging to the garrison attacked the English, slew Bingham, and gave up the castle to O'Donnel, who appointed Burke to the government of it. About the same time the castle of Baile-an-Mhota, or Ballimot,

* This mention of the convent of Rathmullin is not an anachronism, though the suppression of monasteries is considered to have been completed in the time of Elizabeth. As the English had at that time no power in Ulster, it is not surprising that a few of its convents escaped the rage of the reformers.

* Hist. Cathol. *ibid.* cap. 4. Peter Lombard, *ibid.* page 393.

in the same county (Sligo), was torn from the elder Bingham, by Tumultach and Cabal Mac-Donagh, to whom it belonged. After the taking of these two places, the affairs of the English in Connaught were in a very unpromising state. The army of O'Donnel kept them in check. In order to remedy this, the deputy sent a reinforcement of men to Sir George Bingham, governor of the province, to enable him to act.* Bingham's first care was to surround the castle of Sligo, both on account of the importance of the place, and to revenge the death of his relatives and friends, whom Ulick Burke had caused to be massacred. The garrison was in want of provisions, and Burke was frequently obliged to sally forth to procure them, which caused frequent skirmishes between him and the besiegers; but the arrival of O'Donnel at the head of sixteen hundred men, forced them to raise the siege. This prince encamped within view of the enemy, and sent his brother Roderick, Felim Mac-Davet, and another officer, to reconnoitre their strength. They were pursued by an Englishman called Martin, at the head of a detachment of cavalry; MacDavet stopped in the middle of a stream which they were crossing, and struck captain Martin dead with a blow of his lance. This action was followed by the raising of the siege of Sligo, and the retreat of the English army.

CHAPTER XLV.

As the queen and her council were particularly desirous of making peace with O'Neill, commissioners were frequently appointed to propose terms to him. General Norris and Geoffroy Fenton, secretary of state, were appointed to make overtures in 1596. They repaired to Dundalk, where they had an interview with O'Neill. He had not confidence enough in the English to treat with them; besides the principal condition he required was a freedom of religion, so that this conference was not more successful than the preceding ones. Sir Edward Moor was soon afterwards entrusted to carry the queen's pardon to Tyrone, which he peremptorily refused.

Three small vessels laden with powder, arrived about this time from Spain, for O'Donnel. They brought two hundred men also, and promises of more efficient aid. O'Neill wrote letters on the common cause

to Fiach, chief of the O'Byrnes, and other noblemen of Leinster, his allies, to which he received favourable answers. He kept up a correspondence also with the best disposed characters in Munster, by means of the clan Shyhyes, whom he sent thither for that purpose, with confidential letters from himself.

His letters to many of the lords of Leinster, had the desired effect. Fiach O'Byrne renewed hostilities, by taking the fort of Balli-ne-cor, the fortifications of which he destroyed. The O'Morras, O'Connors, O'Tools, Cavenaghs, and Butlers, took up arms likewise, and demanded the restoration of their confiscated estates. The deputy marched against O'Byrne; the Butlers were pursued by the earl of Ormond, who, after renouncing his religion, persecuted his relatives; the O'Morras and O'Connors were exposed to the attacks of Sir Anthony St. Leger. Connaught was in as great a ferment as Leinster; Richard Bingham, governor of that province, having taken up arms against the Burkes and O'Rourkes.

The king of Spain was aware that Elizabeth had made frequent proposals of peace to O'Neill, O'Donnel, and the other Irish lords who were fighting for their religion.* His Catholic Majesty sent an agent to encourage these princes to persevere, and to renew the promises he had already made to them. In the mean time, the English took Armagh by surprise, and placed a garrison in it. O'Neill beheld with sorrow, this holy city, that was founded by St. Patrick, profaned by the reformers, to whom nothing was sacred. The garrison was strong, and protected by the army which was encamped near it, under general Norris. Tyrone not deeming it prudent to undertake a siege, brought Norris to an engagement near the church of Killoter. The English being confident in their strength, were eager to engage, but were vigorously repulsed and put to flight by O'Neill's forces, who pursued them as far as Armagh, and killed several of their men. After this Norris left five hundred troops in the garrison, under the command of Francis Stafford, and withdrew with the remainder of his army, towards Dundalk. O'Neill being master of the field was enabled to intercept the provisions that were intended for Armagh, so that famine was the consequence. This was succeeded by a plague, which carried off their men in great numbers. The English of Dundalk hearing of the sad condition of their garrison in Ar-

* Hist. Cathol. *ibid.*

* Hist. Cathol. *ibid.* cap. 5, 6, 7.

magh, sent a supply of provisions, under an escort of three companies of infantry, and a troop of horse. O'Neill surprised the convoy, and put the troops that were guarding it to the sword. The penetrating mind of Tyrone guided him in turning every thing to advantage. He now bethought of a stratagem in which he was most successful; he got some of his men, both foot and horse, to assume the uniform of the English who were killed, and ordered them to march with English banners towards a ruined monastery that was within a gun-shot of Armagh. The prince pursued these supposed English with the rest of his troops, within view of the garrison; both parties began a discharge of their musketry, loaded only with powder, whereupon the men, as instructed, fell on every side, without sustaining any injury. This sham battle soon drew the attention of the garrison of Armagh; Stafford, the commander, gave orders that half of the garrison should take up arms, and advance rapidly to the field of battle, to the relief of their supposed countrymen. The English found not only O'Neill's troops, but those to whose succour they came, drawn up in order of battle, and ready to charge them, whilst Conn, son of O'Neill, who lay in ambush with some infantry in the neighbouring monastery, attacked them in the rear. The English being now between two fires, were cut to pieces, within view of the garrison. Stafford, who was in Armagh, finding himself without any resource, submitted to Tyrone, who permitted him to join, with the rest of the garrison, the English army at Dundalk. O'Neill after this made an attempt on the castle of Carlingford, in which he was unsuccessful; however, he sent his son-in-law, Henry Ogue, with some troops, to make incursions on the English province, and to create a diversion in favour of the Catholics of Leinster, who had taken up arms.

The continued complaints that were made against Sir Richard Bingham, governor of Connaught, for his cruelty and tyranny, having reached the throne, that infamous minister was recalled, and replaced by Sir Conyers Clifford.* The Irish were but little skilled in the art of defending towns and fortifications, and were obliged to remedy their unskillfulness by a greater number of men. For this purpose O'Neill evacuated Armagh and Portmore, which were immediately taken possession of by Norris, who garrisoned them, and gave the command of the former to Sir Henry Davers. The English general endeavouring to extend his conquests farther

was stopped by O'Neill, who lay encamped on his way. Norris then set his men to build a fort or entrenchment, since called Mount Norris, in the barony of Fews, between Armagh and Newry. They were frequently interrupted by the attacks of O'Neill's men; but having at length completed it, Norris placed a garrison in it, under the command of Williams. He then returned to Dundalk with his army, and Mount Norris, Armagh, and Portmore, which had been taken but lately by the English, surrendered to O'Neill, who sent the garrisons home. In vain did Norris return to attack him with his whole force; he was completely defeated at Molach Breac, by O'Neill, in the district of Orior, after having rallied his men three times. Maguire, the general of O'Neill's cavalry, contributed to the gaining of this battle. Norris himself was dangerously wounded in the action, which was his last against O'Neill.

O'Donnel, accompanied by the MacSweenys, O'Dogharty, the brave Maguire, O'Rourke, MacWilliam, O'Kelly, MacDermot, O'Connor Roe, and O'Dowd, entered Connaught with their troops.* He was also joined by Murrough MacSweeney at the head of three hundred men, whom he assisted in a petty war with the English during two years in Munster. Clifford, who was appointed the new governor of Connaught, had not yet arrived. General Norris was weary of serving in Ulster, where, instead of gathering fresh laurels, he was losing those which he had gained in foreign countries. Being desirous of trying his fortune in other parts, he undertook an expedition against O'Donnel into Connaught, either to make terms with him, or reduce him by force. For this purpose he repaired to Athlone, where he was joined by the earls of Thuomond and Clanriccard. Theobald Burke, surnamed *Na-Luing*, or the naval, from the trade he carried on by sea, and several lords of the English faction, with the Anglo-Irish of Munster, Leinster, and Meath. He also received a reinforcement from England, which increased his army to ten thousand men. Norris knew that O'Donnel was in the neighbourhood of Ballinroab, near lake Mask, at the head of five hundred men; and having set out upon his march, he soon found himself in view of the enemy, from whom he was divided by a small river. The night was spent in firing, and at break of day Norris demanded a conference with O'Donnel, in which peace was proposed between

* War. *ibid.* c. 39.

* Hist. Cathol. *ibid.* cap. 2.

the general of the queen and the Catholic chiefs. The terms offered to O'Donnel were advantageous, but were not accepted. The conference lasted for some days, during which both armies kept up hostilities, and fought in detached bodies, without coming to a general engagement. Theobald the Naval, having attacked the right wing of the Catholic army at the head of a heavy detachment, was repulsed with the loss of three hundred men. The negotiation lasted for a month between the prince of Tyrconnel and Norris, without anything being settled upon. The latter suffered heavy losses both in skirmishing, and by the desertion of some nobles who joined the standard of the Catholics. After being harassed in his retreat by the troops of O'Donnel, he lost several of his men, and was forced to quit the province in disgrace.*

The deputy undertook an expedition in May, into the county of Wicklow, where he surprised and killed Fiach MacHugh, chief of the illustrious tribe of the O'Byrnes, and the champion of the Catholic cause in Leinster.† Fiach left two sons, Felim and Raymond, who inherited his bravery and zeal for religion. Felim left the command to his brother, and went to visit O'Neill in Ulster, to ask him for assistance. The prince of Tyrone expressed great friendship for the young nobleman, and having condoled with him on the death of his father, gave him about three hundred and fifty men, under the command of Brian Riach O'Morra, a nobleman of Leinster. On returning with this reinforcement, Felim fought some skirmishes with the English, and took possession of his father's patrimony, which had been seized upon by these foreigners. After this expedition, Brian O'Morra marched with the same troops towards Loughgarra, (Wexford), pillaged all the English he met with on his march, and cut a large body of them to pieces, besides four hundred Irish auxiliaries.

After the death of the celebrated Rory O'Morra, who was killed in a battle against the English, as we have already observed, his sons Uoine or Owen, and Edmond, were placed under the protection of Fiach O'Byrne, from whom they received an education suitable to their rank. When Owen attained the age of manhood, Felim, son of Fiach, gave him a suitable retinue, and sent him to lay claim to his patrimony. This young nobleman having made himself known, was acknowledged and proclaimed by his father's

vassals, the *O'Morra*, or lawful heir to the principality of Leix. Warham St. Leger, the English governor of that district, alarmed at these occurrences, marched his army to put them down; but the inhabitants of Leix ranging themselves under the banners of their chief, O'Morra, gave battle to St. Leger, who, after an obstinate resistance, was forced to retreat, leaving five hundred men dead on the field.

Some step was necessary to be taken, in order to restore the English power in Ireland. The queen recalled Russell the deputy, and appointed lord Borrough to succeed him. This new deputy received the sword in May, in St. Patrick's cathedral, and was invested with the supreme authority both in civil and military affairs.* He first exercised his power over general Norris, whom he sent back to his office of governor in Munster, forbidding him to leave it without his permission. Norris was too proud to brook this insult; he had been already disgraced by O'Neill, who had deprived him of the high military reputation he had acquired abroad, and at length died, loaded with ignominy, in the country which had given birth to St. Rumold, first bishop and patron of Malines, whose relics he had profaned, when commanding the English army in the Netherlands.

Burrough was haughty and determined; he commanded for a long time in Holland against Philip II., whereby he became expert in the art of war. A truce was made by this deputy, for one month, with O'Donnel, O'Neill, and other Catholic chiefs, and terms of peace were offered to them, but in vain. The month being expired, the English general marched to Ulster at the head of a powerful army. Besides the troops which served under Russell and Norris, a large reinforcement was sent to him from England.

The Anglo-Irish of Meath were zealous to signalize themselves in the cause of Elizabeth—they assembled at Mullingar, to the number of a thousand men, under the command of Barnewall, baron of Trimlestown, and marched after the deputy. In their route, however, they met with a signal defeat.

Richard Tirrell, who was of English descent, and lord of Fertullagh, in West Meath, served at that time in the army of O'Neill. He was a nobleman by birth, and strongly attached to the Catholic religion. His talents peculiarly fitted him to command a flying camp. From the rapidity of his expeditions,

* Peter Lombard, *ibid.* page 395.

† Hist. Cathol. *ibid.* 6, 10.

* Ware, *ibid.* cap. 40.

and capability of sustaining fatigue, he had already become formidable to the English, and his memory is still respected by the true Irish.

The prince of Tyrone saw with calm reflection the preparations that were in progress against him; the march of the deputy was known to him; he therefore prepared to oppose him, and to cause a diversion. Captain Tirrell was despatched at the head of four hundred infantry, with orders to act in either Meath or Leinster, according to emergencies. Tirrell marched through the whole of Meath without meeting an enemy, and having reached Fertullagh, he encamped in order to give his army some repose. The troops which had been assembled at Mullingar, as has been already observed, being apprized of Tirrell's march, determined to take him by surprise. The baron who commanded them, looked upon this expedition as unworthy of himself, on account of the small number of the enemy he had to fight, and therefore commissioned his son to undertake it, thinking it a good opportunity for him to signalize himself, and thereby to make his court to the deputy. At the dawn of day Tirrell received information through his spies, that the enemy were in full march to surprise him. Without losing a moment, he put himself in a state of defence, but made a feint of flying before them as they approached: by which movement he gained a defile covered with trees; which has been since called Tirrell's pass. He then detached half of his little army, and posted them in a hollow adjoining the road; giving the command to his lieutenant O'Connor, a brave and intrepid man like himself. He then, in order to influence his enemy to pursue him, marched on with his division. While the English were passing the place where O'Connor lay in ambuscade: this officer sallied forth with his troops, and caused the drums and fifes to play captain Tirrell's march. This was the signal agreed upon for an attack; the English army having got between two fires, were cut to pieces; and so general was the slaughter, that one soldier only escaped, through a neighbouring bog, to carry the news to Mullingar, from whence the army had set out three days before. Tirrell had sufficient generosity to spare the life of the young nobleman who commanded his enemy, but brought him a prisoner to O'Neill. During the action, O'Connor's hand became so swollen, that it became necessary to cut off the handle of his sword with a file, before it could be disengaged.

Burrough, the deputy, having reached Ul-

ster with all his forces, his first step was to take possession of Armagh and Portmor, which O'Neill had abandoned after destroying the fortifications.* The English general being afraid to proceed farther, repaired Portmor, where he left a garrison of five hundred men, and drew off the remainder of his army. He boasted highly of this act of prowess, proclaiming every where, that he held the key of Ulster, which he could enter at his pleasure. This boast was truly characteristic of his countrymen, who considered the most trifling advantage a complete victory. It was carefully circulated in foreign countries, where it was reported, that the Irish had lost all their towns; and that they were obliged to escape into the woods, and inaccessible places. A similar falsehood had been already published at Brussels, on the supposed reduction of O'Neill, the folly of which we will discover in the sequel.

The deputy was on his way to Dublin, when he learned that Tirrell was besieging Portmor; so he immediately returned, collected his forces, and crossed the Blackwater; but was prevented from advancing by O'Neill, who divided his army, and formed two camps, sufficiently near to assist each other.† The command of the first division he gave to his brothers Cormac and Art O'Neill, and MacMahon, at Droum-Fluich, on the road to Beaun-Bhoruib, at present Binburb, on the left bank of the river. The prince himself commanded the second camp at Tobuir-Masain, and was assisted by James Mac-Donnel, prince of the Glynnns. The deputy endeavoured, in spite of Tyrone's position, to force a passage; but O'Neill's two divisions having united, they made a desperate attack. In the onset, Burrough was mortally wounded, and was carried to Newry, where he died in a few days. This battle was renewed several times. The earl of Kildare, on whom the command of the English army devolved, after Burrough's retreat, suffered the same fate; having been wounded, and twice thrown from his horse, his two foster brothers were killed in endeavouring to put him again on horseback; he fled from the field of battle, and died of his wounds a few days after. The carnage was dreadful; numbers of the English lay dead upon the field; many were drowned in the river, and very many wounded. The persons of note who fell upon this occasion, besides the deputy and the earl of Kildare,

* Hist. Cathol. ibid. Pet. Lombard. ibid. page 398, 399.

† Hist. Cathol. ibid. Pet. Lombard. ibid.

were Francis Waghan, the deputy's brother-in-law, Thomas Walen, and Turner.

Clifford, governor of Connaught, received orders to march with his troops, to the relief of the deputy in Ulster. He accordingly set out at the head of seven hundred men, but having the misfortune to meet with O'Donnel, he was completely defeated: Clifford lost several men of rank on this occasion, amongst whom was the baron of Ineschete.*

The queen saw her forces greatly diminished in Ireland, by the frequent advantages gained over them by the Catholics; and could not find persons qualified to succeed Burrough and Norris. She, however, nominated provisional magistrates and officers for the administration of affairs. Sir Thomas Norris, president of Munster, was appointed lord justice; but his grief for the death of his brother, caused him to resign in a month. The government then conferred that office jointly on Loftus, archbishop of Dublin, and chancellor of Ireland, and chief justice Sir Robert Gardiner, who were sworn in on the 15th of November. On the same day, they received an account of the state of affairs from the council, who informed them, that the war was a general revolt of the Irish, with an intent to shake off the English yoke. Thomas Duff Butler, earl of Ormond, accepted the commission of lieutenant-general. Ambition being the guide of this nobleman's acts, he was drawn into a faction that was opposed to religion and his country; but he never enjoyed the reputation of being a great captain. Among other instructions which the earl of Ormond received from the court of England, he was enjoined to endeavour to bring about a peace with O'Neill, for which purpose, a truce for two months was agreed upon. They met at Dundalk, and O'Neill, proposed the terms; the first and principal one being the free exercise of the Catholic religion throughout the kingdom. The other conditions proposed by this prince, regarded he grievances of the Irish, and the reparation of the injustice which was practised towards them. These overtures were submitted to the English council, and acceded to in every thing, except the free exercise of religion, whereon the truce was broken off, and hostilities resumed.

About the end of the summer, 1598, O'Neill collected all his troops and laid siege to the fort of Blackwater, called also Portmor. At the same time he sent fifteen hundred chosen men to assist his ally, O'Moore of Leix, who was then besieging Porteloise,

at present Maryborough, where there was an English garrison.* These movements produced a diversion, and compelled the earl of Ormond to divide his forces. He first despatched three thousand men against O'Morra, commanded by James Butler, nephew to the earl. Five thousand men were then sent against O'Neill of Ulster, commanded by Bagnal the marshal. The earl's object was the relief of Portmor and Porteloise, by throwing provisions and warlike stores into them; but the result was not equal to his hopes. Brian Riach O'Morra defeated the three thousand English that were sent against him; fifteen hundred, besides the commander, being slain, and Porteloise was taken. O'Morra died in a few days after from his wounds: and the command devolved upon Owen O'Morra.

During these transactions in Leinster, marshal Bagnal, having the command of the army in Ulster, repaired to Newry, which was a general place of meeting for the English.† Tyrone was then encamped with his army at Mollach-Ban, on the road to Armagh, and wishing to cut off all communication between that place and the enemy, he sent his brother Cormac, with a body of five hundred men, to defend the passes. Bagnal was considered an able general; he knew that O'Neill was waiting to give him battle, on his march to Armagh, which city he wished to relieve, but he deceived the prince. In order to avoid an engagement, which would probably have deranged his plans, he marched circuitously from Newry to Armagh, and supplied the garrison with provisions, in spite of the brave resistance of Cormac O'Neill, who maintained his ground for some time, but was at length forced to yield to superior numbers. Flushed at this trifling advantage, Bagnal determined to take O'Neill's camp by surprise, and setting out by night, he put the enemy's advance-guard, consisting of twenty-four horsemen to the sword. They then surrounded O'Neill's tent, who had escaped in his shirt, with some of his attendants; but some servants that were left to guard it and the baggage, were killed. As soon as day appeared, O'Neill collected the forces that were near him, and having forced the English to abandon their booty, he then put them to flight. Both sides lost some men in this action.

The English were masters of some towns in Ulster, which were favourable for their depredations, and afforded them a secure

* Pet. Lombard. *ibid.* p. 400.

* Pet. Lomb. p. 402. Hist. Cathol. *ibid.* vol 3, lib. 4, cap. 1, et seq.

† Hist. Cathol. *ibid.*

retreat; the principal of them were Newry, Dundrum, and Carrickfergus. Sir John Chichester, the governor, marched about the same time, at the head of five hundred infantry and a troop of horse, to plunder the neighbourhood. Coming up at Alfracha, with James Mac-Donnel, prince of Antrim, who had with him about four hundred foot, and sixty horse to oppose these robbers, they came to an engagement which was fatal to the English. Their captain having fallen, they were cut to pieces, so that scarcely one remained to bring the intelligence to Carrickfergus. About the same time, the baron of Trimlestown made some inroads on Monaghan, with the Anglo-Irish of Meath, and a few English troops, but was defeated by the Mac-Mahons.*

The vanity and bad faith of the English will not suffer them to admit the victories the Irish Catholics gained over them. Their historians either pass them over in silence, or obscure them so as that the advantage may appear to be in favour of their countrymen. Invectives are poured out against a generous people who fought for their religion and their freedom, and the epithets of traitor, rebel, and barbarian, are heaped upon the Irish for not calmly yielding to a hateful yoke. An Englishman must be well beaten before he will admit of it. A brilliant victory was gained this year, over those foreigners by O'Neill. The truth of this is not questioned even by the English themselves, since they acknowledge, that it was the bloodiest defeat they met with since their arrival in the island.

O'Neill endeavoured to bring the English marshal to an engagement, and being joined by O'Donnel, Maguire, the general of the cavalry, and other noblemen of the province, he laid siege to Portmor, having in this a double object in view; first, to reduce the place by famine, by cutting off the supplies; and secondly, to compel the English to fight, by forcing them to relieve it. The hopes of the prince of Tyrone were equalled by his success. In the beginning of August, Bagnal marched with the flower of his army to the relief of Portmor, and when arrived within a mile of Ardmach, he met with O'Neill, at a place called Beal-an-ath-a-buidh between two plains, bordered by a bog on one side, and on the other by a thick wood. The battle commenced, and the rout was terrible. Marshal Bagnal with twenty-four of his principal officers, and two thousand of his army, were killed upon the spot; and the remain-

der of his forces put to flight. The loss of the English was heightened by an accident that happened in the beginning of the action, in the quarter where the reserve forces lay. The powder magazine having taken fire, five hundred men at least who were guarding the baggage, were blown up. The spoils that were wrested from them also were very considerable. Twelve thousand pieces of gold—their warlike stores—thirty-four stand of colours—all their instruments of war—all their artillery, and provisions of every kind, fell into the hands of the Irish. In the army of Bagnal there were several Irishmen who ranged themselves under him from motives of self-interest; among the number of whom was Maolmora, surnamed the Fair, a son of O'Reilly. This young nobleman had lately returned from England, where he surrendered into the hands of the queen all his estates, which she restored to him by letters patent. Through gratitude, he unhappily espoused her cause against O'Neill, and lost his life at the head of a troop, while he endeavoured to rally them again to the charge. The English who had the good fortune to escape, took the road to Ardmach. Several were slain in the pursuit, and both horsemen, and about fifteen hundred foot soldiers, sought safety in the churches of that city. This victory cost O'Neill about two hundred men killed, and six hundred wounded, and was followed by the surrender of Portmor.

These brilliant campaigns of Tyrone, and of the other princes and noblemen of Ulster, had opposite influences on the English and Irish Catholics; the alarm of the former was great, while the joy of the latter was universal. They looked upon O'Neill as the liberator of his country, the avenger of their freedom, and the protector of the Irish nobles who were persecuted by the English, or oppressed by their own chiefs. In fact, Raymond, son of John Burke, baron of Leitrim, whose property the earl of Clanriccard invaded, after he had put him to death, threw himself on the protection of O'Neill: and Dermot O'Connor, and his brothers Cairbre and Conn, having been dispossessed by the English, sought an asylum with him also; but Tyrone being busily employed in defending his own province, and unable therefore to afford them effectual aid, sent them to Owen O'Morra in Leinster, to assist in the war of that province.

The queen's officers sent letters to her majesty, complaining of the sad state of things in Ireland, and saying, that so far from being able to maintain an offensive war in that country, they could not defend them-

* Hist. Cathol. *ibid.* cap. 2.

selves against the enemy without speedy assistance, and more powerful resources than any that had been previously sent. The queen was averse abandoning the cause of her English province in Ireland. She attached heavy blame to the earl of Ormond for not having gone in person against O'Neill; and commanded Bingham, who had been lately removed from the government of Connaught for his cruelty, to repair to Ireland, and succeed Bagnal in the office of marshal. Two thousand foot, and a hundred horse were, at the same time, despatched thither, under the orders of Sir Samuel Bagnal. These troops landed at Wexford, and were harassed in their march to Dublin by the Catholics, who killed a great number of them. Bingham arrived in Dublin with great difficulty, where he died soon after.

The example of the men of Ulster roused the fallen courage of the Catholics in other provinces of Ireland, particularly in Munster, where the bravery of the celebrated earl of Desmond was still fresh among his illustrious allies. This feeling it was necessary to encourage, and to effect that object, Sir Peter de Lacy, a powerful nobleman in the county of Limerick, wrote to Owen or Owny MacRory-Ogue O'Morra, who had an army on foot; and invited him, in the name of the Irish Catholics in Munster, to come to their relief. O'Morra, having consulted with O'Neill, undertook the expedition. He committed the government of Leix to his brother Edmond, and, at the head of eight hundred infantry and some horsemen, set out on his march for Munster. Raymond Burke, baron of Leitrim, and his brother William, as also Dermot O'Connor and his brothers Cairbre and Conn, with Richard Tirrel of Fertullagh, accompanied O'Morra in this expedition. The earl of Ormond, who had still the title of general of the English army, made a shew of intercepting O'Morra, but whether by the rapidity of that chieftain's march, or the earl's fear for the result of a battle, he and his army arrived without interruption in the county of Limerick. Thomas Norris, who was then governor of Munster, was greatly alarmed by this invasion. His duty impelled him to attempt driving the enemy out of his province, and for that object he collected his forces and marched to Kilmallock, with a design of fighting O'Morra; but dreading the result of an engagement with him, he placed a strong garrison there, after which he marched for Cork. He, however, had the mortification to witness his rear-guard pursued by the light troops of O'Morra, through the whole of his march.

The success of O'Morra produced an almost universal rising of the noblemen in Munster against the queen. MacCarty More, the head of his illustrious tribe, was prevented by death from being of the number of the confederates. He left a legitimate daughter, named Helena, that was married to MacCarty Riagh, and a natural son called Daniel, who aspired to inherit the title and estates of his father. The earls of Thomond and Ormond, and the baron of Inchiquin, inclined always to the side that gave hopes to their ambition; and the desire of titles of honour and court favours prevented them from joining in any league against Elizabeth. The extensive influence of these noblemen marred the good intentions of the MacMahons, MacNamaras, O'Connors, O'Loughlins of Thomond, O'Dwyers, O'Fogarty's, O'Meaghers, O'Moel-Ryans, O'Kennedys, and other noblemen of Tipperary, and withheld them from uniting against the queen of England.

The other great men of the province being more liberally disposed, looked with contempt upon dignities which interfered with their religion and freedom, and took up arms in defence of both. The chief men that formed a league against the queen, were Fitzmaurice, baron of Lixnaw; William Fitzgerald, knight of Kerry and lord of Kaffinnin, Edmond Fitzgerald, knight of the Glinn; Sir Edmond Fitzgerald, called the white knight; with many other branches of that illustrious house; Dermot and Donogh MacCarty, rival candidates for the principality of Alla; Daniel, son of MacCarty More; Patrick Condon; O'Donohoe More of Onachte; O'Donoghoe of the Glinn; Roche, viscount Fermoy; Richard Butler, viscount of Montgarret, who had married the daughter of O'Neill; and Thomas Butler, baron of Cahir. The same disposition animated the several tribes of the O'Sullivan's, the O'Driscolls, the O'Donnevans, and the O'Mahonys of Carbury, who signalised themselves in the common cause of their country. The confederates appointed for their leader, James, son of Thomas Fitzgerald, surnamed the Red, and acknowledged him as earl of Desmond. Thomas the Red was brother to Garret, last count Palatine of that illustrious family. He left a son named James, who had been given by the countess his mother, as a hostage to the English, and who had been kept prisoner in the tower of London for seventeen years. James was lawful heir of the earl, and to his title of Desmond; but so long an absence rendered him forgotten, and caused the title to be conferred upon James, son of his cousin Thomas; who was therefore chosen as the

leader of the Catholics in that province, where the memory of the earls of Desmond was still dear and respected.

Religion was not the sole cause of the above alliance. The tyranny of the English governors, and the intolerable insolence of the adventurers who had been sent to occupy the estates of Desmond and other noblemen, contributed greatly to the undertaking. These adventurers became the first victims to the rage of the confederates. They were driven from their ill gained possessions, and their castles razed to the ground. Finding themselves now unprotected by the governor Norris, who was scarcely able to defend himself, they fled to Waterford, and embarked for their own country.

It was disgraceful in Norris to shut himself up in Cork, and remain inactive while the war was blazing in the province, to the command of which he had been appointed. He felt heavily the shame of it, and in order to screen his character, he formed the resolution of attacking the Catholics. For this purpose all his forces, amounting to two thousand five hundred men, were mustered by him in Cork; some nobles also in Munster, attached to the court party, were commanded by him to meet, and with these troops, which were formed into three columns—he marched upon Kilmallock. His plan was to draw from the garrison the veteran troops, and replace them with the new levies that were less experienced. He met many difficulties on his march. His rearguard was attacked at a place called Bearrach Abharrah, by William Burke, at the head of three hundred infantry, who killed several of the English, and made themselves masters of part of their baggage. Norris, however, effected his object concerning the garrison of Kilmallock, but was attacked on his return at Ard-Sciéth, by the earl of Desmond, viscount Montgarret, the barons of Cahir and Luochne, William Burke, and Richard Tirrell. It was rather a disordered retreat than a battle. The above chiefs pursued him the entire day for eight miles of his march. Many fell in the several skirmishes, but the heaviest loss was sustained by the fugitives, who, being favoured by the night, were at length fortunate enough to get back into Kilmallock.

Norris undertook a second expedition, which had no better success than the first; he marched with two thousand four hundred foot, and three hundred horse, against lord Roche, viscount Fermoy. At first the viscount abandoned Baile Androhid, a place not fortified, and withdrew to Bailean Cais-

lean, which was stronger. His allies did not forsake him; he was quickly joined by Daniel MacCarty, to whom the principality of Clancarrha was given by the earl of Desmond. Dermot and William O'Connor also joined, with two thousand five hundred infantry, and nearly a hundred cavalry. This army encamped to advantage for the viscount Fermoy: the place he occupied being made secure by it against an attack from the English. The two armies continued for twelve days in view of each other, and had frequent skirmishes, in which some soldiers were killed on both sides. Norris, at length sent away some of his baggage by night, and took the route for Cork. He was pursued by the Irish, who killed two hundred of his men at Mainister-na-Mona.

Some months after the expedition of Norris, Thomas Burke, brother to the baron of Castleconnel, left the queen's party, and sought to be admitted into the Catholic army. For this purpose he applied to Raymond Burke, baron of Leitrim, and to his brother William; and they appointed him to the command of two hundred men. With this little band Thomas wished to surprise some places belonging to the English in Muskerry Burke. He met with general Norris at Killtilli, at the head of twelve hundred men. To avoid fighting was impossible; and notwithstanding the disproportion of their numbers, he acted intrepidly, and by one bold stroke decided the affair. A young man named John Burke, having forced his way into the ranks, struck Norris with his lance and disabled him; and the English army seeing their leader fall, dispersed. The English general was brought to Malow, where he died in fifteen days of his wounds. This Thomas Burke being reconciled afterwards to the English, met with the same fate as Norris; he and his brother, earl of Castleconnel, were killed by Dermot O'Connor in an engagement, wherein these noblemen, who were much superior to him in force, refused him quarter, so true is it, that despair in an enemy is always to be feared.

Donogh O'Connor having been dispossessed by the English of his principality of Sligo, went over to England to conciliate the protection of the queen. His affairs were kept for a long time in suspense at court; but at length, Elizabeth, in order to lessen her enemies in Ireland, when almost the whole country were up in arms against her, sent him back with permission to re-possess himself of his estates. On his arrival in Connaught, he found Clifford, the governor of the province, preparing an expedition

against O'Donnel; and through gratitude he joined him in his enterprise. Clifford, intending to besiege Ballyshannon, a strong place belonging to O'Donnel, marched with four thousand men, and some Irish auxiliaries, the principal of whom were O'Brien, earl of Thomond, Burke, earl of Clanriccard, and Morrough O'Brien, baron of Inchiquin. The army having arrived on the banks of the river Erne, Inchiquin was the first who sacrificed himself to the royal cause; wishing to take the lead, he put spurs to his horse and plunged into the water, but being thrown in the middle of the river from his horse, he sunk and perished miserably before he could reach the opposite bank. Clifford having discovered a place that was fordable, crossed with his army, in spite of a detachment sent by O'Donnel to dispute his passage. He then laid siege to the castle of Ballyshannon with four pieces of cannon. Owen Crawford, a Scotchman, commanded the place, having eighty men under him, six of whom were Spaniards, and the rest Irish. The attack was a powerful one, and the defence equally determined. The troops of O'Donnel were not assembled so as to be able to raise the siege. While this prince waited an attack from the enemy's cavalry, (in which O'Connor Sligo, who fought for the English, was dangerously wounded) the cannon incessantly played upon the castle, and the besiegers as often as they mounted the breach, were beaten back by the besieged. O'Donnel caused frequent alarm to the enemy's camp; so that Clifford being informed that O'Rorke was marching with his army on one side, and O'Neill upon another, to relieve the castle of Ballyshannon, that general decamped so precipitately, that he left behind him three pieces of cannon. He re-passed the river indeed in such disorder, that the place was called after him, "the route of heroes." He was pursued by O'Donnel, and it is said, that he lost in the one day three hundred men in killed and drowned. O'Donnel drove his conquests still further; he penetrated, sword in hand, into the estates of Clanriccard; scaled the walls of Athenry, and put the English garrison to the sword. After this, he devastated the lands of the baron of Inchiquin, of Turlough O'Brien, and the O'Shaughnessys.

O'Neill beheld with pleasure the league that was formed in Munster, and the advantages already gained over the English, A.D. 1599.* This prince desirous of strengthening the alliance which he had made with his

confederates, granted their demands for assistance, by sending them his brother Conn O'Neill, at the head of three thousand men, well provided with arms and ammunition. The English lay in ambush to dispute his passage, but Conn escaped their snares, by opening his way, sword in hand, through the enemy. After leaving two thousand of them dead upon the field of battle, he continued his march to Munster, where he acquired a high reputation for his military exploits.

CHAPTER XLVI.

THE state of affairs at this time in Ireland, says Campden, was deplorable, the rebellion having become general through the kingdom. The sway of the English in Ulster was confined to a few strong fortresses. The greater part of the nobility in Munster were up in arms against them. The O'Morraes, the O'Connors, the O'Byrnes, the O'Tools, the Cavanaghs, the Eustaces, and other chiefs of Leinster; with the O'Molloys, the Mageoghegans, and the Tirrells of Meath, were leagued to avenge their freedom. The O'Rorkes, and some branches of the Burkes, besides some other chiefs in Connaught, took up arms for the same cause, so that Elizabeth saw herself, by this general revolt, on the eve of losing all her authority in Ireland. She had no person in that country capable of governing it. Marshal Bagnal was killed; Richard Bingham, who had been sent by the court to succeed that general, died on his arrival in Dublin; Norris who governed Munster, and St. Leger, the president of Leix, perished by the sword of the Catholics. The earl of Ormond commanded the army; his name, however, only, and not his capability, was suited to his zeal in the cause of his mistress. In this position of her affairs, the queen consulted with her council on the choice of a man capable to remedy the disorders that prevailed in Ireland. Her majesty, and most of her counsellors cast their eyes on Charles Blunt, lord baron Mountjoy. Robert d'Evereux, earl of Essex, whose ambition knew no bounds, insinuated secretly, that Mountjoy was not fit for the undertaking, that he had not sufficient experience in the art of war, and that he was too devoted to literature to be a good commander. This nobleman sought to make it appear, that some one of the highest nobility, who was rich, and dear to the army, and who had been commander-in-chief, ought to be sent to Ireland, by which qualifications he seemed to intimate his own claims.

* Peter Lombard, *ibid.* page 208.

Opinions were divided as to the choice of the earl of Essex to fill the office of lord lieutenant of Ireland. His friends wished for an opportunity to satisfy his insatiable thirst for fame, of which he was the slave; while others thought that it would not be prudent to give the command of the army in Ireland to a nobleman who was flattered by his creatures with the idea of being descended from the royal blood of Scotland and England, and consequently with having a higher claim to the crown than any of his predecessors. The enemies of Essex sought for a long time an opportunity of supplanting him at court, and the present appeared the most favourable that offered, through that very absence, which he himself was eager to obtain.

Essex, indeed, seemed to merit the appointment: he had already established a reputation in his expeditions against the Spaniards, and being the favourite of the queen, the way to the vice-royalty was open to him: but instead of meeting in it the happiness he looked for, it proved fatal to him in the end. He was at length appointed lord lieutenant, and with privileges more extensive than those of any of his predecessors. Her majesty invested him with the prerogative of pardoning any crime, even that of high treason; besides the power of appointing to offices of trust; of removing those who enjoyed them without a patent; of suspending others from exercising them; also of making military laws and carrying them into execution; of conferring in fief, according to his pleasure, the confiscated estates of the Catholics, reserving a moderate and yearly revenue from them for the crown; and in absence of the high admiral of England, he had the command of the fleet, and the privilege of applying the money in the exchequer to any purposes without being accountable for it. A powerful and well provided army was given to him; it consisted of seventeen thousand foot, and thirteen hundred horse, which was the most powerful that had, up to that period, been sent to Ireland.

All matters being arranged, the earl of Essex, accompanied by three young noblemen who wished to be partakers of his glory in the expedition, set out for Ireland from London, at the end of March, amidst the acclamations of the people. The fleet having sailed, they were overtaken and dispersed by a violent storm, by which many lives were lost. Notwithstanding this misfortune, he landed on the 15th of April in Dublin, where he took the usual oath, and received the sword of justice as lord lieutenant.

The principal instructions given to Essex were, first, not to confer the honour of knight-hood on any but subjects of acknowledged merit; secondly, to block up Tyrone with all his forces, by placing strong garrisons in the forts of Loughfoyle and Ballyshannon.* He had scarcely landed in Ireland when his creatures began to publish in foreign countries false accounts of his wonderful exploits; at one time, that his arrival had filled the confederate Catholics with terror, causing them to conceal themselves in woods, and other inaccessible places; at another, that almost every one of them were accepting the offers of pardon offered by him.† The falsehood of these vain boastings was, however, proved by the ill success of his expedition.

The first act of the jurisdiction of Essex in Ireland was to publish a proclamation in the queen's name, excluding the ancient Irish, her majesty's inveterate enemies, from all hopes of pardon.‡ As to the modern Irish, who had been forced by the tyranny of English governors to have recourse to arms, they were declared capable of receiving forgiveness, provided they would surrender without delay. In other respects, he began his administration with mildness; he knew the difficulty of bringing back to obedience those who had declared against the queen, on account of religion, and of preserving the allegiance of those who still adhered to her. The exercise of the Catholic doctrine became less restricted; the holy sacrifice of the mass was celebrated in private families, and the other sacraments administered with more freedom; his policy even induced him to set at liberty some priests who had been confined in dungeons, and to confer the grade of knights of the golden spur, on some Catholics, with whose opinions he was acquainted.

After making some regulations respecting the civil administration, Essex turned his thoughts to the campaign; but did not follow the plan that was laid down for him in London. The first thing he did was to give the command of the cavalry to the earl of Southampton. Instead of marching with all his forces against O'Neill, and the confederates in Ulster, according to his instructions, he divided them by giving three thousand foot and five hundred horse to Henry Harrington, to watch the movements of the O'Morras, the O'Birnes, and other confederates of Leinster; and sent three thousand more to Clifford, governor of Connaught, to keep the nobles of that province in check.

* Cambd. ibid. p. 734, 735.

† Peter Lombard, ibid. p. 411, 412.

‡ Peter Lombard, ibid. page 413.

These detachments reduced considerably the forces of the viceroy. Accompanied by three hundred gentlemen, who volunteered in London to accompany him, he set out from Dublin, on the 20th of May, with the remainder of his army, and marched towards Munster. In passing through Leinster, the reere guard of the English was severely hauled in a defile, by Owen O'Morra, at the head of five hundred men, who killed several officers and privates; the place where they fought was called after this, "Bearna na Gleti," which signifies the Pass of Plumes, on account of the quantity of them which the English lost in it.

This check did not prevent Essex from continuing his march into Munster. He laid siege to the castle of Cahir, situate on the river Suire, in the county of Tipperary; the place which gave the title of lord baron to Thomas Butler. The confederate Catholics had in it but a garrison of seven or eight soldiers, without artillery, so that they were unable to maintain a siege against the army of Essex. The earl of Desmond, however, assisted by Raymond Burke, baron of Leintrim, and his brother William, having appeared in view of the English, fought several skirmishes with them, and by this means afforded to William Burke an opportunity of driving off a detachment that was guarding the bridge, and of throwing into the castle about fifty men, under the command of James Butler, brother to the baron of Cahir. This small force contributed only to prolong the siege; Essex played upon the castle with his artillery; several English nobles wishing to mount the breach, were killed by the musketry of the besieged; but James Butler, finding himself unable to defend the castle, surrendered it to the English general.*

Essex had the castle of Cahir repaired, and leaving a strong garrison in it, with cannon and ammunition, he marched to the relief of Askeaton. His army received a considerable reinforcement by the junction of some national troops, under the earls of Thomond and Clanriccard, Mac-Pieris baron and Henry Norris. On his way back from Askeaton, he was pursued by Daniel Mac-Carty More and the earl of Desmond, at the head of two thousand five hundred men. These chiefs having attacked his reere guard, at a place called Baile en Finitere, the action was very bloody; it lasted from nine in the morning till five in the afternoon: a great number of the English were killed, and Henry Norris, one of their leaders, was found among the

slain. The loss on the side of the Catholics was not so great. After this battle, Essex encamped for a few days at Cruomui, to refresh his troops; he then marched to Waterford, and was pursued and harassed during six days by the Catholic army.

General Harrington, in the mean time, received a heavy check in the principality of Leix. This general, who was appointed to restore peace to that district, having surrounded the troops of O'Morra, flattered himself that he would be able to reduce them with little loss to himself; but the bravery of the Catholics snatched the victory from him. He lost in this engagement twelve hundred men, with all their officers, and, among the rest, Adam Loftus, son of the Protestant archbishop of Dublin, who was found among the slain. The remainder of his army was put to flight.

Ware, Cox, and others, mistake the circumstances of this victory, or confound them with a similar one gained over Harrington by the O'Birnes, in the glinns of the county of Wicklow; after which, the viceroy, to punish the want of courage among the English, had them decimated. They, however, are all agreed, that the English were defeated by the Irish Catholics. Christopher Blanche was sent over at this time to Ireland as lord marshal. Wishing to distinguish himself by some brilliant achievement, he marched to Offaly, where his army was defeated by the O'Connors, with the loss of five hundred horse, and he himself escaped with difficulty, having had a leg broken in the action. In the mean time the earl of Essex confined himself to the city of Cork. He was deeply affected by the ill success of his arms, which is ingenuously acknowledged in his letter to the English council; it was intercepted by the Catholics, and contains the following words: "I am confined in Cork, where there is an abundance of warlike stores; but still I have been unsuccessful: my undertakings have been attended with misfortune; I do not know to what this can be attributed, except to an evil star that has led me here." The grief of Essex proceeded from two causes; first, the queen expressed herself displeased with him; secondly, she had conferred the office of master of the court of warden,* to which Essex had aspired, on Robert Cecil the secretary. He, however, concealed his displeasure for the present. Finding the forces diminished, he left Mun-

* This court was instituted in the reign of Henry VIII., for the defence and protection of the persons and properties of those who embraced the reformed religion.

* Pet. Lombard. p. 415. Hist. Cathol. ibid.

ster, without performing one deed worthy of his reputation. Towards the end of July, he returned with the wrecks of his army to Dublin, where he learned that James Butler, brother to the baron, had retaken the castle of Cahir, and put the English garrison to the sword.*

Essex endeavoured to remove the impressions which the queen had formed of his administration in Ireland; for which purpose he wrote her a long letter, and informed her of the state of affairs in that country, and the character of its inhabitants. "The Irish," says he, "are stronger, and handle their arms with more skill than our people; they differ from us also in point of discipline. They likewise avoid pitched battles where order must be observed, and prefer skirmishes and petty warfare; they are not adapted either to defend or attack fortified places; and are obstinately opposed to the English government; they endeavour to shake off the yoke, and would efface every vestige of it; they rely confidently on the promises of Spain, and hope that the Spaniards will make a descent upon England, to create a diversion in their favour, or send them assistance, to enable them to oppose your majesty's troops, and retake those places which they possess." The earl then laid down a plan to prevent the loss of Ireland. He proposed "that there should be provision stores along the coasts of England, and ships in readiness to carry them to Ireland, in cases of need, and to serve as a check against the Spaniards; the priests and jesuits," continued he, "must be expelled; and strong garrisons maintained, in order that they might make occasional attacks on the country, and deprive the inhabitants of all means of subsistence." He added, that besides the expense, much time, care, and perseverance, would be required to bring the nation under complete subjection.

Essex now turned his thoughts to Ulster; but as his march to Munster had greatly diminished his numbers, he wrote to the queen, in conjunction with the council, to ask for fresh reinforcements. At the same time, he sent for Clifford, governor of Connaught, to march with the troops under him towards the frontiers of Ulster, in order to create a diversion.† In compliance, Clifford assembled his army at Athlone, on the Shannon; their destination being Belick on the river Erne, between the lake of that name and Ballyshannon, whither they desired to draw O'Neill.‡ The governor thought it necessary

to keep the places in the rear free, for the security of his march; and with that object, he determined to rebuild the castle of Sligo, which had been destroyed some time before by O'Donnel, and to give battle to him, if he endeavoured to prevent its reconstruction. Clifford sent orders to Theobald Burke, surnamed the Naval, to have cannon and every thing necessary for the execution of his plans, brought by sea from Galway to Sligo, while he would lead the army by land. In the mean time, O'Connor Sligo, who supported the queen's cause against his country, scoured the county of Sligo with a body of cavalry, to force the inhabitants to abandon O'Donnel, whose cause they had espoused from a spirit of patriotism and religion, and to favour the designs of Clifford; but meeting with some of O'Donnel's army, they were compelled to take refuge in Killmuiny, at a short distance from Sligo, where they were besieged by O'Donnel.

Clifford being aware of the danger in which O'Connor was of falling into the power of the enemy, reviewed all his troops. His army amounted to two thousand five hundred infantry, both English and their Irish auxiliaries, and a few squadrons of cavalry. The principal chiefs of the auxiliary Irish, were O'Connor Don, prince of Magherry Connocht, Melmor Mac-Sweeny, prince of Tueth, who through some displeasure had abandoned O'Donnel, and gone over to the English, and Richard Burke, son of the earl of Clanrickard and baron of Dunkillin. Matters being thus arranged, Clifford set out from Athlone, by forced marches for Boyle. O'Donnel purposed to oppose the enemy: he put a strong garrison of four hundred infantry under the command of Mac-Sweeny Fanid and Macwilliam Burke, into Sligo, and left two hundred cavalry to hold on the blockade of Killmuiny; after which he marched with O'Dogharty, prince of Inisowen, and the remainder of the army to Corslieve mountain, where Clifford had to pass into the county of Sligo. Tircounel possessed himself of the defiles of this mountain, and had trees cut down to obstruct Clifford's passage; he then encamped with his army in an adjoining plain.

In the mean time Theobald Burke appeared with his little fleet before Sligo, but dared not to enter. He thought prudent to await the arrival of Clifford's army. This governor being arrived at Boyle, he left his cavalry under the command of Sir Markham Griffin, since in passing the defiles of Corslieve they could not act. On the eve of Lady-day, O'Donnel was apprized of the movement of the English army. As the cause

* Cox hist. of Ireland.

† Cambd. reg. Elizab. part 4, hist. p. 736.

‡ Hist. Cathol. ibid. c. 10.

of this pious prince was that of religion, he commanded, with the approbation of the ecclesiastics who were in his camp, that a fast should be kept on the eve of this festival, and that they should approach the tribunal of penance, in order to be worthy of receiving the communion on the next day, to implore the protection of the mother of God. Scarcely had the Catholics ended their devotion on the day of the assumption, when the English appeared to reconnoitre the plain. The prince of Tirconnel then ordered refreshments to his troops, and addressed them in the following words: "as we have already often defeated the reformers through the intercession of the blessed Virgin Mary, we have reason to hope for similar success this day; yesterday we fasted in honour of the Virgin; this day we celebrate her festival, and thus let us combat her enemies, and we will be the conquerors." The Catholics were greatly animated by this discourse. O'Donnel then sent Owen Mac-Sweeney with Giolla and Tulli O'Gallagher, at the head of six hundred infantry, to stop the enemy, while he himself was preparing to attack them, in order of battle. The engagement commenced at eleven o'clock in the morning, and continued for some time with equal slaughter and success, till O'Rorke appeared at the head of a body of infantry, and turned the scale of victory. The terror of the English was so great, that they threw their arms on the ground and fled. The rout now became general; the Catholic troops pursued the fugitives for three miles: Markham, who continued at Boyle with the cavalry, came out to the relief of the English; he attacked and killed some of those who were engaged in the pursuit, but O'Rorke coming up drove him back, and though badly wounded, he got into Boyle. The English lost in this battle fourteen hundred men in killed, with Clifford, the governor of Connaught, and Henry Ratcliffe, a young English nobleman, who were found among the slain. One hundred and forty of the Catholic army were killed and wounded. After this defeat of the English, a great booty was found: and the conquerors became masters of a vast quantity of arms, colours, cannon, dress, and other warlike apparatus. O'Neill, who was on his march to the assistance of O'Donnel, arrived too late, by two days, to share in the glory of this victory. The news of the defeat of the English, and the death of Clifford, being spread, Burke the Naval set sail immediately from Sligo to return to Galway. O'Connor surrendered to O'Donnel, who put him into the possession of his demesne at Sligo, on his promising to assist thereafter

against the English. English writers acknowledge that their countrymen were defeated in the Curlew mountains, by the Catholics, whom they style rebels, commanded by O'Rorke. They have candour enough also to allow, that Clifford, Ratcliffe, and others were killed in this action, but they strive to smooth the disaster, by giving mutilated accounts of it. "Though the rebels," say they, "were superior in numbers, still they were repulsed by the English; but for the want of powder, the English were put to the rout."*

The earl of Essex was greatly disconcerted by the defeat of Clifford's army. He waited with anxiety for the arrival of a reinforcement from England; a thousand foot soldiers at length arrived in Dublin, in September, and all the forces then marched for the frontiers of Ulster. As soon as O'Neill heard of the movement of the viceroy, he put his own army in motion, and proceeded to the town of Louth, where he encamped on the banks of a small river which separated the two armies. The English, says Peter Lombard, seeing the Catholics so well prepared and eager to engage, were so panic struck, (according to the words of some who were present), that they were covered with shame, and afraid to hold up their heads.†

The viceroy immediately despatched a herald to O'Neill, to declare to him, that he had not come as an enemy into his province; on the contrary, that he came to offer him terms of peace, or at least a truce, and that he would send commissioners for that purpose, if he would accede to his doing so.‡ The prince of Tyrone having agreed to the proposal, two knights and a counsellor of state were despatched for that purpose by the earl of Essex. These commissioners being admitted to an audience with O'Neill, they explained to him the purport of their mission. The prince replied, that he would not agree to any truce, nor engage in any treaty in which three specific conditions were not admitted; first, "that there should be no other religion but the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman, throughout the kingdom of Ireland;" second, "that the church properties which since the commencement of schism and heresy, had been annexed to the king's dominions, should be restored to the church, as well by the queen herself, as by the individuals who possessed them;" third, "that the heirs of the original proprietors, who had been unjustly despoiled of their estates within the

* Camden, reign of Elizabeth, p. 736.

† Pet. Lombard, p. 419.

‡ Pet. Lombard, p. 420.

last forty years, should be re-established, to the utter exclusion of the usurpers."

This reply of Tyrone being communicated to the viceroy, the earl despatched a second herald to the prince, and proposed to meet him at a short distance from their respective armies. The prince accepted the proposal of meeting him, but not apart from his army. Essex, who was eager for an interview on any terms, gave up his stipulation: he sent away the greater part of his army to Drogheda, and proceeded towards the camp of O'Neill, accompanied by a few nobles and a small number of horsemen. The two chiefs being come, went down the river, where they might confer together. The conference lasted for some hours; the viceroy looked for a truce till the month of May; Tyrone answered, that his honor which was pledged not only to foreign princes, but to the grandees of his own nation, would not allow him to accede to it. Essex reminded O'Neill of the ancient friendship that subsisted between the earl his father and him, and consequently that he ought to feel some sympathy towards the humbled position of his son. The heart of O'Neill could not resist any longer the repeated solicitations of Essex, and the prince consented to a truce of six weeks, on condition, that each should be at liberty to break off by giving a notice of fourteen days. The truce being thus settled on, the two noblemen passed a few hours in mutual compliments and politeness.*

The salutary admonitions of O'Neill to Essex merit the attention of the reader, as they were prophetic of the disasters which subsequently befel him. They were as follow: "Permit me, earl, to obtrude the advice of one advanced in years, upon you who are young, and to forewarn you, for your own safety and peace of mind, of things that may arise in your course. I am not ignorant of the power you possess in your own country, how dear you are to the queen, how pleasing to the English, and how honoured and beloved by the army. The instability and fickleness of these advantages in England, are known to you; and you are aware how intolerable is the tyranny of your queen, since no person has as yet lived secure under her power, except such as from their obscurity in life, have escaped her attention, or those who are the instruments of her cruelty. Experience proves, how few of those that have been raised by her to the highest offices of trust, have escaped the abyss of ignominy and disgrace. You know likewise (as O'Neill

speaks it) that the state of your nation is very vacillating, and that if your old queen were dead, the strongest would be master. Under all these circumstances, it behoves you to take heed against your enemies. Be cautious too, lest the favour, the honour, and authority with which you are invested, be not yet the cause of your ruin. Accommodate yourself to the times, and attach yourself to such as may render you services in the hour of need." The viceroy knew that the reasoning of the prince of Tyrone was true, but the means which he prescribed to avoid the danger, he found impracticable.

Essex, pleased with his negotiations with Tyrone, took leave of that prince, and returned to Dublin, where he received a letter from the queen, dated the 14th of September. Her majesty reproached him and the council with mal-administration, and a contempt for her commands. This reproach was mortifying to Essex. He placed the government of affairs in the hands of Adam Loftus, the chancellor, and George Carey, treasurer of war; committed the command of the troops to the earl of Ormond, and departed for London, September 28th, accompanied by some of his friends; among others, by Southampton, (who resigned his command of the cavalry,) the baron of Dunkell, Christopher St. Laurence, son of the baron of Howth, Henry Danvers, Henry Docwray, and others. The day following he presented himself before the queen, who received him coldly, and ordered him to keep his chamber till he would hear from her; after this he was committed and detained in prison, according to Peter Lombard,* who was a cotemporary writer. The heads of the accusation against Essex were, neglect of the instructions given him respecting the war in Ireland; the favourable truce that he had granted the Irish rebels; and his having left Ireland in despite of the orders of the queen. The history of the tragic end of that nobleman is sufficiently known: it will suffice to observe, that though one of Elizabeth's chief favourites, he was beheaded soon afterwards.

After Essex had left Ulster, a Spanish captain arrived in that province with two ships laden with warlike stores, which his Catholic majesty had sent to the prince of Tyrone. He received the officer, and asked why the king had omitted so long to send the succours which he had promised, and why he did not send all at the same time. The officer answered, that his majesty intended it, but, that the report of peace having

* Pet. Lombard p. 421, 422, 423, 424.

* Hib. Comment. cap. 426, 427.

been made between the prince of Tyrone and queen Elizabeth, was the cause; and added, that the king of Spain sent him for the express purpose (with these two ships) of bringing him an account of how affairs stood in Ireland. This reply did not satisfy O'Neill; however, he concealed his disappointment with his accustomed prudence.

Philip II., king of Spain, having died in the month of September of the preceding year, Philip III. succeeded to the throne. This prince interested in following the plans of his brother in regard to the war in Ireland, sent over two legates, Mathew d' Oviedo, whom the pope appointed to the archbishopric of Dublin, and Don Martin de la Cerda, a Spanish knight. The legates were empowered to grant indulgences to the Irish who fought against the English in defence of their religion.* The sovereign pontiff also sent by the same opportunity, a crown of phoenix feathers to the prince of Tyrone, chief of the league, in imitation of Urban III., who had sent, in the twelfth century, a crown of peacock's plumes to John, son of Henry II., who was styled lord of Ireland. The legates brought twenty-two thousand pieces of gold from the king of Spain, for the payment of the troops.

Encouraged even by this moderate assistance, and hoping for greater from the Spaniards, Tyrone resumed hostilities, after a notice of fourteen days, in pursuance of the truce made with Essex, A. D. 1600.† Having provided for the security of the principality of Tyrone, he marched through the whole of Leinster, at the head of seven thousand men: his motive for doing which was, according to some writers, his devotion for a particle of the true cross, which was preserved in the abbey of Holy-Cross, county of Tipperary. However this was, he advanced towards Cork, where he encamped, and consulted with the earl of Desmond, Florence Mac Carty Reagh, and other chiefs of the province, about the means of supporting the war.‡ He sent deputies to those whose sincerity he doubted, to solicit them to join in the confederacy against the enemies of God, their religion, and their country. As a stronger inducement, he sent them an authentic copy of the sentence of excommunication which Pius V. had pronounced against the queen of England and

her adherents. Several were brought over by the reasoning of Tyrone; particularly Finian Mac-Carty, a powerful nobleman of the illustrious tribe of the Mac Carthys, who was always remarkable for his attachment to the religion of his ancestors.* Others, influenced by a different policy, though strongly attached to the Catholic faith, replied, that a subject of such moment ought to be suspended for a while, as the opinion of the see of Rome was not well known;† adding, that though excommunication had been pronounced by Pius V. against the adherents of the Queen of England, the mitigation of the sentence by his successor, Clement XIII., in favour of Catholic subjects, was well understood, and that they might, with perfect security of conscience, adopt a course of moderation, till the pontiff who then governed the church, would lay down other rules for them to follow, in which case they would be ready to obey. This brought forth a bull from Clement XIII., which was addressed to the spiritual and temporal lords and people of Ireland.

Prince O'Neill, who deemed their policy injurious to religion, and their delay hurtful to the Catholic cause, expressed his displeasure at the replies of these noblemen. Some of them he treated with severity, and devastated their lands, in order to deprive the enemy of subsistence; others he compelled to give hostages for their future conduct.‡

During Tyrone's stay in Munster, the queen's troops kept in their garrisons and strong places, not daring to take the field, so that the time passed over without hostilities, except an affair between Hugh Maguire, prince of Fermanagh, who commanded O'Neill's cavalry, and St. Leger, president of Munster, in which both noblemen fell.§ Maguire attended only by Edmond Mac Caffry, his standard-bearer, Niall O'Duinn, and a priest, left the camp one day, either to take an airing or to reconnoitre the country; having advanced too far, he met with St. Leger, at the head of sixty cavalry; notwithstanding this difference in numbers, Maguire's spirit would not permit him to avoid fighting; putting spurs to his horse, he forced his way through the enemy to their commander, who shot him through the body. Though Maguire's wound was mortal, he determined to be revenged; struck St. Leger such a blow with his lance that he cleft his head through the helmet,

* Hist. Cathol. *ibid.* cap. 12. Ware, de Annal. cap. 42. Cambd. *ibid.* p. 743.

† Pet. Lombard, *ibid.*, page 430. Camd. *ibid.*, page 748.

‡ Peter Lombard, *ibid.*, page 431. Hist. Cathol. *ibid.*

* Pet. Lombard, *ibid.*, p. 432.

† *Ibid.*, p. 433.

‡ Petr. Lombard, p. 434.

§ Hist. Cathol. *ibid.* cap. 12.

and then opened a passage for himself, sword in hand. Both generals died of their wounds a few days after, greatly regretted by their respective corps.*

The prince O'Neill, before he left Munster, took the necessary measures for the defence of the province, and the security of the confederates. He placed some veteran troops among them, and returning through Leinster, he left a reinforcement with O'Morra of Leix. Before this, he passed in view of Ormond, who commanded the English army. He arrived safe in Ulster, having honourably fulfilled the designs he had in view.

The earl of Essex having given up the government of Ireland, it was of importance to appoint a successor to him, and a governor of Munster, to succeed St. Leger, who was killed by Maguire. Charles Blunt, baron of Mountjoy, was therefore appointed viceroy, and Sir George Carew was named president of Munster. These two noblemen repaired to Dublin about the end of February. Carew waited for his commission to undertake the duties of his appointment. In the mean time, the viceroy and Supreme Council of Ireland† had regulations drawn up for the guidance of the president and council of that province. The members of it were, the earls of Kildare, Ormond, and Thomond, viscount Barry, lord Audley, the Protestant bishops of Cork and Limerick, Sir Nicholas Walsh, the chief justice Saxey, Sir Francis Barkley, Sir George Thornton, Justice Goold, the queen's advocate-general, Sir Charles Wilmott, Garret Comerford, Esq., Ulick Cuffe, Esq., the bishops of Dublin and Meath, George Cary, Richard Wingfield, Anthony St. Leger, George Bourcher, Geoffry Fenton, and Francis Stafford.

The president of Munster left Dublin on the 7th of April, and took the road that led to his province. The earl of Thomond, who always sought for opportunities of displaying his zeal for the royal cause, with lord Audley, captains Harvey, Browne, Dillon, and a force of seven hundred foot and a hundred horse, accompanied the president on his route. On the first day they arrived at Naas, on the next at Carlow, and on the third, at Kilkenny, where they visited the earl of Ormond. Ormond had promised to meet Owen, son of Rory O'Morra, on the borders of Idough, at present the barony of Fessadining, in the county of Kilkenny, at a place called Corronneduffe, and the president proposed to accompany the earl, with

his attendants. All arrived, according to appointment, at the place of meeting. The troops of both parties were at a distance, when the conference began between Ormond and O'Morra, which lasted for an hour without anything being concluded. O'Morra had a jesuit with him named Archer, who was zealously opposed to the Reformation,* with whom Ormond began a controversy on the score of religion, in the course of which he called the jesuit a traitor; saying, that under a semblance of religion he was seducing her Majesty's subjects from their allegiance, after which he proceeded to abuse the pope and Church of Rome. O'Morra, no longer able to bear with language so indecent, and so foreign to the subject before them, seized the earl, dragged him from his horse, and made him prisoner. The president and Thomond, with his other friends who were at hand, being alarmed, ran to his assistance and commenced fighting. Some of the English were killed, several wounded, and more made prisoners; while the president and Thomond took to flight, and owed their safety only to the swiftness of their horses. Thomond was wounded in the back with a pike, as he complained in a letter to the council of England, wherein the circumstances of his misfortune in this affray are described. As soon as the two noblemen had got out of danger, they talked of revenge; their drums and trumpets were ordered to rally the troops and renew the fight; but the terror of the English was so great, that none but captains Harvey, Browne, Comerford, and some servants, had the courage to move forward; and consequently, they had no alternative but to submit to their misfortune. They then returned to Kilkenny, where they found the countess of Ormond inconsolable for her husband's capture.

The deputy was in Dublin when he heard of this unhappy occurrence, and likewise, that the sons of Montgarret and several other noblemen of the Butlers were up in arms. He at once despatched Sir George Bouchier and Christopher St. Laurence to Kilkenny, with orders to collect the troops, and keep the peace of the city and its neighbourhood. The president of Munster on the arrival of these officers, set out with Thomond for Waterford, where they arrived on the 16th of April.

The O'Connors Faly laid siege at this time to the castle of Crouchan, which was situated in the principality of Offaly,† at the

* Pet. Lomb. p. 435.

† Pacat. Hib. cap. 1, book 1, page 6.

* Hist. Cathol. cap. 8.

† Ibid.

foot of a hill called Knock-Crouchan. Thomas Moor, a knight of the golden spur, and Giffard, both Englishmen, commanded the garrison. The besiegers having no artillery, scaled the walls with a hundred foot soldiers, and having entered, put the garrison, which consisted of Englishmen, to the sword, and became masters of the fortress.

O'Neill* who had begun the war only in consequence of repeated assurances of success both from the pope and the king of Spain, continued to apply to them for assistance, and sent his son Henry, who was still young, on a mission to his Catholic majesty. He wrote some urgent letters to the pope, representing to his holiness, that the war in Ireland was the cause of God, and beseeching him to have public prayers offered in Rome for its success. He also prayed that the holy father would give his decision on the efficacy that the sentence of excommunication pronounced by Pius V. against Elizabeth and her partisans, ought to have, which might serve as a guide to the Catholics of Ireland, for the conduct they should observe in the present war. In fine, he besought the pope, that his holiness would be pleased to send a nuncio to Ireland, who would be active in supporting the Catholics in their faith, and who might allay their uneasiness in the present posture of affairs.† Clement VIII. who was then head of the church, answered his requests with the following bull, dated Rome, April, 1600.‡ “Pope Clement VIII., to all and each of our venerable brethren, the archbishops, bishops, and prelates; also to our dearly beloved sons, the princes, counts, barons, and the people of Ireland: greeting health, and apostolical benediction.

“Having learned, that, through the exhortations of the Roman pontiffs our predecessors, and those of the holy see, and ours, you have been encouraged to recover your freedom, and to defend and maintain it against the reformers; also, that you have been, and are united to second and support with all your means, first, James Fitzgerald of happy memory, who, as long as he lived, made generous efforts to shake off the cruel yoke of slavery, which the English, who have deserted the holy Roman church, have imposed upon you; subsequently, John Fitzgerald, cousin-german of the said James, and latterly, our dear and illustrious son, prince Hugh O'Neill, earl of Tyrone, baron of Dungannon, and captain-general of the Catholic

army; and that these generals and their troops, aided by the God of armies, have performed many heroic deeds, in fighting valiantly against their enemies, and are determined to persevere in opposing them; in order, therefore, to secure your attachment, and that of your general, and of the said troops to this cause, it is our desire to bestow on you our spiritual favours, as our predecessors have done. Trusting in the mercies of God, and by the authority of his apostles Peter and Paul, we grant to each and every one of you, who follow the said general O'Neill, and his army, for the defence and support of the Catholic faith, to those who furnish him with their aid, in provisions, arms, or other warlike stores, or assist him in any manner whatever, provided you have confessed your sins, and if it be possible, have received the holy communion, the full remission of your sins; and we likewise grant all the indulgences which the Roman pontiffs have been accustomed to bestow on those who fight against the Turks for the recovery of the Holy Land, &c.

“Given at St. Peter's, Rome, under the fisherman's ring, on the 16th of April, 1600, in the ninth year of our pontificate.”

CHAPTER XLVII.

THE Catholics of Ulster were still in possession of that province, with the exception of a few forts which the English kept, and garrisoned. The deputy was commanded to reduce this province, but a want of energy in his operations excited the suspicions of the court. It was therefore deliberated in council whether he should be recalled, and another deputy appointed, or whether supplies should be sent to continue the war against O'Neill and his allies more vigorously, if he should refuse to make peace.* The latter plan was adopted, and a fresh reinforcement of troops was ordered to Ireland. In consequence of this, the deputy wrote to Tyrone, in April, proposing terms of peace, in the name of the queen and council, which, so far as related to religion, and the reparation of the injuries that the Irish Catholics had sustained, appeared reasonable. The prince of Tyrone, however, knew too well the disposition of the English, to place any confidence in their promises; he knew, that nothing but the inability of acting otherwise, would influence them to keep faith with him; and besides,

* Peter Lombard, p. 25.

† Peter Lombard, p. 465.

‡ Camd. ad ann. 1600.

* Pet. Lombard, ibid. p. 445, et seq.

he expected daily the assistance that had been promised to him by the king of Spain, so that he rejected the overtures of the deputy.

Mountjoy felt the necessity of removing the suspicions which were entertained against him by the court; and finding the prince of Tyrone deaf to the proposals he had made, he saw that his only resource to redeem his honour lay in force. He therefore collected his troops, to attack Tyrone by sea and land; and in the month of March, a fleet of sixty-seven ships, under Sir Henry Dockwra, was ordered to take possession of a lake in the north of Ireland, called Loughfoyle, between the peninsula of Inisowen and Arachty Cahan, to cause, in that quarter, a diversion favourable to the expedition of his forces by land. Five thousand infantry and three hundred horse were on board this fleet, well provided with ammunition and warlike stores. The English commander also had constructed, on the borders of Loughfoyle, four forts, from whence he made frequent incursions on the lands of O'Dogharty, and other noblemen.

O'Neill, when informed of the movements of the English, assembled a council of the chief men of the province, to adopt measures against the enemy. It was determined, that prince O'Donnel should oppose the attempts of the garrisons on Loughfoyle, while O'Neill himself would march against the deputy. A detachment of the Catholic army having met a party of the English, who were guarding their baggage, attacked and killed a great number of them, and became masters of considerable booty. The deputy, alarmed at this event, returned immediately to Dublin, where he remained for some time.

The earl of Ormond was still a prisoner with O'Morra. His countess applied with eagerness for his liberation; for which purpose she addressed letters to the queen, and to the prince of Tyrone; she reminded the latter of the friendship that subsisted between him and the earl, and begged, that, in consideration of the services he had rendered him, he would procure him his freedom. Tyrone paid regard to the entreaties of the countess, and procured her husband's liberty, on condition, that he would no longer act against his religion or his country, and that he should give hostages for his fidelity.

Mountjoy, who remained in Dublin since his last expedition to Ulster, proceeded to Kilkenny to visit the earl of Ormond after his liberation. He then marched at the head of some troops into Leix, and brought labourers with him to cut down the corn before it was ripe, in order to deprive the inhabitants of subsistence for the next winter, and thereby

prolong the war. The Catholics of Leix ran to arms, and attacked both the reapers and the troops who were guarding them; the lord deputy was dismounted, and his horse killed under him, so that he saved himself with difficulty, on foot, through a neighbouring bog. The advantages to the Catholics from this victory, were not equal to the heavy loss that they sustained by the death of Owen O'Morra, who was killed in the action. This nobleman, illustrious by birth, was still more so from his virtue and his attachment to the cause of God and his country; he was the soul of the confederacy in Leinster, and his death produced such consternation throughout the province, that the principal leaders, except Raymond O'Morra who succeeded him, were obliged to beg peace from their enemies. The deputy being now freed from this formidable opponent, continued his devastations in Leinster; the estates of Daniel Cavanagh, surnamed the Spaniard, suffered greatly; and the O'Lalors, Redmond Keating, and others, were forced to submit; after which the deputy returned to Dublin.

O'Donnel, who was appointed to watch the motions of the garrisons on Loughfoyle, acted with a prudence and valour worthy of the illustrious house of Tirconnel, of which he was the chief. He pursued several detachments from those places, and killed a great many of them. The forts were also surrounded by O'Neill's army. In the month of August this prince surprised fifteen hundred of their men who were foraging and put the whole of them to the sword; but the English being masters by sea, and the Irish having no fleet to oppose them, their losses were quickly repaired by fresh arrivals of men and arms from England.

The successes of the English in Munster were more rapid, in consequence of the divisions that prevailed in that province. A kingdom divided must fall. Some of their chiefs had already embraced the reformed religion through interest and an ambition to please Elizabeth; the rest continued attached to the Roman church. Among the latter, however, were some political temporisers who would run no risk, and whose principle was to accommodate themselves to the times. The English government omitted nothing to excite disunion: they strove to reduce the Irish to the most abject wretchedness, by destroying their flocks, and the crops necessary for their support; and also by drawing out of Ireland all its gold and silver, and sending from England in lieu of it a new copper coin which would not pass in any other country, and which soon lost its value there.

Such was the situation of affairs and the position of the people in Munster, when Carew began his campaigns in that province. The president, who was witness to the interview between O'Morra and Ormond, when the latter was made prisoner, as has been observed, arrived at Waterford on the 16th of April.* The army which the council of England intended for Munster, consisted of three thousand infantry, and one hundred and fifty cavalry. The demonstrations for the war began to spread terror among the inhabitants.† Some noblemen of the county of Waterford dreading the consequences, made their submission to the president; among the number of whom were Thomas, natural son of Sir James Fitzgerald, lord of Desie, and Thomas Power the near relation of lord Power.

Carew foresaw two important advantages that must arise to him from the submission of these two nobles; first, it was so much taken from the force of Desmond; secondly, the communication was rendered free between Waterford and Youghal, to which their power extended, and near which their estates lay. The president Carew set out from Waterford, April 20, attended by the earl of Thumond, lords Audley and Power, the lord of Desie, Sir Nicholas Walsh, Sir Anthony Cook, Sir Richard Masterson; captains Roger Harvie, William Taaffe, Richard Greame, Fleming, Giffard, Dillon, O'Reilly, and several nobles, with nine hundred foot, and one hundred horse, and arrived the same day at Dungarvan, where he was joined by Sir George Cary's company. The day following he marched for Youghal, from which he set out on the 24th for Cork. Here he learned that Florence Mac-Carthy, prince of Carbury, with the O'Driscolls, O'Mahony's O'Donnans, and several of the principal nobility of the country had taken up arms; he immediately despatched twelve hundred foot and one hundred horse against them, under captain Flower, who pillaged and burned the whole country as far as the neighbourhood of Ross, without meeting an enemy; on his return, however, he was attacked by Florence Mac-Carty and Dermot O'Connor-Don. The former headed the provincial troops, the latter the Bownoghs, that is, the mercenary forces of Connaught. These chiefs having placed themselves in ambush on the road the enemy had to pass, attacked them so vigorously, that they forced captain Flower and his men to seek safety in an old castle, at the distance of half a league. The English

sustained a heavy loss on this occasion, and had it not been for the skill of Flower, they would all have perished. To protect them this officer sent lieutenant Lane, with a body of men to conceal themselves in an old ruin, and attack the Catholics in flank, whilst he himself attacked them in front with the rest of his forces; being thus placed between two fires, they defended themselves bravely for some time, but Carbury O'Connor, Dermot's brother, and some of their other chiefs, having fallen, and finding themselves overpowered by the enemy's cavalry, they took flight, and withdrew to the territory of Kinel-Meaky, where they encamped near the bridge of Bally ne Courcie.

While the president was employed in holding a council in Cork, to deliberate on the affairs of the province, several skirmishes took place between the Catholics and the court party. Captain Francis Slingsby, who commanded the English garrison at Kilmallock, laid waste the country as far as the castle of Bruff, three miles from Kilmallock, and carried away large herds of cattle. He was, however, attacked by Peter Lacy, lord of the district, at the head of three hundred foot, and fifty horse. They fought for six hours with equal success, except that Conn O'Neill, natural son of Tyrone, was wounded, on the side of the Catholics. About the same time, April 25, John Mac-Thomas, brother to the earl of Desmond, had the command of a small detachment of Catholics, and in order to punish lord Barry, who had abandoned the cause of his country, he entered upon his estates, where he pillaged his vassals as far as castle Lyons, and carried away large herds of cattle. Redmond Burke was not so successful in the barony of Kilnemanna; he marched some troops into that quarter, against John O'Dwyer, to whom it belonged, and who had received protection from the English; but was repulsed by O'Dwyer, who killed one hundred and twenty of his men. Burke returning soon after with fresh forces, burned and destroyed every thing in the district of Kilnemanna. On the 29th of the same month, captain Slingsby left Kilmallock, at the head of a detachment, devastating the neighbourhood of Loughguire, where he took possession of the castle; a place in itself inconsiderable, but the situation of which on the road rendered it of importance to the English.

Carew, the president, meeting with difficulties in the conquest of Munster had to resort to stratagem to supply the want of force.* In order to gain over to him some of

* Hist. Pac. cap. 3.

† War. cap. 43.

* Pac. Hib. cap. 5.

the confederates, and thus diminish the number of his enemies, he pretended to prepare an expedition against Limerick, threatening to give up to his soldiers the property of the Catholics on his march; in consequence of which, some lords whose lands lay along the rout he was to take, to obviate the threatened calamity, made their submission. The president saw how important it would be to bring about a peace with Florence Mac-Carty of Carbury, who was a powerful prince of the province; knowing that his submission would be followed by that of many others. He was aware that Mac-Carty had, in opposition to Daniel Mac-Carty, natural son to Mac-Carty More, earl of Clancar, applied for the estates, of the latter, whose daughter and heiress he had married, in which he obtained the sanction of the queen. To accomplish his purpose, in effecting a reconciliation with the prince of Carbury, the president appointed the earl of Thomond, Sir Nicholas Walsh, and John Fitz-Edmonds to treat with him. An express was forwarded to Mac-Carty, that they wished to confer with him on matters of great moment. He agreed willingly to a conference, and appointed a certain day and place to meet them. Their present object was to prevail on the prince to come before the president. In this they succeeded; and after a conference of two hours, he consented, under a solemn promise and an oath from Thomond and Walsh for his safe return; he then accompanied them to Cork, and, on the 3d of May, arrived at the castle of Shandon where the president resided. Carew reproached Mac-Carty for his treason and ingratitude to the queen for all her favours. Thomond also played his part, and joined with the president to influence the prince to submit. He consented, finally, to observe a strict neutrality on the following conditions: first, that the queen should grant him the territories of Desmond to the same extent as she had done to his father-in-law the earl of Clancar. Second, that she would grant him the title of Mac-Carty More or earl of Clancar; and lastly, that she would furnish him with three hundred soldiers for his defence. To all these conditions the president refused his assent, and Mac-Carty returned home.

The submission of the white knight, of Barret, Condon, and some others, and the visit that Florence Mac-Carty paid to the president, created jealousy and distrust among the confederates. These were still further heightened by the news of Carew's intended expedition, which made many consult their own safety. Peter Lacy, despairing of being

able to defend his castle of Bruff against the president's army, caused it to be demolished; Redmond Burke, who was at the head of five hundred men, in the district of Connillo, upon the promise of the president that he would support him in his pretensions to the barony of Leitrim, withdrew from the confederacy, and retired to the district of Ormond. These defections did not, however, prevent the other confederates from meeting in the wood of Kilmore, between Mallow and Kilmallock, to oppose the English army on its route through Ballyhawry; but instead of marching on the 6th, the president remained in Cork until the 21st of May in order to deceive them; want of provisions, therefore, forced them to decamp and return to their different quarters.

The president being informed of their retreat, set out from Cork, on the 21st of May, and passing through Mallow, arrived the next day at Kilmallock; on the 24th he reached Bruff, and on the 25th arrived in Limerick. In the mean time James Butler, brother of lord Cahir, made himself master of Cahir castle, where there was an English garrison. On the 28th of May, the president entered the district of Clanwilliam, burning and destroying all before him. He forced John and Theobald Burke to surrender; after which he became master of the castle of Ballytrasny, which the Catholics had left, and found in it a quantity of corn and other provisions. He next sent five hundred soldiers to attack the patrimony of the O'Moel Ryans, which they pillaged and burned without mercy, and committed unheard-of cruelties. After these expeditions he placed garrisons in Kilmallock, Askeaton, and Likadowne, on the frontiers of Connillo, and returned with the remainder of his army to Limerick. Captain Harvy arrived at the same time with a ship laden with money, warlike stores, provisions, and clothing, to the great joy of the president, who was beginning to be in want of every thing.

The president was not yet satisfied; to get James Eitzthomas, earl of Desmond, into his power, was a feat to be yet accomplished. Promises of reward appeared to him to be the surest means of effecting this, and by means of them he succeeded. James was betrayed by some of his own soldiers into the hands of the president, who confined him under a strong guard in the castle of Connillo, called Castleishin, but he was soon rescued from his imprisonment by Maurice, baron of Lixnaw. Dermot Mac-Carty Reagh, the knight of Kerry, William Burke, Bernard O'Kelly,

Peter Lacy, and other chiefs of the confederacy, at the head of eight hundred men.

The princes of Ulster were too busy in defending their own province to be able to afford any help to the Munstermen. O'Donnel, prince of Tirconnel, had to watch the garrisons of Loughfoyle, commanded by Dockwra, with whom he had frequent skirmishes. The English, having got the city of Derry into their possession, made a vigorous sortie, but were repulsed with loss. Dockwra, their commander, was dangerously wounded in the head with a pike, by young Hugh O'Donnel, who cut his helmet through. After this battle the English relaxed in their attacks, so that O'Donnel determined to cause a diversion in favour of Munster. To effect this, he left the defence of Tirconnel to John O'Dogherty, prince of Inis-Owen, Niall O'Donnel, surnamed Garve, and Daniel O'Gallagher; after which he marched through Connaught and in the month of June entered the country of Thomond. The earl, who was then at Limerick, alarmed at the news of his approach, applied to the president for help to defend his district against him. Captain Flower was immediately despatched with eight hundred infantry and sixty cavalry, to join the earl in repelling Tirconnel; the two armies had frequent skirmishing, but O'Donnel plundered the country of Thomond as far as Loophead, and, after taking great booty in cattle, he retired without meeting any disaster.*

The expedition of O'Donnel to Thomond had no greater effect than to retard the operations of the English in Munster, but it produced a serious change in his own affairs. The lieutenant of General Dockwra, having sallied out of Derry, in the absence of the prince of Tirconnel, was killed by O'Dogherty, so that the English would have cause to repent of their conquest of Loughfoyle, if the Catholics had been more united. Arthur O'Neill, following the policy of his father, Turlough Linnagh, left the Catholic party and declared for the English. His example was soon followed by Nial Garve O'Donnell, though otherwise strongly attached to the religion of his ancestors. This nobleman gave up Lifford to the English, the command of which he had been appointed to by the prince of Tirconnel. His treachery caused a divorce between him and his wife Nolla, the sister of Tirconnel.

Nial Garve was brave and expert in war; his ambition made him desire to obtain the

title of the O'Donnel, or chief of the tribe, and he had cause to expect it if the English were victorious. They began indeed already to give him the title, and to make him great promises of reward if he would join in their interests. These foreigners knew well how to turn the affairs of this nobleman to their own profit. Niall had formed a private enmity against his chief, O'Donnel, on the ground of his having taken from him, as he said, unjustly, the estate of Lifford, which belonged to his family, and did not feel sufficiently requited by the castle of Caislean-na-Finni, which the prince had given him by way of remuneration. This was the only plea that Nial Garve could advance to palliate his revolt and his attachment to the English.

O'Donnel, who was projecting a second expedition against the earl of Thomond, abandoned his design on hearing of the revolt of Nial Garve,* and immediately posted his army near Lifford, in order to watch the enemy's motions. He frequently fought with success both against Nial Garve, who had gained over many adherents, and against the garrisons of Lifford and Derry, which often sallied forth against him. He sustained a heavy loss in the death of O'Dogharty, who was killed in one of these engagements. O'Dogharty having left only an infant son, O'Donnel, according to the custom of the country, created Felim O'Dogharty, his nearest relative, prince of Inisowen; this act, by increasing the number of the discontented in Inisowen, diminished his allies there, and the principal town in the district was given up to the English. All O'Donnel's efforts against the rebels of Inisowen were ineffectual: he besieged them in Binnin, a fort to which they had withdrawn; but from the inactivity of the Connaughtmen whom he had in pay, he was obliged to abandon the undertaking. In the mean time, Nial Garve, having collected all the natives belonging to his faction, and some English soldiers belonging to the garrison, seized upon the Franciscan convent of Donegal, and having driven out the friars, made an arsenal of their house, in order to be able to hold out against O'Donnel. This prince surrounded him with his army, and kept him hemmed in for three months; after which, the fortress having taken fire during the night, about one thousand men perished by the flames, the swords of the besiegers, and the falling in of the building, among the number of whom was Conn O'Donnel, brother of

* Hist. Cathol. cap. 5.

* Hist. Cathol. Hib. ibid.

Nial Garve. The prince of Tirconnel after marched his troops to Connaught; he was attacked at Elphin by the earl of Clanriccard, at the head of an English corps, and after some skirmishing the earl withdrew, but little satisfied with the success of his arms.

Mountjoy marched in July, at the head of his forces, towards the frontiers of Ulster;* but this expedition was equally unsuccessful as the former. He reconciled the Magennis, O'Hanlon, Ever, son of Colla MacMahon, lord of Fearnua, and others, who were subjected to the incursions of the English, from the contiguity of their frontiers—this was a kind of neutrality approved of by O'Neill in favour of these noblemen. The deputy then advanced towards Armagh and Portmor, the garrisons of which he relieved, but was deterred from proceeding farther, as he dreaded O'Neill, who was strongly intrenched, which caused him to return to Dublin.†

The deputy set out from Dublin in the month of August, with five hundred and sixty infantry, sixty horsemen, and some volunteers. He marched first to Naas, in order to join Oliver Lambert, who commanded a body of troops at Philipstown in Offaly. The two commanders having united their forces, carried fire and sword every where as they passed, so that every step in their march was marked with cruelty and tyranny.

Mountjoy, wishing to create a diversion in favour of his friends at Loughfoyle, marched in October for Ulster, at the head of six thousand fighting men. He did not proceed far into the province when he met with the prince of Tyrone. The two armies continued in sight of each other for fifteen days without attempting any thing, after which two battles were fought; one near Dundalk, and the other in the neighbourhood of Carlingford. These proved fatal to the English; they lost upwards of four thousand men, the deputy was dangerously wounded, and carried to Newry to be cured of his wounds. It was now that the English government set a price upon the head of O'Neill. A proclamation was issued, offering a reward of two thousand pounds sterling to any one who would deliver him up alive, or one thousand pounds for his head.

Carew, the president, who was still in Limerick, marched with his troops in the month of June into the district of Connello, where he made himself master of the castle

of Croom, which the garrison had abandoned. After this he marched towards the castle of Glynn, situate on the banks of the Shannon. This castle was the chief place belonging to the knight of the Glynn, a branch of the illustrious house of the Fitzgeralds of Desmond, and one of the principal confederate Catholic chiefs. The president laid siege to it, and having effected a breach, it was taken by assault, notwithstanding the most obstinate defence. The president, having placed a garrison in Glynn Castle, under captain Mordant, determined to lay siege to Carrigofoyle, in Iraghticonnor, but was prevented by the voluntary submission of O'Connor Kerry, to whom it belonged.

In the mean time, the president, in order to occupy the confederates in different places at once, sent fifty men into the county of Kerry, commanded by Maurice Stack, a native of that district, a man of middle stature, but of tried courage.* He surprised the castle of Liscaghan, scaled the walls, and put the garrison to the sword; he also burned Adare, and devastated the neighbouring country, where he remained till the arrival of Sir Charles Wilmot, who came to his assistance. War is the scourge of a country which unfortunately becomes the theatre of it. The scarcity of provisions was so severe in Kerry, that the president was constrained to change his quarters; he took possession of the castle of Corgrage, which had been abandoned, and gave the command of it to Oliver Stephenson, whose descendants, says Cox, have degenerated into real Irish; he received the castle of Rathmore by capitulation, and having reinforced the garrisons of Askeaton and Kilmallock, he arrived in Limerick the 16th of July.

During the absence of the president, the confederates made an attempt upon the castle of Liscaghan, of which Maurice Stack was the commander; but their efforts were defeated by the garrison, who killed twenty-seven of their men in a sally. The president being informed at Limerick of the state of things in Kerry, marched on July the 23rd, with his troops, amounting to a thousand and fifty infantry, and seventy-five cavalry—whether to avoid the badness of the roads, or the enemy, he took the route for the county Clare, and proceeded to Kilrush, on the right bank of the Shannon, opposite to Carrigofoyle, where the earl of Thomond took care to have a number of boats constructed to carry the troops and their baggage to the opposite side of the river.

* Hist. Cathol. ibid. cap. 4.

† Hist. Cathol. cap. 4.

* Pacat. Hib. ibid. cap. 10. *121-122*

The army having reached Carrigfoyle, the president on the 29th July despatched Wilmot with six hundred infantry, and fifty cavalry, on an expedition into Clanmorris. He took the castles of Lixnaw and Rathowen by surprise, and put garrisons into them, though lord Fitzmaurice, to whom the castle of Lixnaw belonged, had it undermined some time before, and planks of wood placed so as to set fire to it on the approach of the English army. After this Wilmot advanced upon Tralee, where he surprised a hundred and fifty labourers who were employed by the earl of Desmond to destroy the castle of Sir Edward Denny, in order to prevent the English from taking shelter in it. Wilmot had no great difficulty in defeating these men, whom he took by surprise; after killing some, and dispersing the rest, he returned victorious to Carrigfoyle.

The president received an account, that the provisions which he was expecting would be sent to Cork, had arrived at Carrigfoyle, in the county of Clare, opposite the river Cashin. The boats belonging to the earl of Thomond served to carry them to Lixnaw.

Patrick Fitzmaurice who was truly zealous in the Catholic cause, dreading the contiguity of the English, demolished his castle of Beaulieu, situate on the banks of the Shannon, and within two miles of Carrigfoyle. He died soon afterwards, and was succeeded by his son, Thomas Fitzmaurice, who inherited not only his title, but also his attachment to religion.* He married Honora-ni-Brien, sister of the earl of Thomond. Of these two illustrious personages, English writers give a story equally revolting to humanity, and to the religion which they pretend was the cause of it. Honora-ni-Brien, according to their account, having invited Maurice Stack to dinner at her castle of Beaulieu, had him murdered; and his brother, whom her husband, the baron of Lixnaw, had held as a prisoner for some time hanged the day following.

Florence MacCarty, who had hoped for some time to be able to remain neuter, began now to appear upon the stage. He contemplated bringing about a marriage between James Fitz-Thomas, earl of Desmond, and the sister of Cormac MacCarty, lord of Muskerry, in order to unite all the branches of the MacCarty, who formed a numerous and powerful tribe. The president, apprehending the consequences of such an alliance, left the government of Kerry to Wilmot, and marched straight to Cork, to counteract

the intended connection between Desmond and the chief of Muskerry. To punish Florence MacCarty, he granted protection to Daniel MacCarty, and gave him the title of MacCarty More, to the exclusion of Florence, who had a prior claim to the title, as has been observed.

Wilmot having besieged the castle of Ardart, in the county of Kerry, became master of it, after it had been defended for nine days by a feeble garrison. He strove to estrange several noblemen from the cause of their country, and succeeded with the knight of Kerry, who surrendered to him his castle of Dingle, the October following. The president, on his part received the submission of the MacMahons and the O'Crowleys of Carbury. MacDonough, MacAuliff, and O'Keefe, also put themselves under his protection, and the castle of Cahir was surrendered by James Butler to the English.

The earl of Desmond caused Castle island, and several strong places in the county of Kerry, to be demolished, in order to prevent the English from increasing the number of their garrisons. This nobleman had but six hundred infantry and a few cavalry, so that he was not able to attack the enemy openly, their numbers being much greater than his. He wrote pressing letters to Florence MacCarty to join him; but being disappointed in this, he left Kerry and marched through Connillo to gain the woods of Arlogh, near Kilmallock, where there was an English garrison, commanded by Sir George Thornton. The officers under Thornton were Slingsby and Arundle; captains Dillon and O'Reilly commanded the foot, and Greame the horse. Desmond's intended march being known to the English, they made every preparation in their neighbourhood to attack him. Greame first, with his cavalry, prevented the earl from getting into the wood, and made himself master of the baggage, while Thornton attacked him with the infantry. The action was briskly fought, but proved fatal to Desmond; he lost two hundred of his men in killed and wounded. Teague and Hugh O'Kelly, who commanded the Connaught troops were among the slain, and their heads sent the day following to the president. There remained now with Desmond but four hundred men, who got into the wood in spite of the enemy; after which they dispersed. The earl finding himself abandoned, withdrew into the country of Ormond, accompanied by Dermot MacCarty, bishop of Cork and Cloyne, who laboured for twenty years to preserve the religion of the country.

* Pacat. Hib. cap. 13.

After the defeat of Desmond, religion began to lose ground in Munster. Fitzmaurice, John Fitzthomas, brother to the earl, Peter Lacy, and other leaders, proceeded to Ulster to join O'Neill.* Several were pardoned, and among the number, MacCarty Riagh, O'Sullivan Beare, John O'Dwyer, James Fitzgerald, Teague O'Brien, O'Moelryan, O'gelly, at Muskerry; the provi places th having su mayn, C gates. month of sale into

Kilco and Kinelmeaky. Dermot Moyle MacCarty, brother of Florence, and Moyemo O'Mahony, prince of the O'Mahony, of Kinelmeaky, being informed of the enemy's designs, assembled their vassals, and fought the English for two hours; after which both armies withdrew, and the English returned greatly disconcerted in their designs. About this time some differences sprung up between the MacCartys of Carbury, and the O'Learys of Muskerry;† they led to an action at Ahakery, in the district of Carbury, in which O'Leary, chief of his tribe, and ten of his men were killed on the spot. On the other side, the brother of Finia MacOwen MacCarty was dangerously wounded, and some of his people slain.

The conquest of Munster was not secure while James Fitz-Thomas bore the name of earl of Desmond.‡ It was of the first importance to the English to destroy his influence among the people; to effect which they raised a rival to him, who in fact possessed a higher claim to the title. This rival was James, son of Garret the last earl, who had been detained during a great many years prisoner in the tower of London. The queen now prepared and equipped him for Ireland, with the empty title of "earl of Desmond."§ The name was imposing on the Irish, amongst whom it was still dear. They received him with a respect becoming his illustrious ancestors, but, finding that he had conformed to the religion of the court, their admiration towards him was abated. Young Desmond was conducted to Ireland by captain Price; he landed at Youghall, the 14th of October,

and arrived at Mallow on the 18th,* where he presented a letter from the queen to the president Carew, with her patent, restoring him to the dignity of his ancestors. The young earl expressing a desire to visit Limerick, was indulged by Carew, in order to sound the disposition of the people towards him; he was accompanied by the Protestant archbishop of Cashel, and Boyle, secretary to the council. Having returned to Kilmallock on a Saturday evening, he was received with the acclamations of the people who were collected in such crowds that he could scarcely get to the governor's house, whither he was going to sup, though the streets through which he passed were lined with troops. Their joy was, however, soon changed into sadness. The earl went the next day, Sunday, to hear the service in the Protestant church. On his return, the people who, the evening before, loaded him with blessings, heaped their imprecations and insults upon him, and even proceeded so far as to spit in his face. Abandoned now by the Catholics and the admirers of his ancestors, he was seen to walk in the streets like any private individual, without one to accompany him. "I give," says an English writer, "this narrative, that the world may perceive how our religion, and the professors of it, are abominated by the rude and ignorant people of Ireland."

The deputy Mountjoy, marched in the month of December, into the county of Wicklow, to chastise the O'Birnes and O'Toolen, who made frequent attacks upon the lands near Dublin. Having attempted, in vain, to get Felim, son of Fiach into his power, he carried away with him as prisoners, his wife and eldest son; after which, he laid the whole country waste, burning the houses and their haggards as he passed along. He put garrisons into Tullow and Wicklow; then marched to Monastereven, and afterwards visited Trim, Mullingar, Athlone, and Drogheda; from which place he set out for Dublin, on the 26th of April, after distributing the troops among the different garrisons. An order was at this time sent to the deputy by the court of England, to confer on Nial Garve O'Donnel, the principality of Tirconnel; and that of Fermanagh, on Connor Roe Maguire, to the exclusion of the lawful princes. It was thus that Maguire was recompensed for having made Cormac O'Neill, nephew and Tanist of O'Neill, a prisoner. By such means the queen diminished the number of her enemies in Ireland.

* Cox, Hist. of Ireland, page 435.

† Pacat. Hib. cap. 15.

‡ Hist. Girald. cap. 25.

§ Hist. Cathol. cap. 3.

* Pacat. Hib. cap. 14.

She supported the collateral branches against their chiefs; she caused divisions among them by exciting a thirst for riches, and found many degenerate enough to answer her purposes. Those who were so, were called her "protégés," and designated as *the queen's* O'Donnel, *the queen's* Maguire, to distinguish them from the lawful chiefs.

Morrison, governor of Dundalk, made some attempts upon the territory of Fews, whence he carried off as prisoner Turlogh, son of Henry O'Neill, chief of the Fews, and brother to Tyrone. The submission of Turlogh procured him the protection of the deputy, and a similar favour was granted to Ever Mac-Colla, to Mac-Mahon, lord of Fearn, to Hanlon, and the inhabitants of Brenny.

The forces of the Irish were continually diminished by their frequent battles, and by their having no succours sent them from abroad, while those of the English were receiving constant reinforcements from their own country. Information was sent by the lords of the English council, to Carew, that six hundred infantry had embarked for Cork. A complaint was also forwarded that several soldiers were passing from Ireland to England on a mere leave from their captains. The president was therefore enjoined to send his orders to the seaports to permit no soldier to embark for England without a passport signed by himself.

Dermod O'Connor Don, prince of Connaught, learned that the young earl of Desmond had arrived in Munster by orders of the court of England.* He wished greatly to see this young nobleman whose sister he had married, and to manifest to the queen by his services, how grateful he was for the favours conferred upon his brother-in-law. The president being informed of the wishes of O'Connor, sent him a guard to escort him and his attendants; one from Sir Arthur Savage, a commissioner of Connaught, and another from the earl of Clanriccard, being likewise appointed to protect him in his march through their estates. The president sent a hundred men to the frontiers of Thomond to receive and conduct him safe to his destination. But all these precautions were not able to save O'Connor's life. Having passed through Clanriccard without meeting any opposition, he was attacked upon the estate of O'Seaghnessy, by Theobald Burke, the *Naval*, who commanded a hundred men in the pay of the queen. Theobald, having killed forty of O'Connor's men, made that

prince prisoner, and had his head cut off the day following, without any trial. This act of hostility drew upon Burke the censures of his friends at court, and he was in consequence of it deprived of his company. "Theobald Burke," says an English author, "did no injury to O'Connor while he was a rebel, but seeing him attach himself to English

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Sir Walter Butler his nephew, and captain Marberry, to undertake it with all the troops they could muster. They accordingly made great preparations against a handful of men scattered in the woods, and bereft of every thing; a victory over whom, could not be very glorious to the earl, nor add much to the laurels of his house. They fell upon the unhappy wanderers, and killed forty of them, among whom was Thomas Burke, brother of Redmond; the rest were chased into the river Nore, which at that time, it being the month of January, overflowed its banks: many of them perished with their arms and baggage, and several were made prisoners; among the rest, John Burke, also brother of Redmond, who was immediately afterwards put to death in Kilkenny.

The president Carew, wishing to put the laws in operation, and let justice, (which had been suspended on account of the war,) take its course, held the assizes at Limerick, Cashel, and Clonmel; the members who composed the tribunals in question were commanded to punish all those who were denominated rebels. When an enemy sits in judgment, innocence will not escape. The president also gave orders to the sheriffs, to visit the counties, both to discover the malefactors who disturbed the government, and to procure provisions for the garrisons.* In compliance with this mandate, John Barry, sheriff of the county of Cork, attended by his retinue, entered that part of Desmond which belonged to Florence Mac-Carty, but was immediately repulsed by that nobleman's vassals, and forced to fly, leaving several of his attendants dead upon the spot. A detachment from the garrison of Kerry, intent upon plunder, crossed the river Mang, and

* Pacat. Hib. cap. 17.

* Pacat. Hib. ibid. cap. 18. Ibidem, cap. 19.

entered that district sword in hand, where they shared the fate of the sheriff's followers. These acts of violence rendered the conduct of Florence suspicious in the eyes of the president, but finding it necessary to dissemble for a while, he passed over all that nobleman's acts in silence.

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country was devastated and exhausted of men and provisions, particularly Munster, which had been for a long time the theatre of the war. Most of the noblemen in that province were obliged to submit to their enemies. Florence Mac-Carty seeing the necessity of yielding to the times, followed the example of the rest. Their submission, however, was but a sort of truce, while waiting for the arrival of the Spaniards.

Don Martin Lerda was sent to Ireland by the king of Spain, in the beginning of the year 1601. He brought two vessels laden with arms, ammunition, and money.* This small succour, which seemed to give omen of greater, was sent to O'Neill; and his Catholic majesty sent word to this prince, that he would immediately furnish him with troops, and every thing necessary to carry on the war. The vessels being arrived in the bay of Kilbeg, near Donegal, O'Neill divided the resources he received with the confederates, particularly with those of Munster. A gleam of hope seemed to revive the fallen spirits of the Catholics. They met, and deliberated together; and the earl of Clanriccard, who was at that time the only nobleman in Connaught attached to the queen's cause, began to espouse the interest of the confederates.

That which caused such joy to the Catholics of Ireland, produced great alarm in the minds of the English Protestants. The president of Munster wrote urgent letters to the lords of the English council, informing them that Ireland would be soon invaded by the Spaniards, of which he received positive assurances from every quarter. "Many priests and monks of the Roman church," added he, "have already arrived in this

country, who are precursors of misfortune to Ireland, by their endeavours to estrange her majesty's subjects from their allegiance." After thus apprizing the court of the danger, he demanded the means of averting it. The council attended to his representations, and gave orders how he should act; lenient measures were adopted, at the same time, to conciliate the Catholics of Munster. As a specimen of the queen's disposition at the time, she wrote to the president, authorising him to grant a general amnesty to all who would seek his clemency; from it, however, James Fitz-Thomas, having the title of earl of Desmond, his brother John, Peter Lacy, knight of the Glynn, Thomas Fitz-Maurice, baron of Lixnaw, the O'Morrae, and O'Connors Faly, were exempted.

The English still kept up hostilities in Ulster; Dockwra, governor of Foyles, made himself master of Inishowen, the patrimony of O'Dogharty; and also pillaged the lands of Mac-Hugh Duff, from which he carried away a thousand head of cattle. He devastated too the possessions of the Mac-Sweeney's, O'Boyle, Shane son of Manus Ogue, O'Donnel, and O'Cahan, leaving every where, traces of his cruelty. In this conduct he was ably seconded by Nial Garve O'Donnel, who forced feigned submission from most of those noblemen, who wished to escape his tyranny.

The deputy left Dublin in May, for Drogheda, where he arrived on the 23d of that month; on the 25th he proceeded to Dundalk, and on the 8th of June passed through Moyri, where he had a fort built, which he garrisoned; having left his camp at Fagher, on the 14th, he passed through Newry, and on the 15th entered Iveagh, the country of the Magennis. While Sir Richard Morrison was taking the city of Down, the deputy entered Dundrum, which was given up to him by Felim Mac-Evir, to whom it belonged. This nobleman having made his submission, his example was followed by Mac-Cartane of Dufferin, and Mac-Rory of Killiwarlin. The deputy having ended his tour through Iveagh, where he took some castles without meeting any resistance, returned to Newry, from whence he sent orders to Sir Henry Danvers, commander of Mount Norris, to seize upon the abbey of Armagh, and put an English garrison into it, but Danvers failed in the attempt. He was repulsed by the garrison, and forced to abandon his enterprise.

On hearing of Danvers's ill success in his expedition against Armagh, the deputy marched towards Mount Norris, where he was

* Pet. Lombard. *ibid.* p. 452, 453.

joined by the garrison. He then directed his march towards the river Blackwater, leaving Armagh on the right; visited the neighbourhood of that river, particularly the spot in which marshal Bagnal's army had been defeated, a few years before, by O'Neill, and proceeded towards Armagh, which was abandoned by its feeble garrison, on the approach of his powerful army. He therefore became master of it without opposition. The deputy left an English force in Armagh, consisting of one hundred horse, and seven hundred and fifty foot, under Danvers; he then returned with the remainder of his army to Mount Norris, and encamped between that place and Newry, in expectation of a reinforcement from the English province.

The garrison of Armagh committed dreadful excesses through the surrounding country.* The detachments which sallied from it, pillaged and laid waste the lands of Brian Mac-Art, Magennis, Patrick Mac-Mahon, carrying away their cattle, forcing these noblemen to submit, in order to save their properties. The deputy having abandoned the neighbourhood of Newry, marched his army towards Armagh. On the 13th July, he arrived on the banks of the Blackwater, which he crossed the day following, unopposed by Tyrone, who had his army posted in a wood near the river. It was his design to avoid an engagement, and remain on the defensive, till the succours which he expected from Spain would arrive. On the 16th of the same month, the deputy sent Sir Christopher St. Laurence's regiment to the castle of Benburb, where it was attacked by the advanced guard of O'Neill; they fought briskly for three hours, within view of the English camp, though St. Laurence having received fresh assistance from that quarter, was superior in force. According to Cox, the English lost nearly a hundred men, and the Irish about two hundred; he adds, that it cannot be cause of wonder that the loss sustained by both was so unequal, as the English being better provided with ammunition, the fire of their musquetry was more closely kept up, than that of the Irish. After this combat, the deputy had a new fort built on the river Blackwater, near the old one which was destroyed, and garrisoned it with a company commanded by captain Williams. At this time, the deputy issued a proclamation from the queen that her majesty would not grant any terms to O'Neill, and that whosoever would take him alive, should receive two thousand pounds reward, or one thousand for his head.

* Cox Hist. of Ireland, *ibid.* p. 438.

In the beginning of April eight hundred Catholics collected in Connaught, with the intention of marching into Munster, to raise a diversion in that quarter. They were headed by a portion of the Burkes, Hugh Mostian, and Peter Lacy; and the lord of Kerry, Teague Reagh MacMahon, and
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by the company of the earl of Thomond; he next proceeded towards Quinn, and having met the enemy, who were marching carelessly and in separate bodies, he fought them with success, killed some of their leaders, and dispersed the remainder. Teague, son of Torlogh O'Brien, a near relative to the earl of Thomond, who had joined the Catholic army a few days before, fell on this occasion by the sword of the English, fighting nobly for his country's cause. Ware and Cox, by whom this revolt of the Catholics of Connaught is mentioned, say they had fifteen hundred fighting men, including seven hundred from the north of Ireland, who were to act with them in the intended expedition. It is true the princes of Ulster, O'Neill and O'Donnel, at the request of Donagh MacCarty, prince of Alla, had sent seven hundred men towards Munster, under Teague O'Rourke, and Raymond Burke, baron of Leitrim, to renew hostilities in that province, and revive the fallen courage of Desmond; but it does not, however, appear that they joined the Connaught forces. The Ulstermen having lost the prince of Alla on their march, who was killed by a ball from some English that lay in ambush; and having heard that the Connaught army was defeated, and that Desmond was taken prisoner, returned towards their own province. They were harassed on their march by the earl of Clanriccard, who received a wound in a skirmish with them, of which he died a fortnight afterwards.

The Catholic cause suffered considerably at this time, by the arrest of James, son of Thomas Fitzgerald, commonly called earl of Desmond, and Florence MacCarty, of the illustrious house of MacCarty Riagh, who had married the daughter and heiress of MacCarty More, baron of Valentia, and earl

of Clancar. Desmond was taken about the end of May, in a cavern in the mountain of Slevegrot, by Fitzgibbon, chief of the Clangibbons, generally known as the white knight, who gave him up to Carew in Cork. The knight had the baseness to accept of a thousand pounds from the president, as a reward for this infamous act. Florence MacCarty, who had become MacCarty More by the death of his father-in-law, in which dignity he had been confirmed by O'Neill, was arrested in Cork, by orders of the president. These noblemen were sent, in the August following, under a strong guard, to the tower of London, where Desmond died after a confinement of seven years.* His brother John Fitzthomas fled to Spain after the battle of Kinsale, where he died, leaving a son called Garret or Gerald, on whom his Catholic majesty conferred the title of count. James, son of Garret, the real heir to the title and estates of Desmond, remained for some time in Ireland, but not finding that his affairs was making much progress, he returned to England, where he died soon afterwards, not without suspicion of his having been poisoned. Thus ended the illustrious family of Desmond, who fell a sacrifice to their zeal in the cause of religion. There remain, however, still in Munster, many noble families of the name of Fitzgerald, who are descended from that house. The apprehensions of the president of Munster were not removed by the imprisonment of Desmond and Florence MacCarty; he knew that several noblemen of the province only waited the arrival of the Spaniards, to declare openly against the government. In order to defeat them in their hopes, he appointed the assizes to be held in Cork, on the 28th of July, under pretence of trying civil and criminal causes, and clearing the prisons. In the mean time he sent circulars to all the nobility and landholders, requesting their attendance:† those whom he had principally in view, and whose allegiance he doubted, were, Dermod, son of Owen MacCarty, otherwise MacDonagh, Teague, son of Dermod MacCarty, and brother to Cormac MacCarty, lord of Muskerry, Moilmo O'Maghon (O'Mahony) chief of the tribe of the O'Mahonys of Kinelmeaky, and Dermod Moil MacCarty, brother to Florence MacCarty, already mentioned. The three first having repaired to the assizes, were immediately arrested and thrown into prison by orders of the president; the fourth, Dermod Moil MacCarty,

more cautious than the others, refused to enter the city; his brother's fate was still present to his mind, and distrusting the English, he resolved to, preserve his liberty, whatever might be the result. On hearing of the fate of his countrymen, he withdrew to his friends in Ulster.

The deputy crossed the Blackwater in the beginning of August, and proceeded towards Dunganon; but the badness of the road, and the frequent skirmishes he had to maintain against the troops of O'Neill, forced him to direct his march towards Armagh. Danvers was ordered with three hundred men to burn a village that lay in their march, but was driven back by O'Neill's troops, and pursued to the English camp in spite of the succours that were sent to him. Some days after this, the Irish advanced with a design of attacking the enemy in their camp, but the deputy being apprised of it, placed four hundred men in ambush, who falling on them in flank killed several of them, and amongst the number, Peter Lacy, lord of Bruff, in the county of Limerick. This nobleman was descended from a noble family who had come over under Henry II., in the twelfth century, and settled in Ireland; he was equally illustrious by his virtue as by his birth, and was, in the troubles of Ireland, one of the most zealous defenders of Catholicity. His memory ought to be dear to the Irish church, and the loss it sustained from his death was most severe. After this expedition, the deputy placed his troops in garrison, and returned to Newry.

During the stay of the deputy at Newry, lord Plunket of Dunsany who commanded a company in the queen's pay, set out from the fort of Liscannon, and proceeded to attack the estates of MacMahon, from which he was driving away sixteen hundred head of cattle, but MacMahon pursued him with a hundred and forty men, and obliged him to give up his booty, after a loss of about fifty men on each side.* Dockwra pushed his conquests into Ulster;† retook the castle of Derry, and made himself master of Donegal. He maintained a siege for some days against O'Donnel, who, however, raised it to relieve Kinsale. Edward Digges, who commanded two companies at Asherow, took Ballyshannon by surprise. The deputy came at the end of August to Trim, in the county of Meath, and brought the privy council from Dublin, to deliberate together on the general

* Pacat, Hib. lib. 2, cap. 3, page 135. Relat. Girald. cap. 25.

† Pacat, Hib. cap. 7.

* The count de Lacy in the service of the empress queen, and so well known for his military exploits, is descended from this illustrious house.

† Camd. Elizab. part 4, page 826.

state of affairs; particularly in order to counteract the intentions of captain Tirrell, who was planning an attack upon Munster.

Such was the state of things about the end of August, 1601, between the Catholics of Ireland and the English. Munster had no longer any leaders after the imprisonment of Florence MacCarty and James FitzThomas, who were the centre of their union and were now banished. The people of Leinster were broken down; Connaught was unable to attempt anything, and the only resources of the country lay in O'Neill and O'Donnel, whose forces were too few to stand against the English, and the unfaithful sons of Ireland. In a word, the country was exhausted of men and means, from having sustained for many years, the burden of a war while waiting for assistance that came too late, while she herself was too weak to succeed.

Reports were spread at this time, that a Spanish fleet with troops for Ireland, was at sea; which becoming known to the council of England,* reinforcements were immediately ordered for Ireland, and two thousand men were in consequence sent and landed, in September, at Cork and Waterford, while others were expected from England. The lord deputy of Ireland and president of Munster, were not less alarmed than the council of England. On the 19th of September they met together at Leighlin, to deliberate on what measures they should adopt. From that they went to Kilkenny, and on the 23rd they received an express from Sir Charles Wilmot at Cork, that the Spaniards had landed at Kinsale. Upon this news, Wingfield, the lord marshal, was commanded to collect the troops in Leinster, and prepare ammunition and provisions for the army. Sir Henry Danvers and Sir — Berkly, were sent to Navan and Armagh, to lead the garrisons of these two places to Munster: and the deputy and president set out for Cork, which was the rendezvous. They arrived there on the 27th, and made the necessary preparations to besiege the Spaniards in Kinsale.

Philip III. king of Spain, was eager to perform the promises that were held out to the princes O'Neill and O'Donnel,† to relieve the oppressed Catholics of Ireland. For this object, he assembled what troops were necessary for the expedition, and gave the command of them to Dom Juan Del Aquila, a man well experienced in war. The fleet intended to convey the troops, was sent in the mean time to the islands of Terceira,

for the protection of the Galleons from America, which, it was feared might be taken by an English fleet which had sailed for these islands also. This circumstance retarded the expedition to Ireland, and lessened both by desertion and sickness the army of Dom Juan. The fleet which was commanded by Dom Diego de Brochero, having returned from Terceira, the rest of the army embarked, and set sail for Ireland. As soon as the fleet had got into the open sea, it was dispersed and separated by a violent storm. One part of it, consisting of seven ships, laden principally with artillery and other warlike stores and provisions, was forced with the vice-admiral, Dom Pedro de Zubiaur, to take shelter in the port of Corunna, in Galicia. The other portion, with Dom Juan and two thousand five hundred infantry, (a small force for so great an enterprise), arrived with difficulty in the harbour of Kinsale, on the 23rd of September. As soon as the Spaniards had landed, captain William Saxeys, who commanded the English troops, withdrew to Cork. The inhabitants of Kinsale immediately after, opened their gates to Dom Juan, who entered and took possession of the town.

Kinsale is a seaport situated in the county of Cork, on the shores of the river Bandon. It is not a place of much strength; the entrance to the harbour is protected by two castles; that upon the left is called Casianne-Park, and on the right the castle of Rincharrain which signifies the point of a scythe, from its being built on the extremity of a tongue of land similar in form to that instrument. The Spanish general put a garrison into it with cannon taken from one of the ships, since the artillery intended for the invasion was on board that part of the fleet that had taken shelter at Corunna with Zubiaur.

Dom Juan was not secure at Kinsale, where he was, in fact, in need of everything: so he wrote to Spain by the fleet that was returning, and gave an account to the king, his master, of his voyage, and of the supplies he wanted. The Spanish general found none (except O'Sullivan) among the Catholics of Munster inclined to assist him. Some had been imprisoned, others gave hostages as a guarantee for their loyalty, and others opposed the cause of their country, so that there was none but O'Sullivan, prince of Bearre and Bantry, who could make any attempt in favour of the Spaniards. This prince sent an express to Dom Juan, that he and his friends would furnish him with a thousand armed men, and that they would procure further aid if that general could

* Pacat. Hib. cap. 10.

† Hist. Cathol. vol. 3, book 6, cap. 7.

supply them with arms; with which force, he would be able to prevent the English from besieging Kinsale, while waiting for the aid from O'Neill and O'Donnel. The Spaniard answered prince O'Sullivan, that he could not supply them with arms, in consequence of his artillery being on board the vessels which Zubiaur had with him at Corunna, and that he was expecting to hear from the princes of Ulster. The general and Fra Matheo, titular archbishop of Dublin, who accompanied him from Spain, wrote to the princes of Ulster many letters after their arrival at Kinsale. The latter were eagerly solicited by the archbishop and the general, to march to their assistance with all expedition, and to bring horses, of which they were in extreme need.

The deputy waited in Cork for the return of the officers who had been sent to Leinster, Connaught, and the garrisons in Ulster, to collect the government forces; and at length Sir Benjamin Berry, Richard Wingfield, John Barkly, and Henry Danvers, arrived with their divisions. These troops amounted to about seven thousand six hundred men, comprising those of Munster. The English general marched with his army towards Kinsale, having changed his camp two or three times. The third time he encamped on Spittle hill, where he entrenched himself, within a musket shot of that place; while at the same time, Button, the captain of a man-of-war, who had just escorted a vessel from Dublin, laden with provisions, received orders to prevent any succours by sea from entering Kinsale.

Every thing being prepared, the English laid siege to Rinnecharrain and Caslan-nepark successively; the former of which castles surrendered on the 1st, and the other on the 20th of November. The months of October and November were spent in skirmishing, the Spaniards making frequent sallies, and the English driving them back, the latter, if we can credit their historians, being always successful. The account, however, of a contemporary writer is different.* According to him, the Spaniards fought valiantly during the day, in defending their walls, and by night they sallied forth, killing the sentinels and advanced guards of the English, and carrying off their cannon; by which means, continues he, the loss of the English always exceeded that of the Spaniards. Even could we suppose, that the English had the advantage, the great disproportion in numbers between the besieged and besiegers, would tend

to lessen their boasted advantages considerably. There were but two thousand five hundred Spaniards in Kinsale, but we will admit even that there were four thousand; the principal strength of the place was from a wall with towers at certain distances; they had but three pieces of cannon, one which had been brought from one of their own vessels, and two were already in the town. The English appeared before Kinsale with seven thousand six hundred men; their army was increased, soon after, to eight thousand, a reinforcement having been brought from England by the loyal earl of Thomond.* The English artillery was numerous, and skilfully worked; their camp abounded with provisions; captain Button guarded the mouth of the harbour, till the arrival of an English squadron of ten vessels, under admiral Richard Levison and Sir Amias Preston, vice-admiral, who were incessantly pouring broadsides on the town, while the army attacked it by land; and still the siege of Kinsale lasted from the 17th October, to the 9th of January following.

Vice-Admiral Don Pedro Zubiaur, who was forced by a storm to touch with his seven ships at Corunna, in Galicia, arrived on the coast of Ireland, December 3d. This officer entered a harbour called Cuan-an-caislan, in English Castle Haven, in Carbury, about twenty miles from Kinsale, where they were kindly received by five brothers of the O'Driscols, to whom the country belonged, and who gave him up one of their castles.†

The news of the Spaniards having arrived at Castle Haven, being spread, the deputy commanded admiral Levison to engage them; without losing a moment he sailed with six ships and some troops on board; having reached Castle Haven he found the Spanish vessels unguarded by their crews who were sleeping, and fatigued after a long voyage. The Spaniards being roused by the cannon of the English, which began to play upon their ships and upon the castle, returned, though in a confused manner, the fire with their artillery, and supported an engagement during two days, in which the English lost five hundred and seventy-five men.

The English admiral not succeeding to his wishes in his attack upon their vessels, was about to land his troops and attack the Spaniards who were on shore; but from this he was deterred by seeing them reinforced by the prince of Bearre with five hundred men, all ready to oppose him. He immediately sailed from Castle Haven, for Kinsale, where

* Hist. Cathol. *ibid.*

* Hist. Cathol. *Hib. ibid.*

† Hist. Cathol. *Hib. ibid.* c. 8.

he vainly boasted of having been successful in his expedition.

Many of the surrounding nobility took up arms to join the Spaniards; the principal among whom were Finin O'Driscoll and several others of the same name: the Mac-Carty's of Carbury; Donnal O'Sullivan Bearre; the eldest son of O'Sullivan More; Donnal Mac-Carty, son of the earl of Glancar, and other branches of the Mac-Cartys of Desmond; the O'Donavans and O'Mahonys of Carbury; John O'Connor Kierry; the knight of Kerry, and others.

The number of Spanish troops that landed at Castle Haven did not exceed seven hundred men, but a hope of further aid sustained the Catholics and made them anticipate the moments of their freedom. To convince the Spaniards of their sincerity, the Irish delivered them up to the strong places along the coast, for garrisons. Donagh O'Driscoll had already given them his castle of Castle Haven; Finin O'Driscoll gave them the castle of Donneshead at Baltimore, and that of Donnelong on the island of Innisherkan, which commanded the entrance to the harbour. Donnal O'Sullivan surrendered them the strong castle of Duin Buith, otherwise Dunboy, which protected the harbour of Beerhaven. Among these castles were distributed, by orders of Dom Juan Del Aquila, the artillery and the seven hundred Spaniards who had landed at Castle Haven.

During the expedition of Levison at Castle Haven, a Scotch vessel entered the harbour of Kinsale; this ship was separated at sea from the Spanish fleet, and had eighty Spanish soldiers on board. The commander, who was a Scotchman, informed vice-admiral Preston and treacherously surrendered to him his cargo.

The princes of Ulster did not forget their promises to Dom Juan Del Aquila. They used every exertion to march to the relief of Kinsale. The distance was about eighty leagues, and the roads very bad from the continual rains. O'Donnel marched first with his army, amounting to two thousand six hundred infantry and four hundred cavalry. The leaders of this force were* O'Rourke, Mac-Sweeny Tueth, O'Dogharty, O'Boyle, Mac-Dermot, the two Mac-Donaghs, O'Kelly, the two sons of O'Connor Roe, Donnal, brother of O'Connor Sligoe, Raymond Burke baron and his brother William, the two brothers of O'Donnel, the two O'Flahertys, Hugh Moystian, Fitz-Maurice, lord of Lixnaw, John Fitz-Thomas, brother to the pre-

tended earl of Desmond, Fitz-Gerald, knight of the Glynn, Dermot Moyle Mac-Carty, brother of Laurence who was sent prisoner to the tower, and several others.

The news of O'Donnel's march alarmed the English. The lord deputy summoned a council to deliberate on measures for intercepting this prince's communication with Munster: and the president Carew, was appointed to this trust. He set out accordingly with four thousand five hundred infantry and five hundred cavalry, and advanced towards Ormond, where O'Donnel was to pass. After a march of a few days he stopped at Ardmail, to the north of Cashel. O'Donnel had already entered the county of Tipperary, through Ikerin, the country of the O'Meaghers: and encamped at Holy-Cross, not far from Ardmail, where the president was stationed. The prince of Tirconnel wished to avoid fighting, and to deceive the enemy, he lighted a number of fires in the camp, and began his march before day. He took his route through Slieve Phelim, along the side of the Shannon, and got into the county of Limerick through the defiles of the abbey of Owney, and from thence to the districts of the O'Moel Ryans, and reached the castle of Crome, which was twelve miles farther on, so that, on a calculation, he marched in one day, thirty-two miles, a very arduous exploit for an army followed by their baggage. The president being informed of O'Donnel's movement, marched with his forces the same day, and crossed the country as far as the abbey of Owney, for the purpose of intercepting him, but understanding that he had passed the defiles of Connillo, he gave up the pursuit and returned to the camp at Kinsale, taking a shorter route, in order to be before O'Donnel, to prevent any communication between whom and the Spanish garrison he likewise drew to the camp the earls of Clanriccard and Thomond, who were sent by the deputy, one with his regiment, the other with a troop of horse, to his assistance.

Prince O'Neill set out from Tyrone, in the month of November, at the head of about three thousand men, to assist the Spaniards. The nobles who accompanied him were Mac-Mahon of Monaghan; Coconaght Maguire of Fermanagh, whose eldest brother had been killed some time before in the county of Cork, in a skirmish with St. Leger; Raynald Mac-Donnel, prince of Gline, captain Richard Tirrell, Magennis of Iveagh, and some others. O'Neill on his march through the county of Meath, met some opposition from the Anglo-Irish; Darcy, the lord of Platten, being killed in the skirmish.

* Hist. Cathol. cap. 9.

He continued his march, however, and on the 8th of December he arrived in the county of Cork, within a few leagues of the English camp. O'Donnel was expecting him in the district of Kinel Meaky, and these two princes encamped together on the 21st, between Cork and Kinsale, within a league of the English army.

The united forces of O'Neill and O'Donnel amounted to six thousand Irish, besides three hundred Spaniards, who had come from Castle Haven, under the command of O'Sullivan of Bearre and Dom Alphonso de la Campo. Their object was not to attack the English army who were fifteen or sixteen thousand strong, a disproportion in numbers far too great. They only proposed to themselves to throw in succour to the Spaniards, and enable them to hold out, till the inclemency of the season must of course force the English to raise the siege, whereby the Spanish general would have the opportunity to await further reinforcements from Spain. This was the subject of several letters from Dom Juan to the princes O'Neill and O'Donnel. They were advised by him to draw near the English camp, the Spanish general proposing to make a sortie on a day appointed, and by this means facilitate the above plan. Some of the letters however being intercepted by the English, the deputy ordered the guards to be doubled, and every thing to be put into a more secure state of defence.

O'Neill, according to the plans fixed upon, made a movement on the night of the 23d of December. On approaching the part occupied by the English, he heard a noise of arms and warlike instruments as if a battle were going on; and proceeding immediately to the place that had been named by Dom Juan for making his sally against the English, he found to his surprise, that the enemy had returned into camp. At break of day, he advanced a little to view their position more closely, but discovered that all was quiet and no attack made by the garrison. Judging from this, that what he heard was for the purpose of inducing him to an assault; he ordered his men to return, postponing his plans to another day. O'Donnel was engaged at the same time with a body of English horse that had crossed the river; he forced them to retreat, but intending to surround them, he left the pass unguarded, and the English pretending to give way, returned quickly to charge his infantry, which threw them into a sudden panic; so that their ranks being broken and beginning to fly, their leader found it impossible to rally them. The English horse pursued those that were flying; but an

apprehension of falling into an ambuscade, prevented them from continuing the pursuit. They, however, boasted having gained a complete victory over the rebels, but the only advantage that they obtained was that they prevented the Irish from joining with the Spanish garrison, which indeed arose not from English valour, but a want of order among the Irish troops.

O'Neill lost in the expedition, about two hundred men. According to the English historians his loss amounted to twelve hundred in killed, eight hundred wounded, and a number of prisoners, among whom was Alfonso del Campo who commanded the Spaniards. The prince of Tyrone having failed in his plans and seeing the season too advanced to continue the campaign, returned to his own province to await a more favourable opportunity. Roderick, to whom his brother O'Donnel gave the command of his army, marched for Tirconnel. He was attacked in West Meath by the English of Ballimore Loch-Sindil, who thought to prevent him passing; but this militia of citizens was cut to pieces, and two hundred of them slain by O'Donnel's cavalry. O'Rourke being informed that his brother Thadeus intended, in his absence, to make himself master of Brefny, hastened to support his right against the usurper. Other chiefs of the Irish forces following the example, the Catholic army in Munster was reduced to a small body of Munstermen and Spaniards, commanded by O'Sullivan, prince of Bearre, who kept with him captain Richard Tirrell, William Burke, and a few other officers.

The English having nothing more to fear from the Catholic army, returned to their camp before Kinsale, and made great rejoicings for their victory. The noise of their firing induced Dom Juan to march a part of the garrison to assist (as he thought) the reinforcement he was expecting, and which he imagined was engaged with the English. Seeing his error, however, he marched back into the town. It is worthy of remark, that the Spanish commander of Kinsale, whether from his having a knowledge of an action being fought near the town, or not, did not lead out his troops as had been previously agreed upon between him and O'Neill. The author of the "*Pacata Hibernia*"* mentions, on the authority of the earl of Thomond, a singular prophecy respecting the battle of Kinsale. "There is no one less credulous than I am, in this sort of prediction which is generally forged, after things alluded to

* Book 2, cap. 21, p. 235.

occur ; but as this has been verified by the event, I think the mention of it may be admitted. I have frequently heard the earl of Thomond say to the lord deputy and others, that he read, in an old Irish book, a prophecy which marked the day and place, near Kinsale, where a battle would be fought between the English and Irish, in which the former would be victorious." If this prophecy were not forged by the earl of Thomond, it proved at least to be in accordance with his desires, and he cannot be reproached with any endeavour to counteract its fulfilment.

Whilst the English were vigorously pushing forward the siege of Kinsale, Hugh O'Donnel, after giving the command of his troops to his brother Roderick, embarked for Spain with Redmond Burke, Hugh Mostian, and others. Dom Juan not finding himself equal to hold out any longer, sent on the last day of December, a letter, by his drum-major, offering to capitulate, which proposal was accepted by the English general, who immediately despatched Sir William Godolphin to treat with the Spanish commander upon the articles of surrender, the principal of which were, that Dom Juan should give up to the deputy, every place which he was in possession of in the province of Munster, viz. Kinsale, Castle Haven, Baltimore, Bearehaven, and Dunboy, and that the deputy should furnish transport vessels to convey Dom Juan to Spain, together with his forces, arms, ammunition, artillery, money, &c., and with colours flying. This capitulation was signed on one part by Dom Juan, and on the other, by the deputy, the president of Munster, the earls of Thomond and Clanriccard, Richard Wingfield, Robert Gardiner, George Bourchier, and Richard Levison.

The surrender of Kinsale had different effects on the Irish Catholics and the English. The latter were disgusted with the siege ; independently of the inclemency of the season, it being the month of January, they had provisions for only six days ; their treasury was exhausted, their warlike stores worn out, and their artillery not fit for effecting a breach.* Nearly half of the English army, which, in the beginning of the siege, amounted to sixteen thousand men, had fallen either by the sword of the enemy, or disease. The English fleet in the bay, had suffered as much as the army on land. The deputy therefore having consulted with his council, considered the capitulation proposed by the Spanish general, as the only means of saving the remainder of his army, and avoiding the dis-

grace of raising a siege, which had been already so fatal to him.

On the other hand the possession of Kinsale was of the first importance to the Catholic cause in Ireland ; the garrison under Dom Juan amounted to two thousand five hundred men, well provided with ammunition and provisions, and supported by the garrisons of Baltimore, Castle Haven, and Bearehaven, so that from the state of the English, he might have held out till the arrival of succours from Spain, which would also have given time to O'Neill and the other Irish princes, to assemble in the spring. The surrender therefore of Kinsale and its dependencies, by shutting out all foreign aid, would necessarily injure the cause they wished to defend. O'Sullivan Bearre, apprehensive of these consequences, took possession of the castle of Dunboy, which belonged to him ; but which he had given up as a garrison for the Spaniards on their arrival in the country. Being determined therefore that this fortress should not be surrendered to the enemy, he got Thomas Fitz-Maurice, lord of Lixnaw, Donnal Mac-Carty, captain Richard Tirrell, and William Burke, with some troops, into the castle by night, and took possession of the gates, without committing any hostility towards the Spaniards. He immediately despatched Dermot O'Driscol to the king of Spain, entreating of his majesty to be convinced, that his motives were honourable in the taking of Dunboy ; and complained vehemently in his letter, of the capitulation which Dom Juan had entered into with the English, calling it wretched, execrable, and inhuman.

O'Donnel, who had sailed for Spain after the battle of Kinsale, was received on his arrival at Corunna in Galicia, with every mark of distinction, by the Count de Caracena, governor of the province, who brought him to his palace, and gave him precedence at all his assemblies, an honour he would not concede in his governorship, to any duke or peer of the realm.* The king of Spain when informed of O'Donnel's arrival, wrote instructions to the Count de Caracena, respecting the reception he was to receive ; and alluded, in the same letter, to the affairs of Ireland, affirming, that he would support the Catholics of that country, at the risk even of his crown. O'Donnel having recovered from his fatigues, took leave of his host, who presented him with a thousand ducats ; he then continued his route for Compostella, where he was honourably received by the archbishop and

* Pacat. Hib. *ibid.* cap. 23, p. 244. Hist. Cathol. *ibid.*

* Pac. Hib. *ibid.* cap. 28, p. 268, et seq. Facat. Hib. *ibid.* c. 27, p. 266.

citizens; on the 29th of January, the prelate offered up a solemn high mass, at which the prince of Tirconnell was present, and received the holy communion, after which the prelate entertained him at a magnificent banquet, and gave him a thousand ducats to continue his journey. O'Donnel having arrived at court, was received by the king and all his courtiers; his majesty gave the necessary orders for an expedition to Ireland, and the troops intended for it began to march towards Corunna.

Dom Juan de Aquila, the Spanish general, was still in Ireland;* he sailed, however, with the remainder of his forces, from Kinsale for Spain, on the 16th of March, with a fair wind. On arriving at Corunna, being suspected of having acted dishonourably in Ireland, he was arrested by order of the king, and confined to his own house, where he soon afterwards died of grief. The suspicions formed against Dom Juan were founded on the facility with which he surrendered to the English Kinsale, and the other towns in which the Spaniards were: also on the friendliness of a correspondence which he kept up with the deputy and Carew, and the reciprocal presents that were made between them, and finally, upon his having furnished passports to the English, who went from Ireland to Spain, under pretence of trading, but who, in reality, were spies that brought home an account of all that was passing in Spain, relative to the affairs of Ireland: on proof of which, an English officer called Walter Edney, was arrested at Corunna. He had freighted a vessel at Cork, for Spain, and was provided with a letter of introduction and presents from the deputy to Dom Juan; but the latter having already fallen into disgrace, the deputy's plan was defeated; the count de Caracena profited by the presents that were sent, and his letters, passports, and papers, were forwarded to the Spanish court.

CHAPTER XLIX.

POPE CLEMENT VIII. wrote a letter at this time to Hugh O'Neill, prince of Tyrone, complimenting him on the confederacy which he had established among the Irish princes, for the defence of the Catholic religion, against the reformers.

The lord deputy having ended his campaign in Munster, set out for Dublin, having

appointed Sir Richard Percy counsellor for that province. He left Cork on the 9th of March, accompanied by the president Carew, slept at Clone with John FitzEdmonds, on whom he conferred the order of knighthood; and then proceeded to Waterford, where he created Edward Gough and Richard Aylward knights; both of whom were noble, and old inhabitants of that city. The deputy arrived at Kilkenny on the 24th of March, (which at that time was the last day of the year), slept at the earl of Ormond's, and arranged matters of government with the president. He fell sick here, and had himself carried to Dublin in a litter, in which city he arrived on the 28th of the same month.

The English troops in Ireland, A.D. 1602, amounted, notwithstanding their losses in the late campaign, to sixteen thousand nine hundred and fifty infantry, and a thousand four hundred and eighty-seven cavalry. The deputy after having reviewed them, put them into convenient garrisons till the next campaign.

In the beginning of June the deputy assembled his forces, and marched into Ulster, where he got a bridge built over the Blackwater, with a fort which he called Charlemont, after his own name, and in which he placed captain Caulfield with a garrison of a hundred and fifty men. He sent the regiment of Sir Richard Morison to make themselves masters of Dungannon, but the inhabitants of the place, on the approach of the English, set fire to it, and reduced it to ashes, together with the beautiful castle of Tyrone. The deputy repaired thither with the remainder of his army, where he was joined by Dockwra.

The prince of Tyrone withdrew to castle Roe, on the river Bann. The English laid the whole country waste, as far as Inniskillen; they made themselves masters of Magherlowny isle, where O'Neill had a magazine; and took another island, in which they found three pieces of English cannon. Dockwra, who commanded a garrison at Ony, received orders to harass O'Neill in Dungeven in Araghty Cahan; while Chichester, who led the troops from the garrison of Carrickfergus, brought the regiment of Morrison to occupy Toome, and the deputy himself guarded the road to Killeto; but in spite of these plans, and the great superiority of the enemy, O'Neill, with six hundred foot and sixty horse, marched from castle Roe, and reached lough Earne unmolested. Being incapable of resisting the enemy openly, he remained on the defensive; for which pur-

* Pacat. Hib. ibid. c. 30, p. 278.

pose he chose an inaccessible spot, called Gleannchonkein, near lough Earne, where he entrenched himself in a manner that left him nothing to fear. The deputy hearing of this, contented himself with ravaging the surrounding country, and with breaking at Talloghoge, the stone which was used as the inauguration seat of O'Neill.*

The lord deputy satisfied with his exploits in the north, repaired to Newry on the 11th September, whence he set out for Dublin, leaving Ulster to the care of Dockwra, Danvers, and Chichester.† In November he undertook an expedition to Connaught, to quell the disturbances that agitated that province. Sir Oliver Lambert had already expelled the Burkes, with MacWilliam, their chief, from the county of Mayo.‡ The deputy now granted protection to O'Connor Sligo, Rory O'Donnel, the O'Flahertys, MacDermots, O'Connor Roe, and others. The only chieftains that remained steadfastly attached to the cause of Tyrone, were O'Rourke, Maguire, and captain Tirrell. The deputy had the fort of Galway completed, and gave orders to send three different bodies of troops in pursuit of O'Rourke; he then returned to Dublin, whence he despatched succour to Chichester, to enable him to oppose Brian MacArt, who had entered Killulta at the head of five hundred men. Chichester executed his commission with such cruelty, that a famine was the consequence. Cox says, "children were seen to feed upon the flesh and entrails of their mothers, who died of hunger," and adds, that "the famine in Jerusalem was not more severe than what the rebels suffered on this occasion."§

Notwithstanding that Dom Juan Del Aquila surrendered to the English the towns which he held in Munster, the inhabitants did not give up their arms, holding still the hope of receiving new succours from Spain. Those English authors who never let pass any opportunity of inspiring their readers with contempt for a people that wish to escape from their tyranny, have filled their writings with such injurious and insulting statements as should destroy in the mind of the discerning and impartial reader, all respect for them.¶ Their language on this occasion is as follows, "the rebels spread themselves everywhere, particularly through the districts of Carbury, Bearre, Desmond,

and Kerry. No place escapes them; they have become desperate from their crimes; they look upon themselves as children of perdition, and unworthy of her majesty's pardon." These are phrases in accordance with the imperious character of the English, who imagine that the world should obey them. The Irish whom they thus describe as rebels and children of perdition, did not seek the clemency of Elizabeth; they, on the contrary, took up arms to defend their country against her tyranny and usurpation.

Daniel O'Sullivan, prince of Bearre, became chief of the Catholic league in Munster, after the surrender of Kinsale, and the retreat of the princes of Ulster. This prince, illustrious for his virtue and his birth, was in possession of Dunboy, and omitted nothing to put that fortress into a state of defence. The nobles who espoused with him the common cause, were Daniel MacCarty, son of the earl of Clancar; Daniel, son of O'Sullivan More; Cornelius and Dermot O'Driscoll; Dermot O'Sullivan; Dermot, Donagh, and Florence MacCarty, of the family of MacCarty Riagh; MacSweeney; Donagh O'Driscoll, and his brothers. The prince of Bearre was also joined by O'Connor Kerry, MacMaurice, baron of Lixnaw, the knight of Kerry, the knight of Glynn, John Fitzgerald, brother of the earl, James Butler, brother to the baron of Cahir, William Burke, captains Richard MacGeoghegan and Richard Tirrell. The former was appointed to command the fortress of Dunboy, the latter to lead the army of observation.

This confederacy caused great alarm to the English; the president Carew ordered her majesty's troops to assemble at Cork; and the old and modern Irish who were loyal to the court party, were also commanded to meet. The principal among these were O'Brien, earl of Thomond; MacCarty Riagh, prince of Carbury; MacCarty of Muskerry; Barry, viscount Buttevant; O'Donovan; Fitzgibbon, called the white knight; Owen O'Sullivan, the cousin, but inveterate enemy of O'Sullivan, prince of Bearre; Dermot, brother of O'Sullivan More; and Donagh and Florence MacCarty, who deserted O'Sullivan Bearre. These auxiliaries and the English troops amounted to more than four thousand men. In March a detachment of two thousand five hundred infantry and fifty cavalry, was sent under the command of the earl of Thomond; who was commanded by the deputy to scour the countries of Carbury, Bearre, and Bantry; to burn all the corn, to take away the cattle,

* Hist. Cathol. *ibid.* cap. 12.

† Ware, *ibid.* cap. 45.

‡ Cox, *ibid.* page 448.

§ Cox, page 449.

¶ Pacat. Hib. book 3, cap. 1.

and commit every species of hostility upon the rebellious inhabitants, but to spare those who surrendered, among whom were O'Driscoll, O'Donovan, and the sons of Sir Owen MacCarty. The earl likewise had orders to attack the castle of Dunboy; to reinforce the corps of captains Flower and Harvy, and to pursue O'Sullivan Bearre, Tirrell, Dermot Moyle MacCarty, and the O'Crowlies. Thomond being unable to act against Dunboy, in consequence of captain Tirrell's light troops having possession of the mountains of Bearre, took post temporarily with captain Flower, in an island called Fuidi or Whiddy, in the bay of Bantry. He left with him his own company, and those of Sir John Dowdal, lord Barry, and captains Kingsmill, Bostock, and Bradbury, making in the whole seven hundred men; after which he returned to Cork, to give the president an account of his expedition. After Thomond's departure, captain Flower entrenched himself in Whiddy island, but fearing an attack from O'Sullivan, who cut off the communication, the English captain withdrew from it, after guarding it for two months. In his retreat he was pursued by O'Sullivan, who killed several of his men.

The lord president determined to besiege Dunboy, and set out the 23d of April from Cork, with more than 5000 men, besides the body of troops that was under Wilmot, in the county of Kerry. He arrived on the last day of the month, near Bantry, and encamped for a while on the plain of Gurtin-Rua, both to keep the enemy in check, and to await the arrival of eighteen ships of war and some transport vessels that were expected from Cork and England, and were to meet in Bantry bay. These were destined to carry troops and artillery to the island of Bearre, where Dunboy was situated, and which the English general intended to besiege. Richard MacGeoghegan, descended from the ancient and noble house of Moycashel, was appointed by the prince of Bearre to the command of this castle; he had under him but one hundred and twenty infantry. The English assert that the garrison consisted of one hundred and forty chosen men. By their valiant defence of Dunboy, they have well merited the name and character of heroes.

In the mean time Wilmot was successful in Kerry; after Kinsale had surrendered, he was sent with seventeen hundred infantry and a troop of horse, into that part of the country; and surprised, between Askeaton and Glynn, Hugh MacSweeny with two hundred men, of whom he killed twelve, and put the rest to flight. He advanced towards

Carrygfoyle, which he found deserted; and took possession, giving the command of it to captain Collum. Wilmot afterwards crossed the river Cashin, in spite of John, son of Thomas Fitzgerald, the young captain Tirrell, Hugh MacSweeny, Owen O'Maily, Rory and Phelim O'Connor, and Gerald Fitzmaurice, brother of the baron. They assembled at Lixnaw with five hundred infantry and some horse, to dispute his passage. The English captain laid siege to the castle of Lixnaw, which was garrisoned by forty-five men, who were determined to defend it, but want of water obliged them to capitulate. The forts of Ballyhow, castle Gregory, and Rahane, which belonged to the knight of Kerry, surrendered to Wilmot: after which he marched into Desmond, as far as the castle of Listre, where he encamped, being unable to proceed from the badness of the roads. Wilmot received an order here, to arrange his affairs in Kerry, and march to join the president on a certain day.

The fleet which was expected from Cork, arrived on the 11th of May,* in the bay of Bantry, freighted with all kinds of ammunition and provisions. This event caused universal joy to the English, who were beginning to be in need of every thing. Wilmot's corps joined the grand army on the same day. On the 14th, the president assembled his principal officers, to concert measures for leading the army to Beerhaven;† when it was unanimously determined to carry the troops first to the great island in the bay, and from thence to Bearre.

In consequence of this decision of the council, they struck their tents on the 31st May, and after putting their sick, who were numerous, into hospital, the army marched to Kilnamenoghe upon the sea shore, in the district of Muintirvarry, where they encamped. On the 1st of June, the earl of Thomond and general Wilmot embarked with their regiments for the great island; on the 2d, the regiment of Piercy embarked, which was followed by the president and the rest of the army; after which the artillery was sent. The president proceeded with caution, and before he began the siege of Dunboy, resolved to secure the places in his rere. The Catholics had left some soldiers in the castle of Dunmanus, whom it was deemed prudent for this purpose to dislodge. Owen O'Sullivan was appointed by the English general to effect the dislodgment,

* Pacat. Hib. cap. 4.

† Pacat. Hib. cap. 5.

and the two brothers, traitors to their country, marched with a detachment to Dunmanus, surprised the castle, and after killing four of the garrison, and making themselves masters of it, gave it up to plunder.

Richard MacGeoghegan, commander of the castle of Dunboy, is represented by an English writer as having had an interview on the great island where the English troops were then posted, with the earl of Thomond. After speaking on the subject in a mysterious manner, he has this passage, "But of this I am sure, that the earl's meeting with him was not without the president's knowledge and allowance; all the eloquence and artifice which the earl could use, however, availed nothing, for MacGeoghegan was resolved to persevere in his conduct."

It appears that the president was in the habit of resorting to dishonourable means for seducing those whom he had to fear most amongst his enemies. He met among the Irish themselves agents obsequious to his wishes. He had already sent, through Owen O'Sullivan, a pressing letter to the cannoneers of Dunboy. These were three in number, two Spaniards and an Italian, whom O'Sullivan Bearre, when he became master of the castle, took into his pay. The deputy proposed to reward them liberally if they would spike the cannon and break the carriages when the siege would have commenced; but they proved themselves honourable to their trust, and incapable of being influenced by his bribes.

The president having failed in the overtures made to the governor of Dunboy, sent his troops from the great to the lesser island, which was within about a hundred paces of Bearre, a position that afforded him the opportunity of viewing more closely the movements of the enemy. The Catholics were too few to be able to guard the entire coast; they therefore, confined themselves to one point, and entrenched themselves where they thought the landing would be attempted. To deceive them as to the place where this would be tried, the president encamped on the opposite side to them, with his own regiment and that of the earl of Thomond. At the same time the regiments of Percy and Wilmot were sent to the extreme end of the island, and landed between two rocks near Castledermot; having done which, they formed themselves in order of battle. The Catholics having discovered their error, immediately left their entrenchment, and proceeded to where the landing was effected; but being retarded by the winding of the coast, the English had time

to pass over their artillery. The Catholics charged the enemy with great bravery; the battle lasted for some time, but being overpowered with numbers, and galled by the enemy's cannon, they lost twenty-eight of their men killed, while captain Tirrell and a few more were wounded. The English rested upon their arms that night in the field of battle.

A vessel was sent in the mean time by the court of Spain, to Kilmokillock, near Ardea, to discover if the castle of Dunboy still held out for his Catholic majesty. There were some passengers on board; among whom was a friar named James Nelanus, and Owen MacEggan, who was appointed by the pope, bishop of Ross, and apostolical vicar of Ireland. This friar brought with him twelve thousand pounds sterling, to be distributed among the chiefs of the confederacy, and some warlike stores. He was sent by the Spanish court to assure the Catholics, that the reinforcements intended for Ireland would be speedily forwarded, and that two thousand troops had already assembled at Corunna for that purpose. The confederates, trusting to the promises given them, formed the resolution of supporting the siege of Dunboy against the English, and forwarded despatches to the king of Spain, to assure his majesty of their determination. Brien O'Kelly, and Donogh, son of Mahon O'Brien, sailed on the 15th of June, 1603, for Spain, with these despatches of the confederates. After this O'Sullivan Bearre sent part of the ammunition that had come from Spain, to strengthen the garrison of Dunboy.

Owen MacEggan, the apostolical vicar, at this time wrote a letter to Richard MacGeoghegan, commander of the castle of Dunboy, couched in the following words:—"the high character which you sustain gives me delight, and I have great confidence, with the assistance of the Lord, in the just cause which you defend. I would be particularly anxious to confer with you and your companions, and inform you of the state of things in Spain. Be assured, that nothing in this world is more acceptable to the king than your proceedings; you know how pleasing they are to God, and how important to our country. You will have, in a few days, fresh succours from Spain—the grand army, consisting of fourteen thousand men, is ready to march. You all will be well rewarded by his Catholic majesty, while waiting the reward which God prepares for you in heaven. I came from Rome to the court of Spain with a father of the society, who has been appointed the pope's nuncio: and who will

*Original
from
B. M. H. Lib.*

arrive in that quality with the Spanish army."

The deputy knew how important it would be to reduce the castle of Dunboy. It was the only place of moment which the Catholics of Munster still retained: it served them as an arsenal and a depot, and secured the means of holding a communication with Spain.* He marched therefore to within a mile of Dunboy, where his army encamped. Accompanied by Wilmot and a corps of infantry, he proceeded to reconnoitre the castle, and to seek a platform on which to erect a battery: but the musketry of the castle forced him and his attendants to return to their camp.

The English general, anxious to shelter his troops, and to make the artillery advance against the castle, caused a trench to be opened. The work was frequently interrupted by the besieged, who continually sallied out and kept up a constant fire from the castle. The English at length established their trench within a hundred and forty paces of the place. A battery of five pieces of cannon was then raised, which played upon the castle, whilst two falconets placed on a point of land, destroyed the out-works. The president in the mean time sent captain John Bostock, Owen O'Sullivan, and lieutenant Downings, with a hundred and sixty men, to attack Dorsies island. There was a small fort in it belonging to the Catholics, and garrisoned by forty men. After a vigorous defence from the besieged, the English made themselves masters of this fort, and found in it a few barrels of powder, three pieces of cannon, and some warlike stores. Four of the besieged were killed in the action; two were wounded, and the rest made prisoners. These latter were executed immediately afterwards, though they had surrendered. The cruelty of the English was not confined to the defenders of the castle; they massacred, without distinction, all the inhabitants of the island. A mother and the infant on her breast were murdered; the children were barbarously stabbed, and raised half dead on pikes, for a spectacle; others were tied, hand and foot, and thrown from the top of lofty rocks, into the sea. This is but a faint description of the cruelties exercised by the English upon the inhabitants of Ireland; a specimen of the way in which they reformed the morals of the people.

The English battery played incessantly upon the castle of Dunboy. Part of it had already fallen, and the besiegers supposing that the breach was effected, an attack was

ordered. They were repulsed, however, with vigour; several were killed on both sides, and the English were forced to retire. The fire from the battery was still kept up, by which a part of the vault fell in, and drew those that surrounded it into the ruins. The besiegers entered in crowds, upon the breach, and renewed the battle, but as before, without success; they were driven off with heavy loss, and hurled from the top of the breach; a third attack was equally unsuccessful as the two first, for after gaining the hall of the castle, the English were forced to abandon it. It will be admitted, that the garrison of Dunboy, which consisted of but one hundred and forty-three fighting men, must have been considerably weakened from the continued assaults of the enemy. It might indeed be supposed, that they would easily have been crushed by the overwhelming force of five thousand men with a powerful artillery; and though the efforts of the brave captain Tirrell, with his flying camp, frequently alarmed the English, they were not sufficient to save the garrison from the unhappy lot that awaited them.

The president Carew, seeing the obstinate and determined defence the castle of Dunboy maintained, ordered a fourth attack, better planned than the preceding ones. For this purpose a body of fresh troops, was chosen, taken by lot from the regiment of the lord president; this body was to be supported by the remainder of the same regiment, and that of the earl of Thomond; while those of Percy and Wilmot had orders to hold themselves in readiness to march, both to protect the camp, and to act with the others if necessary. The English artillery continued to play upon the castle from five in the morning until nine, when a turret of the castle in which there was a falconet, which greatly annoyed the English battery was seen to fall. However, the firing was kept up still against one of the fronts of the castle till one in the afternoon, when the breach being effected, and the plan of assault fixed upon, the detachment which was to begin the attack advanced; the Catholics disputed the entrance by the breach for a long time, but were at length forced to yield to the overwhelming numbers of the English; who planted their standards on one of the turrets. Roused by despair, the besieged renewed the battle, and fought with desperation until night, sometimes in the vaults of the castle, sometimes in the great hall, the cellars, and on the stairs, so that blood flowed in every quarter: several of the besieged fell during the attack, amongst whom was Mac-Geoghegan their commander,

* Pac. Hib. cap. 8.

whose valour equalled the greatness of his mind and high birth.* The castle was not yet in the possession of the English; they returned to the assault the day following, and pretending a desire to spare the further effusion of blood, terms were proposed to the besieged. The few belonging to the garrison who escaped the preceding day, having lost their chief, and being unequal to defend the castle, accepted the proposed conditions of having their lives spared. Richard Mac-Geoghegan, the commander, however, although mortally wounded, would not listen to any terms;† and seeing the English enter in crowds, he rose up, though already struggling with death, and snatching a lighted match, made an effort to fire a barrel of powder which was placed near him; his intention being to blow up both himself and the enemy, rather than surrender. He was prevented, however, by a captain Power, in whose arms he was basely and inhumanly stabbed by the English soldiers. Mac-Geoghegan knew that no confidence could be placed in any treaty with the English; and preferred to die fighting, rather than surrender to men, in whose honour he could repose no trust. *"The whole number of the ward consisting of one hundred and forty-three chosen fighting men, being the best of all their forces, of the which no man escaped, but were either slain, executed, or buried in the ruins."* This garrison was not composed of mere mercenary soldiers, taken by lot, but of men of honour and principle, who willingly laid down their lives in defence of their religion and country; the English themselves admit, *that so obstinate and resolved a defence hath not been seen within this kingdom.‡* They were worthy to have been citizens of ancient Sparta, from the mode in which they sacrificed themselves for the good of their country; and if their example has not been followed by others, it will be at least a subject of reproach and self-confusion to those of their countrymen who took up arms against them. The siege of Dunboy lasted for fifteen days. It cost the English, according to some authors, a loss of six hundred men, more, or less. Authors differ on it and also respecting the time of this event; some say it was in June, others in September; the castle, however, was, by orders of the president, razed to the ground, after four days, and not a vestige of it suffered to remain.§

* Hist. Cathol. *ibid.*

† Pacat. Hib. *ibid.* p. 316. Hist. Cathol. *ibid.* page 184.

‡ Pacat. Hib. *ibid.* Cox hist. of Ireland, p. 450, 451.

§ Hist. Cathol. *ibid.*

The Spanish army which was intended for the expedition to Ireland, amounted to fourteen thousand men; they had assembled at Corunna, and were ready to sail, when intelligence was received of the fall of Dunboy; on which the Spanish court sent orders to the Count de Caracena, governor of Corunna, to countermand for the present the sailing of the troops.* The queen of England had her emissaries in Spain, who informed her of all that had occurred: she therefore ordered her fleets that were cruising on the coasts of Spain to be revictualled, and to continue to watch the motions of the Spaniards till the end of September; she also sent two thousand more troops to Ireland, to reinforce the president's army in Munster.

CHAPTER L.

THE fall of Dunboy did not prevent the prince of Bearre from still acting a brave and noble part.† Dermod O'Driscoll having returned from Spain, Cornelius, son of O'Driscoll More, was sent in his stead to solicit speedy assistance. In the mean time the prince and captain Tirrell marched with a thousand men into Muskerry, and made themselves masters of Carraig-na-Chori, Duin Dearaire, and Macrumpe, where they placed a garrison; after which he prevailed upon O'Donoghoe of the Glinne to join in the confederacy. He then made incursions into the district of Cork, and returned laden with booty.

Cormack, son of Diarmuid Mac-Carty, prince of Muskerry, had adopted the base policy of the earls of Ormond, Thomond, and others. He was descended from Heber by Oilioll-Olum king of Munster,‡ in the second century, and by Diarmuid More Mac-Carty, prince of Muskerry, who was killed in 1367, by the O'Mahonys of Carbury, who were from the same stock of ancestors. The politic conduct of Cormack did not secure him against suspicions of his loyalty, and he was accused of holding secret intrigues with O'Neill, O'Donnel, Florence Mac-Carty, James Fitz-Thomas, O'Sullivan Bearre, and other enemies of the English. His accuser was Tegue, son of Cormac Mac-Teague Mac-Carty, his near relative. This man was first in the service of the queen's troops; but he left this service during the siege of Kinsale, and joined the Catholic cause. After

* Pacat. Hib. *ibid.* c. 11.

† Hist. Cathol. cap. 4.

‡ Keat. Genealogy.

receiving part of the money that was sent from Spain for the Catholics of Ireland, he changed sides again and sought to be reconciled to the president; while to make his submission the more important he turned informer against his own relation, in whose conduct he had been previously a partaker.

The president, after consulting with the council, caused Cormac Mac-Carty of Muskerry to be arrested. He wished also to take possession of his castle of Blarney; which design Wilmot and Harvey were appointed to carry into effect. While proceedings were going on against Cormac Mac-Carty, captain Taaffe, who possessed his confidence, was sent to propose to him to surrender the castle to the English. The proposal was a critical one; Mac-Carty was a prisoner; his wife and children were also arrested, and his eldest son was pursuing his studies at Oxford. He was of course averse to surrender his castle which was an asylum in cases of emergency, and the sacrifice seemed great, but his circumstances appeared to make it imperative. Every thing being maturely weighed, he sent a communication to the governor of the castle, to surrender it to captain Taaffe. The abbey of Kilcrey and the castle were given up, at the same time, to the president, of which he gave the command to captain F. Slingsby. Macrumpe was a strong place in the centre of Muskerry, and maintained a siege against captain Flower and subsequently against Wilmot.

O'Donnel continued still in Spain; where he was actively employed at court, in behalf of his country. He wrote at this time the following letter, dated Corunna, to O'Connor Kerry, "The doctor and Dermot O'Driscoll will give you an account of every thing that is passing here. The king sends you money and stores. Believe me, that his majesty will omit no opportunity to gain Ireland, were it to cost him even the greatest part of his kingdom. Endeavour to secure this monarch's good opinion by your services. I beg that you will inform me of the news in Ireland, and against whom the queen's forces are now employed.*"

Cormac Mac-Carty was still a prisoner in Cork. The witnesses against him were examined, and his life was in danger. It was of course natural, that he should have wished to recover his liberty. His design was communicated by several to the deputy; the Protestant bishop of Cork and Dominick Sarsfield, the queen's advocate in Munster, being the leading informers. The president

caused the keeper of the prison, who had Mac-Carty in his charge, to be brought to him; and gave him fresh instructions for securing him; his precautions, however, were disappointed. The prince of Muskerry was rescued by a young nobleman, named Owen Mac-Sweeney, who got in by night to his chamber, and having cut with a file the irons that bound his legs, let him down through a window while six companions received him with their mantles before he touched the ground. The conspirators then got him over the wall of the city, notwithstanding that the centinels went in pursuit of him. He very soon after this arrived in Muskerry, where he met O'Sullivan Beare at the head of a small detachment; and both princes entered immediately into an alliance against the common enemy. O'Sullivan then besieged Carrigan-phouca, which was guarded by the sons of Teague Mac-Carty, who obtained terms from the English by his treachery against the prince of Muskerry, whose relative he was. O'Sullivan reduced it and two more places in Muskerry; which he gave up to be garrisoned by his ally, and returned to his own country of Bearre.

The escape of Cormac Mac-Carty greatly alarmed the president Carew. He knew that he was very dear to the inhabitants of Muskerry, most of whom were his vassals and ready to follow his fortune, and that, if an alliance were made between him, O'Sullivan Beare, and captain Tirrel, it might cause Wilmot's communication with Cork, (who was then besieging Macrumpe), to be cut off. The president therefore immediately forwarded an express to Wilmot, saying, that if he should not be master of Macrumpe castle in twenty-four hours, he must raise the siege, and withdraw the troops from before it, orders being sent likewise to lords Barry and Roche, to keep a close watch in their districts which were strongly attached to the cause of Cormac Mac-Carty.

The president's letter brought sad news to Wilmot; that general being eager to reduce Macrumpe, and thinking it dishonourable to raise the siege. An unforeseen occurrence however proved favourable to his views. The castle having taken fire, and it being impossible to subdue the flames, the garrison was obliged for their safety to rush into an adjoining yard, which exposed them to the fire of the besiegers. Their two-fold danger now roused the besieged into despair, and opening a way through the enemy, sword in hand, they effected their escape with a small loss on their side. The fire of the castle being extinguished, Wilmot left a few com-

* Pacat. Hib. cap. 13.

panies in it in garrison, and took, the day following, the road to Cork, with the remainder of his army.

The liberty which Mac-Carty enjoyed since his escape from prison, was not sufficient to allay his apprehensions; his eldest son was imprisoned in England; his wife and younger son were prisoners in Cork; his castles of Blarney, of Kilcrey, and Macrumpe, were in the hands of the English, and the whole of Muskerry was laid waste, so that he had in his favour at least the appearance of necessity, for surrendering to the English, notwithstanding the alliance concluded between him and O'Sullivan Bearre.

If the submission of Mac-Carty of Muskerry was fatal to the Catholic cause in Munster, the news of the death of Hugh O'Donnel, prince of Tirconnel, was still more disastrous. After the battle of Kinsale, that prince passed into Spain, where he attended ably to the interests of his country; arrived at high favour at court, and was (on the eve of his death) about to reap the fruits of his zeal. The confederates of Munster, upon receiving the sad news, saw themselves deprived of all hope on the side of Spain; their courage was broken down; Daniel Mac-Carty the knight of Kerry, Daniel, son of O'Sullivan More and others, sought to be reconciled to the English government. Captain Tirrel led his troops into Connaught, which raised the courage of the English; five thousand of whom were collected, and the command given to Wilmot, with the title of governor of Bearre. He accordingly led the army to that part of the province, and encamped at Gort-na-cailli, in a valley called Gleaunn Garaibh, where he published a proclamation in the queen's name, promising pardon to all who would abandon O'Sullivan Bearre's standard. This prince was now forsaken by his allies; and his Connaught troops having left him, with their commander Thomas Burke, to return to their province, he deemed it more prudent to follow them with the few that remained, than yield to an inhuman enemy.*

On the last day of December, O'Sullivan Bearre, with O'Connor Kerry, and a few other noblemen, having joined his troops with those of Connaught, the whole amounting to scarcely four hundred men, set out upon their march;† intending to take refuge with Hugh O'Neill, prince of Tyrone. Though his shortest route would have been through Leinster, still, that province being in the power of the English who had their

garrisons in every quarter, he determined to gain the Shannon, in order to reach O'Rourke, prince of Brefsny, through Connaught. The badness of the roads and scarcity of provisions were not the only difficulties the prince of Bearre had to encounter. He was continually obliged to fight his way, with the enemy: on the frontiers of Muskerry he was pursued by the Mac-Cartys; after this by the people of Duhallow; again at Slieve Louchra by the garrison of captain Cuff, the Barrys, and Clan-Gibbons; and lastly, at Slieve Feilim, in the country of the O'Carrolls, by a detachment sent by the earl of Ormond. We read nothing in history which more resembles the expedition of young Cyrus and the ten thousand Greeks, than this retreat of O'Sullivan Bearre.*

The prince having overcome the difficulties of a long and painful march, arrived on the 7th of January in the forest of Brosnach, above Limerick, near the Shannon, where he encamped with his little army. He here convened a council of war, to deliberate on the means of crossing the river; in which it was decided that a number of boats made of osier and the branches of trees, should be constructed for the troops: while in order to prevent them from sinking, they were covered with skins of horses, provided for the purpose. These boats were used by the ancient Irish, and were called Curraghs or Nevogues. The boats being completed, they were brought during the night to Portlaughan, on the banks of the Shannon, opposite to Portumny, and commenced crossing the river. O'Maily, who went by the first, was upset with ten soldiers, but the rest reached the opposite shore in safety. On reviewing his men, O'Sullivan found them reduced to two hundred. He marched, however, through Galway to Mainech, the country of the O'Kellys, where he had to contend with fresh enemies.† Having met captain Malby, an Englishman, Sir Thomas Burke, brother to the earl of Clanriccard, and other chiefs, near Aughrim, at the head of a body of troops, superior in number to his own; a battle began between them with equal animosity, but Malby, the English general, having been killed, victory declared in favour of the Catholics. O'Sullivan continued his march to Brefsny, where he was honourably received by O'Rourke.

Wilmot commanded the Munster troops in the absence of the president, who had been called on affairs of business to Galway. Immediately after the retreat of O'Sullivan,

* Hist. Cathol. ibid. cap. 6. Pacat. Hib. cap. 26.

† Hist. Cathol. cap. 8.

* Hist. Cathol. cap. 9.

† Hist. Cathol. ibid. cap. 10, 11, 12.

he sent four hundred men from Cork, under the white knight and captain Taafe, to lay waste the districts of Bearre and Bantry. They took possession of the castles of Ardea and Caraignesse. Captain Fleming was despatched with his vessel and a few soldiers to the isle of Dorsie, where he pillaged O'Sullivan's magazines, and put the inhabitants to the sword.

The people of Carbry, alarmed by the cruelties which the English were committing in their neighbourhood, took up arms, headed by the MacCartys of that district, Dermot, son of O'Driscoll, Thadeus, son of O'Mahony of Carbry, and the MacSweenys. They set out on their march, and meeting the English army at Cladach, several days were spent in skirmishing with equal success. Teague O'Mahony who had the glory of beginning the action, repulsed those who opposed him; the cavalry of MacCarty and MacSweeney performed a distinguished part; but a detachment of MacCarty's infantry was surrounded by a body of English horse, and cut to pieces. Teague O'Howley, who commanded part of the Catholic army, signalized himself in a combat with the white knight. Owen MacEgghan, apostolical vicar from the pope, who had been appointed bishop of Ross by his holiness, was shot in the skirmishing. He was particularly zealous in the Catholic cause, which was considered a crime by the English. In order to disparage his character, their writers allege that he was killed fighting at the head of a body of troops, with a sword in one hand and a breviary in the other: less prejudiced authors mention his having a breviary and beads. A holy priest called Dermot MacCarty, endeavouring, through charity, to exercise the duties of his ministry, by exhorting and preparing the wounded for death, was taken by the English and brought to Cork. Great rewards were offered him to embrace the reformed religion: but his refusal gained him the glory of martyrdom. He was tied to the tail of a mad horse, and after being dragged through the city, was hung on a gibbet; when half dead, he was quartered, his entrails were torn out, and his limbs exposed in the public streets. It was thus these reformers preached their gospel.

This struggle of the inhabitants of Carbry, was the last during this reign that was made in the province of Munster, in favour of religion and liberty. It was too weak to have succeeded. The MacCartys having failed, solicited pardon from the president, through captain Taafe, and obtained it, but Teague O'Mahony, less politic, was surprised by the

English, and beheaded. Fitzmaurice, with a body of light troops, defended himself for a long time in Slieve-Luachra against the English; and was afterwards so fortunate as to redeem his property and title of baron of Lixnaw, by his surrender. Thus ended the war in Munster.

O'Sullivan was not the only unfortunate prince who sought safety with O'Rourke;* on his arrival there he met the son of William Burke, chief of the noble family of the MacWilliams of Connaught, and Connanacht Maguire, prince of Fermanagh, who had been dispossessed by the English. In order to justify their conduct, they raised a rival against him, in his cousin, Connor Rua Maguire, who had espoused their cause, and was under their protection, and placed garrisons in the neighbourhood of lake Erne, to favour his pretensions. On account of his attachment to the interests of the court, the Irish called this chief Maguire *Galda*, or English Maguire. The same fate having brought O'Sullivan Bearre and Maguire together, they determined to have recourse to O'Neill, and induce him to renew the war against the English. Having, therefore, taken leave of the prince of Brefsny, they set out, attended by captain Tirrell and a few cohorts of armed men, and notwithstanding the severity of the season, and the badness of the roads, they proceeded as far as the banks of lake Erne. They were then obliged to force the several posts belonging to the English, in which they were successful. Maguire afterwards got possession of his principality of Fermanagh.

Whilst the princes of Bearre and Fermanagh continued victorious on the banks of lake Erne, lord Mountjoy, the deputy, received intelligence from England, of the queen's approaching dissolution;† the deputy was alarmed; he knew the instability of human affairs, particularly among a haughty and seditious people like the English; and apprehending a change of government, he wished particularly to put an end to the war in Ireland. Hugh O'Neill, prince of Tyrone, was the great obstacle to a general peace: he still kept up his troops in Ulster, and continued on the defensive for some time, expecting foreign aid; the deputy, therefore, considered it of importance to gain him over, and made, through his friends, proposals to him. The terms were flattering; a general amnesty was offered to him, and to his allies, with the free exercise of their religion, and the peaceful enjoyment of their estates, on

* Hist. Cathol. vol. 3, lib. 8, cap. 1, 2, 3, 4.

† Hist. Cathol. lib. ibid. cap. 5.

condition that they would lay down their arms. Tyrone and his friends having accepted the terms that were offered, entered again into the possession of their inheritances, and enjoyed them for some years in peace.

A celebrated patent of queen Elizabeth, addressed to Rory O'Donnel, prince of Tirconnel, is stated to have been granted about this time—from the tenor of it, it appears to have been given by the advice of the lord deputy Mountjoy, and the council of Ireland. It was written in the Latin tongue, and in Gothic characters. In this patent the queen offers to O'Donnel, and a great many noblemen, proprietors of estates which were held under that prince, a general amnesty and forgiveness of their crimes. After the different branches of the Donnels, the chief noblemen who are named in the act are, the O'Boyles, the O'Cahans, the O'Kellys, the O'Galtowes, the O'Crinanes, the O'Carwels, the MacNenys, the O'Kennidies, the O'Mulrenins, the O'Rowartys, the O'Tiernans, the O'Creanes, the O'Dwyers, the O'Kierans, the O'Moyleganes, the O'Ruddies, the Mac-Awardes, the O'Dunneganes, the O'Meallanes, the O'Murrays, the O'Doghartys, the O'Miaghans, the O'Clerys, the MacGlagh-lins, the O'Sheridans, the O'Cassidys, the O'Cashedians, and many others. This patent, which is in my possession, is dated Dublin, 26th February, about a month before the death of the queen—it is sealed with the great seal of England, and signed Philip. O'Neill, O'Donnel, O'Sullivan Bearre, and some other Irish chiefs, went the next summer to England, to make their submission to James I., who had just succeeded Elizabeth, and to compliment him upon his accession to the throne of England. O'Sullivan being unable to obtain his pardon, sailed for Spain, and was well received by Philip III., who created him knight of the military order of St. Jago, and afterwards earl of Beerhaven. There is at present in Spain a count of Beerhaven, heir to the name and title of that prince.

The king of England confirmed to O'Neill the title of earl of Tyrone.* Rory, or Roderick, who had become head of the illustrious house of O'Donnel, by the death of his brother Hugh, which occurred some time before in Spain, was created earl of Tirconnel.† Niall Garve O'Donnel, the near relation of O'Donnel, and his rival for the principality of Tirconnel, was one of those who went to pay homage to the new king. While he and some other Irish noblemen were at

the court of England, they received an order to return to Ireland and to be content with their ancient patrimonies and titles of baron; this title Niall indignantly refused, and on his return to Dublin, he presented himself before the council, and inveighed against the perfidy of the English who requited him thus for his services.*

The whole of Ireland became subject to the sway of the English, A.D. 1603. They boast of the conquest of Ireland after a war of four hundred years, while they will not admit that England was conquered in a single day at Hastings, by William the conqueror. The Irish fought for their freedom till the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign—some of their chiefs still kept troops on foot; new succours from Spain were expected; and the people did not lay down their arms, until they received terms which were favourable.† Such was the conquest of Ireland of which the English vainly boast.

Queen Elizabeth died on the 24th of March, the last day of the year, old style.‡ She lived sixty-nine years, six months, and seven days; and reigned forty-four years, four months and seven days. Symptoms of rage and heavy affliction,§ preceded her death. English writers represent the infirmities which accompanied the last days of Elizabeth, as the effects of melancholy and sadness.¶ The winter of life had already come upon her; she saw herself abandoned by her courtiers, who were proceeding by crowds into Scotland to worship the rising sun; nothing more was necessary to afflict an aged woman whose ruling principle was, to her last sigh, ambition. She now looked upon herself as abandoned, and was heard to say with anguish, "they have bound me by the neck, there is none in whom I can any longer confide; how sad is the change in my affairs?"

Robert Naughton, an English writer, gives in his "Regalia Fragmenta," a true picture of Elizabeth, and ascribes her last afflictions to the ill success of her arms in Ireland. This Englishman was created Sir Robert Naughton secretary of state, and master of the court of wardens, under James I. He lived about the period of her reign, and was deeply conversant in political secrets.

"The war in Ireland, which he says may be stiled the distemper of the reign of Eliza-

* Ibid. book 8, cap. 5.

† English writers, according to their usual tone, represent the terms entered into between prince O'Neill and the deputy, as a conquest.

‡ Baker's Chronicles on Elizabeth.

§ Hist. Cathol. vol. 3, book 8, cap. 4.

¶ Cambd. part. 4, hist. of Elizab. ad. an. 1603

* Cox's reign of James I., page 8.

† Hist. Cathol. Hib. book 3, cap. 11, book 6.

beth, having continued to the end of her life, proved such an expenditure, as affected and disorganized the health and constitution of the princess, for, in her last days, she became sorrowful, melancholy, and depressed. Her arms which had been accustomed to conquer, meeting with opposition from the Irish, and the success of the war for so long a time becoming not only doubtful but unfortunate, afflicted her to distraction. On her accession to the crown of England, she encouraged, for the purpose of causing a diversion in her own favour, the rebellion of the states of Holland against the king of Spain, who, by way of reprisal, favoured and encouraged the Irish to oppose Elizabeth.

"It may be imagined that England was at the time equal to undertake and maintain by her resources the war against the Irish. If we take a close view of the state of things at the period, and the number of troops in Ireland, as also the defeat at Black Water,* and the expenditure attending the attempts of the earl of Essex, the reduction of Kinsale, under general Mountjoy, and of a short time subsequently, we will discover, that in horse and foot, the troops amounted to twenty thousand men; independently of the naval armaments connected with them. The queen was obliged to keep up a constant and powerful fleet, to watch the coasts of Spain, and blockade its harbours, in order to prevent the succours which were intended for Ireland, from being forwarded. The expenses therefore attending the wars of Elizabeth against the Irish, amounted at least to three hundred thousand pounds sterling a year, which was not half her expenditure in other quarters: an expense which could not be longer supported without the aid of the public. The frequent letters of the queen, and the constant requests to general Mountjoy to disband the forces as speedily as possible, furnish an irrefragable proof, to what an extremity this princess saw herself reduced."

Opinion is divided upon the character of Elizabeth; every writer speaks as he feels affected. The partisans of the reformation consider her the founder of their religion, and call her the divine Elizabeth; the king of Scotland himself, son of Mary Stuart, has published her praises; what a subject of edification; what a triumph to the queen's party!

As to political government, it cannot be denied that Elizabeth possessed great talents;

in her education she was well cultivated and had a knowledge of several languages, particularly the Latin, which she spoke fluently: she was fond of reading the Scriptures, which she frequently quoted in controversy, in accordance with her principles. Conversing one day in Latin, it is said that she hastily made use of *faminilem sexum*, instead of *femineum*, and perceiving her mistake, she added, "we have made by our royal authority, Latin of this unusual word."*

Elizabeth had able ministers, who shared her cares in government, and contributed to render her reign brilliant. These were, Leicester, Sussex, Burleigh, Sidney, Walsingham, Willoughby, Bacon, Norris, Knowles, Perrot, Effingham, Packington, Hunsdon, Rawleigh, Crevil, Essex, Sackvil, Blunt, Cecil, Vere, Worcester, &c. The court of this princess was a theatre in which each played his part with skill; and though their object appeared to be the public welfare, and the glory of their nation, there never was a court more devoted to intrigue, so that Higgins an impartial writer, says, *it was the most wicked ministry that ever was known in any reign.*†

The talents of Elizabeth were obscured by the wickedness of her disposition, which was a compound of ingratitude, jealousy, cruelty, and duplicity, of which her treatment towards Essex and some other favourites afford ample proofs. The desire of being admired by men, was her predominant passion, which was heightened by the flattery of her courtiers. Mary Stuart, queen of Scots, and dowager of France, (whom she considered a rival,) gave her most uneasiness; Mary was witty and accomplished, and surpassed Elizabeth in beauty, which was the cause of her tragical end. Melvin and Higgins mention an absurd trait of Elizabeth, which will lessen the notions that English historians put forward concerning the magnanimity and strength of mind of this princess. Melvin being asked one day by Elizabeth, if her sister of Scotland danced well, replied, "except your majesty, the queen of Scots is the best dancer in the world." Elizabeth feeling how untrue the compliment was, changed countenance, and withdrew to her closet, where she wept bitterly for two hours.

An extract from the tragical history of the queen of Scots, will suffice to expose the jealous and cruel heart of Elizabeth.

On the death of Francis II., his queen, Mary Stuart, returned from France to Scot-

* This is a river in Ulster: by the defeat of Black-Water is understood a signal victory gained by Hugh O'Neill, prince of Tyrone, over the English at Benburb, on the borders of that river.

* Relat. Girald. cap. 26, p. 197.

† Short view, p. 218.

land. After having been brought up at the most polished court in Europe, she was forced to live among her fanatic subjects. The Scotch Puritans wishing to alter the reformation of the church of England, afforded by their religious disputes an opportunity to Elizabeth of exciting a faction against Mary, and fomenting a rebellion against legal authority. "We leave it to casuists and lawyers," says Higgins, "to decide whether a prince ought to assist the rebellious subjects of a neighbouring power, with whom he is at war; but exciting those subjects to rebel, at a time he is on good terms with their king, is a violation of the laws of nations and all that is sacred amongst men."*

The queen of Scotland being too young to remain a widow, chose Henry Darnly from among the many matches that were proposed for her. He was son of Matthew Stewart or Stuart, earl of Lenox, and Margaret Dowglas, niece of Henry VIII., by Margaret, that monarch's eldest sister, who was first married to James IV., king of Scotland, by whom she had James V., and secondly, to Archibald Dowglas, earl of Angus, by whom she became mother to the countess of Lenox.† Mary had sound motives for marrying lord Darnly; as her near relative, she considered him heir to the crown of England, after herself, and thought an alliance with him necessary to render her claim to that throne incontestible. Elizabeth was opposed to this marriage, as she wished Mary to marry the earl of Leicester. The queen of Scots persevering in her first resolution, created Darnly a knight, and conferred on him successively, the titles of lord Armanack, earl of Rosse, and duke of Rothsay, (this was the title of the eldest son of the kings of Scotland); she then married him, and had him declared king, with the consent of most of the peers of Scotland.

The earl of Murray, the queen's natural brother, was the first to rebel against that princess. Having collected his adherents, he proposed the following seditious questions: "Whether a popish king could be chosen? whether the queen of Scots might chose a husband, according to her own will? and whether the lords ought not to nominate one for her, by their own authority?" At last he took up arms against his sovereign; but the rebels being soon put down by the royalists, and having taken refuge in England,

received protection from Elizabeth. The queen of Scots had a son by her second marriage, who was afterwards James VI., of Scotland, and I., of England.

Murray not being able to succeed by open force, endeavoured to sow discord between the king and his queen.* He attacked the queen's fidelity, of which accusation David Rizzio, an Italian, and secretary to that princess, was the victim, being stabbed by the king himself. Darnly repented afterwards of his rashness, and resolved to take revenge on Murray, who had instigated him to commit the horrid act. Murray, however, having discovered his design,† averted the blow, by having the king strangled in his bed, and the body being thrown into the garden, the house was immediately blown up.

The news of the king's murder having spread, the public ascribed it to the earls of Murray, Morton, and their associates; while they, in order to exculpate themselves, laid it to the charge of the queen. Buchanan, to ingratiate himself with Murray, wrote a dialogue, entitled "*De jure regni apud Scotos*," in which he sounded the alarm-bell of sedition. By this he endeavoured to prove, that the people have a power to choose or to depose their sovereign, and then launched into scandalous attacks upon the queen, which he afterwards, when dying, retracted. Mary finding her situation precarious, married Hepburn, earl of Bothwell, at the solicitations of Murray, Morton, and their friends, who rose up in arms afterwards against her. Bothwell was forced to fly into Denmark, where he died of grief; the queen was then seized by the fanatics, and thrown into prison at Lochleven. The mother of Murray was appointed her keeper—this woman called herself the wife of James V., though she was but his concubine, and represented her son as heir to the crown of Scotland.

The cruel policy of Elizabeth, was the cause of Mary Stuart's misfortunes;‡ she secretly and often openly abetted Murray and his adherents in their rebellion. To conceal, however, her wicked intentions under the veil of kindness and pity, she sent Sir Nicholas Throgmorton§ into Scotland, to upbraid the confederates with the cruelty they exercised against their sovereign, and to devise means of restoring her to liberty. The knight witnessed the fury of the fanatics, who were divided in their opinions, as to the

* Ibid. p. 210.

† Cambd. Elizab. part 1, hist. ad. an. 1564. Baker. Chron. of England on the reign of Elizab. p. 334, et seq. Cambd. ibid. ad. an. 1565.

* Cambd. ibid. ad an 1567.

† Cambd. ibid.

‡ Higgin's Short View, page 210.

§ Cambd. ibid.

treatment of Mary Stuart. Some were disposed to have her banished for life; others wished to have her brought and examined before the judges, that she might be condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and to have her son proclaimed king; others, still more inhuman, were eager to have her stripped of all royal authority, and put to death. The celebrated Knox, a violent enthusiast, was for adopting this last mode of punishment: he was eager to evince his gratitude for the protection which Murray afforded him in his efforts to establish the doctrine of the Puritans on the ruin of the old religion: for which purpose he preached in public against the authority of princes and the hierarchy of the church, and maintained that the nobles possessed the power to suppress idolatry, and to compel the prince to observe what the laws prescribed.

Throgmorton applied his eloquence in vain to bring these fanatics to reason. He quoted passages from Scripture, in support of the obedience due to princes, and observed, "the queen is subject to no tribunal but God; she is not accountable to any power on earth; on the contrary, all authority in Scotland has emanated from her, and could be revoked at her will."

These remonstrances tended only to make her persecutors more furious; her imprisonment was more rigidly enforced, and she would not be permitted to see her child. An accusation containing three heads, viz. incontinence, tyranny, and the murder of the king, was threatened against her, if she did not abdicate the crown. The fear of death made Mary sign the act of abdication in favour of her son, who was scarcely thirteen months old, constituting at the same time, her opponent Murray, regent during the minority. Five days after this compulsory measure against Mary Stuart, her son James VI. was crowned, and Murray put into possession of the regency. The regent's first care was to have some persons who were attached to the earl of Bothwell, put to death, under pretence that they had been concerned in the murder of the king, but they asserted to the last moment, that Morton and Murray were the authors of it, and that the queen was perfectly innocent.*

After a confinement of eleven months in the castle of Lochleven, the queen of Scots recovered her liberty, by the contrivance of George Dowglas.† Several of the nobles then met, and published a manifesto, declaring that the abdication which had been

forced from her during her imprisonment was null and void. Six thousand of her faithful subjects crowded to the standard of their sovereign, but were soon defeated by the superior forces of the regent.

Mary Stuart no longer found herself secure in her native land, and determined to seek an asylum in another quarter.* England seemed to her the most secure retreat, as she believed that honour, conscience, and consanguinity would induce Elizabeth to protect her; but in this she was mistaken. The unfortunate princess after escaping from her faithless subjects, gave herself up to an ungenerous and implacable enemy; she sailed with lord Heris and Fleming, for England, and arrived on 17th May at Wickinton, in Cumberland, from which she immediately wrote to Elizabeth, and sent her a diamond ring which she had formerly given her as a pledge of mutual friendship, imploring her protection against her rebellious subjects; while at the same time she solicited an audience, in order to clear herself of the calumnies of her adversaries. Elizabeth returned an apparently kind and consolatory answer to the queen of Scots, promising to assist her against her enemies; but refusing her permission to appear at court. She was jealous of the beauty of so illustrious a rival, and feared it would make her appear to still more advantage, if they were seen together. These base and unworthy sentiments made her condemn Mary Stuart to be imprisoned in the castle of Carlisle, under pretence of securing her from the insults of her enemies.

Though Elizabeth expressed compassion for Mary Stuart, she still kept her in confinement, and concealed her malice under an appearance of clemency. She frequently appointed commissioners to try the unhappy princess, and often held assemblies, hoping to have her found guilty.

Elizabeth at length demanded from the most determined of the Scotch malcontents, why they had deposed their sovereign.† Murray, the regent, having been assassinated some time before, the fanatics were now headed by James Dowglas, earl of Morton, Pernare, abbot of Dumfermelin, and James MacGrey; who sent a long document, by way of answer, to the queen of England, to the purport, that "according to the ancient liberties of Scotland, the people were above the king; that the magistrates of the people were, according to Calvin, intended as a check upon princes, and that they possessed not only the power of imprisoning bad kings,

* Baker, *ibid.* page 337.

† *Ibid.* 338.

* Higgin's Short View, page 212.

† Camd. Elizabeth, part 2. Hist. ad an. 1571.

but likewise of dethroning them." An appeal to the magistrates, was the general resource of these Scotch fanatics against legal authority, knowing, that when corruption reached that body, it was perpetuated by the same spirit which united the members. Elizabeth received the remonstrances of the rebels with a show of indignation.

These proceedings, however, forboded evil to the queen of Scots, as it had been already determined that she should perish. Mathew, earl of Lenox, who succeeded Murray in the regency, had been likewise murdered; he was succeeded by John Erskine, earl of Mar, who lived but thirteen months. This office having remained vacant for some time, was filled through the interference of queen Elizabeth, by James Dowglas, earl of Morton, Mary's avowed enemy, and who was suspected of having been concerned in the death of lord Darnly, the young king's father.* It seems that this suspicion was well founded; he was accused soon afterwards of high treason, at the instigation of the earl of Arran, put into confinement, and convicted of having been an accomplice in the murder of Darnly, and condemned to be beheaded; when he avowed his crime on the scaffold. Elizabeth exerted her influence to save this nobleman's life, and the interest she took to preserve from the scaffold, a man who had been condemned for so heinous an offence, gave rise to an opinion, that she was not innocent of participating in the crime for which he was condemned.† At all events, from the concern she manifested for the murderers of the king, she shared in the infamy of their conduct.

Mary Stuart was continually soliciting her liberty from Elizabeth, and was supported in her solicitations by the French and Spanish ambassadors, but in vain. Truth, however, prevailed over calumny, in favour of Mary's innocence, through the declarations made by Morton, Bothwell, and many others, in their last moments, when every man is believed to speak truly. There was no longer any ground of accusation against this innocent victim in Scotland, but conspiracies were plotted in England against Elizabeth, of which, though in prison she was accused.‡ Walsingham succeeded by his emissaries, in engaging a few Catholics in a plot to rescue the queen of Scots by open force, of which Babington and a few nobles became the victims. Commissioners having been appointed to examine

into the affair, they repaired in October, to Fotheringay castle, in Northamptonshire, where Mary was confined: that princess appealed against their authority, as being a sovereign, and independent of any earthly tribunal: but on the threat, that she would be condemned for contumacy, she submitted, declaring at the same time, "that despairing of her freedom, she had endeavoured to escape, in doing which she considered herself justified, by the laws of nature and self-preservation; but, that as to any attempts against the person of the queen, or her authority, she was wholly innocent." Nevertheless the commissioners assembled, who having put the questions, and read to queen Mary the charges which had been brought against her, she still maintained, that she was a sovereign, and not subject to a law made in England for her destruction; and demanded to be heard in open parliament, in presence of Elizabeth. The commissioners had not sufficient authority to concede this request, and repaired immediately to Westminster, when an infamous verdict was pronounced in the Star Chamber against the unhappy princess. In the decision, which was signed and sealed by the commissioners, it was set forth, that since the 1st of June, Anthony Babington and others, had, with the consent of Mary queen of Scots, heiress to the crown of England, engaged in a conspiracy tending to the ruin and death of queen Elizabeth.

To give the efficacy of law to the sentence passed by the commissioners, it was necessary to convene the parliament; the whole nation was to be made partakers of this great and infamous crime,† and Elizabeth was to be appealed to by the parliament to consent to the death of Mary Stuart. The peers distinguished themselves on the occasion; they presented a petition to Elizabeth to cause the sentence of the commissioners to be carried into effect against the queen of Scotland, and to strengthen their appeal, they instanced the judgments of God against Saul and Ahab,‡ for having spared Agag and Benhadad. It was thus they perverted the Scriptures to the destruction of an innocent woman. This extraordinary appeal which was more suited to fanatics than to men of honour and principle, must give us a strange opinion of English nobility at the time.§

Elizabeth eagerly sought for the death of Mary, without wishing it to appear that she was the cause of it. She was ashamed to

* Higgins, page 219, 220. Cambd. ad an. 1580.

† Baker, *ibid.* page 358. Higgins, *ibid.*

‡ Higgins, *ibid.* p. 220, 221. Baker, *ibid.* page 367, 368.

* Cambd. ad ann. 1586.

† Baker, page 360.

‡ Higgins, page 222.

§ Higgins, *ibid.* page 222, et seq.

admit in public what she secretly desired. She appeared at one time to reject the memorial of the peers; at another to suspend her decision; but she was too wicked to be sincere, and inherited too much of the cruel and ferocious temper of her father, Henry VIII., to show either humanity or feeling. Wearied, as she said, by the repeated solicitations of her people, she consented to the death of Mary queen of Scots. Having thus acted her part, she gave Davison, the secretary, a letter signed with her own hand, and sealed with her seal, authorising the death of that princess:* the commission was sent to the earls of Shrewsbury, Kent, Derby, and Cumberland, with orders to have the sentence of the law executed on the unfortunate queen.

The earl of Leicester was not more conscientious than the others, but was more prudent; he besought Elizabeth not to commit so barbarous a deed, which would eventually recoil upon herself, and which was unworthy the majesty of a monarch.† The queen then asked him how she ought to act. "Send an apothecary, madam, rather than an executioner; if she must die, let decency be regarded."

We have now arrived at the close of the tragedy of the queen of Scots.‡ The noblemen who had been appointed by the court to attend to her execution, arrived at Fotheringhay; on appearing before the princess they informed her of the object of their journey, and having read the warrant, told her that she should be prepared to die on the following day. Without any appearance of dismay, she returned the following reply: "I did not think that my sister of England would have consented to the death of a person who was not amenable to her laws; but since it is her pleasure, death will be welcome to me." She then asked for permission to converse with her spiritual father, and Melvin her steward, but the commissioners carried their barbarous cruelty so far as to deny her what would have been granted to the meanest criminal, "which was looked upon," says Baker, "as a species of tyranny unheard of."

The noblemen having retired, the queen of Scots gave orders to prepare supper, of which she partook moderately, as usual. She then retired to rest at the accustomed time; and after taking a few hours repose, she spent the remainder of the night in prayer. On the 8th of February, the fatal day of her execution being arrived, the princess dressed

herself and withdrew to her closet, where she continued to implore with abundant tears, the mercies of God, until the sheriff, Thomas Andrews, came to announce to her that the fatal moment was arrived. She left her closet, and advanced with a majestic and sprightly step, having a veil upon her head, and in her hand an ivory crucifix. She was received in a gallery by the nobles who had been appointed to superintend her execution; and who led her into a hall where the sad instruments for her death—namely, an arm-chair, cushion, and block covered with black cloth, were prepared. The princess having recited a prayer, and the psalm "In te, Domine, speravi," her head was cut off in a most barbarous and indecent manner; and even after her death, her maids of honour were not suffered to attend in order to take charge of her body.

Such was the melancholy fate of Mary Stuart, queen of Scots, and dowager of France, at the age of forty-six years; nineteen of which she spent in prison.*

If the manner of the death of this princess, her greatness of soul, and resignation to the will of God, have filled the world with veneration for her memory, so are the authors of her barbarous and cruel death covered with infamy and disgrace. "It was reserved," says Higgins, "for the English nation to give this example of cruelty."† "Queen Mary," says Baker, "possessed in an eminent degree, all the fine qualities of mind and body, so that were she a private woman, or the queen of Scotland only, she would, perhaps, have been happy; but her right as heiress to the crown of England, and a jealousy towards her person, were the fatal causes of her destruction."‡

As soon as the news of Mary Stuart's execution and death were known, Elizabeth fell into a state of alarming melancholy;§ she appeared inconsolable, and avoided all society. This, however, was mere pretence. She wrote also to James VI., of Scotland, in order to remove the stigma of having borne a part in the murder of the princess his mother. Every artifice and deceit were made use of to remove from herself, and to fix upon her ministers, the odium of the foul deed, as if they could have effected it without her approval.¶ The king of Scotland was justly and deeply affected for the execution and death of his mother: at first he refused

* Baker, *ibid.* page 371.

† Higgins, *ibid.* 223.

‡ Baker, *ibid.* page 370, 371.

* Higgins, page 224, 225.

† Baker, page 372.

‡ Baker, *ibid.*

§ *Camd.* page 494.

¶ Higgins, page 225, 226.

to admit into his presence the messenger who brought the letter from Elizabeth. He, however, relaxed in his determination, and from a weakness of principle inherent in his family, and which afterwards proved fatal to his posterity, he even formed a sincere and solid friendship for the queen of England.

The subversion of the ancient religion, and establishment of the reformation in her states, formed the most remarkable feature in the reign of Elizabeth. The character of this princess will be more or less affected by the impression which that change produces in different minds. The incredulous, no doubt, look upon the pretended reformation in religion as a matter of indifference; since they do not believe in any creed: the reformers give to the event a pre-eminent place among the virtues of Elizabeth; whilst others, after weighing well the nature and circumstances of the enterprise, tell us, that the memory of this queen will be for ever, from that occurrence alone, covered with infamy.

It is not the part of our history to decide this controversy, nor to give an opinion whether religion required to be reformed, or whether the reformation were a meritorious act. The character of Elizabeth is the matter now before us; according to that, therefore, our opinion must be shaped. The means which she made use of to effect that reformation, must be weighed with those of honour, conscience, and other qualities which render us pleasing before God and man.

If we review closely the opinions of Elizabeth, an indifference will be discovered in her as to the choice of a religion. Brought up in her first years in the court of her father, Henry VIII., of which debauchery, sacrilege, and tyranny formed the prevailing characteristics, nothing less than a miracle could have saved the young princess from the contagion. Whatever was in conformity with her interest, constituted the religion of Elizabeth. In the reign of her brother Edward, she was a Calvinist; during the reign of her sister Mary, the mass, confession, and other tenets of the Catholic doctrine accorded with her ideas. Such was her conduct until she ascended the throne. She then began by declaring herself favourable to the reformation—the motives for which choice can be inferred from circumstances. She was informed, that an attachment to the ancient religion would be a ground to dispute her right to the crown; as the nobles who had accumulated fortunes at the expense of church property, feared for their possessions, while others dreaded the ancient and rigid discipline of the church. These, united to other human

motives, caused the balance to incline in favour of the reformation. Upon the topic of religion, the necessity of temporizing and of managing the two parties, was plain to Elizabeth; her grand principle was, that “to know how to reign, she must know how to dissemble;” “*Qui nescit dissimulare, nescit regnare.*” For this object, her privy council was a mixed body; at the same time, that she had her cabinet council, which consisted of men who were partial to reformation, and who sapped, imperceptibly, the foundations of the Catholic faith. To conceal more efficiently her double motives, she amused Spain, France, and other powers, with entertaining the overtures of marriage which were made to her; by which mode she succeeded in having the cause of religion neglected for the prospects of so flattering an alliance.

An attempt to make men change their manner of thinking, under pain of death or confiscation of property, gives a true idea of tyranny; for no power upon earth can accomplish such a change. The will, say the philosophers, cannot be coerced in its acts—of this the greatest conquerors have been so convinced, that they were content with the submission of those whom they conquered, without seeking to interfere with their right of conscience.

Elizabeth, thinking herself competent to undertake any thing, began the great work of reform. She abolished a religion that had subsisted since the first ages of Christianity, and substituted in its place one of a new fabric. The dogmas of the latter, received their shape from a parliament which refused to the bishops that power which was given them by Jesus Christ to guide his church in its doctrine and spiritual concerns.* Collier,† in his Ecclesiastical History, says, “*When secular men prescribe to the church, when those who are strangers to antiquity give laws for discipline, 'tis no wonder if they mistake in their devotion.*”‡

Queen Elizabeth caused, by the authority of parliament, some volumes of penal laws to be published against those who refused to submit to the reformation. Under these laws, no one was secure in his life or freedom; it was in the power of any profligate to accuse his neighbour before a judge, when the informer was certain of being attended to, and the innocent party oppressed. To these were

* Baker's Chron. reign of Elizabeth.

† He was an English Protestant. Collier's Hist. Ecclesiast. vol. 2, 558.

‡ Dodd's Hist. of the Church of England, vol. 2, part 4, book 1, art. 6. Dodd, *ibid*.

added other laws equally barbarous and inhuman; to refuse to acknowledge Elizabeth's ecclesiastical supremacy, to take holy orders in a foreign country, to afford an asylum to the clergy, to be reconciled to the old religion, or to be present at such reconciliation of another, was deemed high treason; while at the same time every method was resorted to, to bring the unhappy Catholics within the range of this sentence. The prisons were continually crowded with supposed culprits, many of whom suffered upon the scaffold. According to the most correct calculations, the number, even of the English, that were put to death amounted to two hundred and twenty-seven; amongst whom were one hundred and ninety-seven ecclesiastics, comprising four jesuits, and a Franciscan friar.*

The preceding reign indeed affords examples of the same kind; several partisans of the opposite sect having been put to death during it, who are considered martyrs of the reformation. The case, however, was very different; he who defends his own right is less criminal than he who encroaches upon that of his neighbour; the English had, for many centuries, professed the Catholic doctrine, which Queen Mary wished to uphold; for which purpose she was constrained to have some innovators who were disturbing the old religion, and everywhere publishing new doctrines, put to death.† Elizabeth, on the contrary, was desirous of abolishing the ancient religion, the profession of which had been authorized by so many kings her predecessors, and substitute one that flattered her ambition. On Mary's accession to the throne, she rejected the absurd title of head of the church, which had been usurped by her father Henry VIII. Elizabeth considered this title as the brightest gem in her crown, and had several condemned to death for having denied her that dignity. If, therefore, we judge of the merits of an act by the motives that pro-

duce it, we will discover a great difference between Mary and Elizabeth.

The reformers in Ireland did not yield to their brethren in England, in cruelty; they caused as many to suffer martyrdom, besides the thousands of men, women, and children, who suffered death for their religion, either by war or famine.* To judge of the disposition of Elizabeth by her propensities and caprices she was violent in the extreme: the ferocity of her father, who could not bear to be controlled, was discoverable in the daughter: when any thing went contrary to her wishes, she gave vent to her rage in transports of phrenzy, and swore in a manner little suited to her sex; her general oath being "*God's death.*"†

If political motives prevented Elizabeth from marrying, the occurrences of her life are far from sustaining a predilection for virginity; she had many favourites whom she selected from their appearance, and with whom her familiarity furnished cause for doubting her virtue; her inconstancy proved sometimes fatal to them. It was thus Elizabeth amused the nobles of her court, whilst she was forwarding the reformation: she had always the advantage of skilful ministers to guide her government, but as to religion, and the general rights of mankind, Dodd says, "never was a nation more unfortunate than England during her reign."

The praises which panegyrists have bestowed upon Elizabeth, with respect to her pretended wisdom in government, and which have been implicitly believed by foreigners, are known to us. It is true, that the length of her reign was favourable to great undertakings; she participated largely in the formation of the republic of Holland, and was persevering in her efforts to succour the Huguenots in France; but the civil war which she fomented in Scotland, and the murder of the queen of that country, tarnished the glory of her reign. She gained many advantages over the Spaniards, in the war which she carried on against them—this, however, was a war of plunder, by which a few individuals were enriched, but from which England reaped no solid advantages. The war in Ireland cost her for some years, half of her revenues, without her witnessing the Irish people reduced to obedience.

From the above slight sketches of matters which characterized queen Elizabeth's reign, we leave it for the impartial reader to determine whether an advantageous opinion of

* Dodd. *ibid.* lib. 3, art. 7.

† This position is certainly bad. If the persecutions under Mary had been dictated by a determination to suppress the doctrine of the reformation, they would be just as culpable as those of Elizabeth. Interference with freedom of conscience is, in all cases unjustifiable; and quite as much so when the object is to coerce people to retain an old religion, as when it is to make them adopt a new one. The recent researches of historians seem to show that the executions in the reign of Mary arose wholly from political causes, and can be defended on this ground. Had they been the result of religious bigotry they would have fully merited for her the title of "bloody Mary," so frequently; but as it now appears improperly bestowed on her—*Note by Editor.*

* *Analecta Sacra de process.* Mart. part. 3.

† Nauton fragment. *Regalia*, Dodde, *ibid.* lib. 1, art. 6. Dodd, *ibid.*

her merit can be entertained, or whether the means which she made use of, for the attainment of her designs, were conformable to honourable and upright principles. She ended her career in despair, and God, in his justice, allowed her who had caused so much sorrow to others, to die without one to console her.

CHAPTER LI.

ON the death of queen Elizabeth, A.D. 1603, James VI., king of Scotland, inherited the throne of England, as descendant of Margaret, eldest daughter of Henry VII. He was son of Mary Stuart, who was beheaded under Elizabeth; her father, James V., was son of James IV. king of Scotland, and Margaret of England above mentioned. The father of James VI. was lord Darnly, son of the earl of Lenox, who was descended from Robert Stuart, the successor of David Bruce, king of Scotland, about the middle of the fourteenth century. We have given in our account of the preceding reign, the misfortunes and tragical end of lord Darnly, who had married Mary Stuart.

The right of all the British kings, descended either from the Saxons, Danes, or Normans, was united in the person of James I., so that no prince in Europe had a more incontestible claim to royalty, than this prince had to the crown of England.

By the accession of James to the throne of England, the two rival nations, England and Scotland, which had been divided for so many centuries, became united under one king, and from that period the English monarchs took the title of kings of Great Britain and Ireland. Clement VIII. filled the papal chair at the time of James's accession: Rodolphus II. was emperor of Germany; Henry the great ruled in France, and Philip III. was king of Spain.

James was proclaimed in London on the 14th March, with every demonstration of joy. The same ceremony took place in Dublin on the 6th April, by order of lord Mountjoy, deputy of Ireland, in obedience to letters which he had received from the council in England to that effect. The same loyalty was not manifested in other cities and towns of Ireland; as many wished to understand the king's disposition towards the Catholic religion, before they would acknowledge him for their sovereign. Captain Morgan was sent to Cork to have him proclaimed in that city as in Dublin, under the title of James I.

Morgan was joined in Cork by Sir George Thorntun, one of the commissioners for Munster, who presented his orders to Thomas Sarsfield, who was then mayor. That magistrate answered, that "according to the charters of the city, time was permitted to deliberate on the subject." Thorntun answered, that "as the king's right was incontestible, and as he had been already proclaimed in Dublin, the smallest hesitation on their part might be displeasing." "Perkin Warbeck," said Sarsfield, "was proclaimed in Dublin, and the country suffered by its precipitancy." Saxy, chief justice for Munster, being present, desired to support Thorntun, and said, "that whosoever would refuse to have the king proclaimed, ought to be arrested." To this Mead the constable replied, "that none present possessed an authority to arrest them."

The example of Cork was followed by Waterford, Clonmel, Wexford, Limerick, and Kilkenny. The Catholics began by taking possession of the churches, and by having the divine mysteries performed in them; but these attempts could not be supported: the law of the strongest prevailed. The lord deputy marched some troops and subdued the commotions, by having some of the most turbulent put to death. In the mean time Thorntun and lord Roche, at the head of eight hundred soldiers, proclaimed the king in the vicinity of Cork.

The ancient Irish revered the Milesian blood which ran in the veins of James VI., and looked upon him as a prince descended from themselves; they knew, likewise, that Edward Bruce, brother to Robert Bruce, king of Scotland, from whom James was descended, had been chosen in the 14th century, by their ancestors, to be their sovereign; it was well known too, that Edward had been actually crowned king of Ireland. These things added to their submission to James, appeared to them to be a good title to the crown of Ireland, at least it was equal to the right he derived through the kings of England, his predecessors, who were never universally acknowledged by the ancient Irish.*

The modern Irish looked upon James as rightful heir to the crown of England, and consequently to that of Ireland, in virtue of his descent from Margaret, eldest daughter of Henry VII., so that the two races, who inhabited Ireland at this time, forgetting their former animosities, submitted with one

* *Analect. sacra. de reb. Cathol. in Hib. p. 220. 276. Ogyg. epist. dedicat. Walsh, prosp. epist. dedicat. Kennedy on the house of Stuart.*

accord to the new king. These were the causes of the general submission of the Irish at this time to the crown of England.

Hugh O'Neill, earl of Tyrone, who had destroyed so many of the English, went to England the summer following to make his submission to James. The king received him with honour, and issued a proclamation that all his subjects should treat him with reverence and respect. Rory O'Donnel, brother to Hugh, who died in Spain after the siege of Kinsale, as we have already mentioned, accompanied O'Neill to England; he was received with distinction at court, and created earl of Tirconnel by the king.* The Latin patent of this creation is written in Gothic characters, dated, Dublin, February 10th, in the first year of the reign of James I. of England, and has the great seal of Ireland affixed to it. Modesty prevents Count O'Donnel, an officer in the service of her Imperial Majesty, from assuming the title of earl of Tirconnel; but he is the direct heir of the title and extensive possessions of the house of Tirconnel.

Mountjoy, the deputy, was appointed at this time lord lieutenant of Ireland, and member of the privy council in England. His deputies in Ireland were, Sir George Carey, treasurer at war, and afterwards Sir Francis Chichester, who was sworn in, February 1604.

The Irish were sanguine in their hopes, that the king would protect them in their religion and liberty. Previous to his ascending the throne of England, he gave cause to the Catholics of the three kingdoms to expect special protection; he had written a letter, signed with his own hand, and sealed with his seal, to Clement VIII., assuring that pontiff of his intentions on that head, and his wish of embracing the Catholic religion, as soon as he would be established on the British throne; however, all this proved to be of no avail, through the artifice of Cecil secretary of state,† which minister found means to withdraw the letter from the pope, and to estrange the king from his Catholic subjects.

From the moment the inhabitants of England and Scotland separated from that unity which characterises the true church, every sort of sectarians found partisans in those countries, and became formed into societies. There were, however, two principal sects denominated Protestant and Episcopalian.

The first constituted the*Church of England, and formed a compound of all the errors that appeared in the reign of Elizabeth. That princess took something from every innovator of her day, to construct this new religion, in which she still allowed the authority of bishops, and the hierarchy which belonged to the Catholic church to remain. From thence arose the name of Episcopalian.

The latter, namely, the Presbyterians, are so called from their having no bishops, and being governed in religious matters by the elders of their sect, who have no mission but the choice which is made among them for this duty; they are also called Puritans, either from the affected purity of their manners and morality, or from having, as they say, purified Christianity from the superstition which they ascribed to the Roman Church.

James had been brought up in Presbyterian principles, which he professed in Scotland, but on coming to England he adopted the Episcopalian. He had some inclination to embrace the Catholic tenets, but the fancied consequences of adopting that religion alarmed this weak prince.* His repose, however was disturbed by two conspiracies. The object of the first was the total overthrow of the government, and the placing of Arabella Stuart, the king's near relative, and, like him, descended from Henry VII., upon the throne.† Two priests, namely, William Watson and William Clerk, lord Cobham, and his brother George Brook, Lord Grey, Sir William Rawleigh, Sir Griffith Markham, Sir Edward Parham, Bartholemew Brookesby, and Anthony Copley, were accused of being the leading conspirators. The plot being soon discovered, the Catholics were immediately accused of it. If any were concerned they were priests, whose only share in it was an accusation (without any proof) of their having known it by means of confession; the others, it is believed, were but a few who had been bribed by Cecil and his emissaries. There were also Episcopalians and Puritans engaged in this conspiracy. In general conspirators are of the same mind, but we have here an odd mixture of clergy, laity, Catholics, Protestants, Puritans, and nobles of every rank. The world beheld with surprise men of such opposite interests united in the same cause. Several members of the con-

* Baker, Chron. of Eng. reign of James I. p. 404. Ireland's case briefly stated, p. 9, et seq. Cox. hist of Ireland, reign of James I.

† Ireland's case, ibid.

* Ireland's case, ibid.

† Baker's Chron. reign of James I., p. 404 et seq.

spiracy were arrested, and some of them put to death; amongst the latter were the two priests and George Brook; Cobham, Grey, and Markham were pardoned at the foot of the scaffold, and brought back to the tower, where lord Grey died; Cobham and Markham were liberated shortly afterwards; the former was deprived of his property, and the latter died abroad, in great distress: Rawleigh was never pardoned; he continued in prison, and afterwards terminated his career upon the scaffold.

The second conspiracy, called the gunpowder plot, was more dangerous than the first; the king and parliament were to be blown up at the same time, A. D. 1605.* Though this nefarious plot was projected by the Puritans, whose principles are apposed to monarchy, it was a fatal blow to the interests of Catholicity in England, and suited to the views of Cecil, the secretary.† This minister was small in person and deformed; but nature indemnified him for these defects by his talents; he was considered in England one of the ablest ministers of the day, and well fitted for conducting any intrigue. England abounded at that time with men of his kind; Burleigh, Walsingham, Cromwell, and Shaftesbury, were always ready to assist in the formation of any design.‡ Cecil was a deadly foe to the Catholics; he intended to exterminate them altogether, in order to confiscate their estates; and to render them odious to the king and the people of England, he accused them of a conspiracy, of which he himself is supposed to have been the principal.§ The Catholics denied the charge, as appears by many tracts which were written at that time, in vindication of their innocence. However, the discovery of the plot procured for Cecil the order of the garter, and the office of high treasurer. The chief sufferers for the gunpowder-plot were, Catesby, Piercy, Thomas Winter, Fawkes, Keyes, Bates, Robert Winter, Grant, Rookwood, Digby, and Tresham, all men of rank. Tresham died in the tower. Garnet was amongst those who suffered: according to Baker, his crime was his having concealed his knowledge of the plot.||

Cecil, flushed with his success against the

British Catholics, and wishing to obtain new favours, turned his machinations towards Ireland, which he now designed to involve in some treason. The instrument he chose to effect his wicked purpose was Christopher St. Laurence, baron of Howth, generally called the *one-eyed*; who received instructions to invite to a secret conference the leaders of the Catholics, in order to entrap them. The earls of Tyrone, Tirconnel, baron of Delvin, and some other Catholics of distinction, appeared at this mysterious meeting; St. Laurence made them swear not to divulge what he would communicate to them for their own safety. He then said, that he had information through a channel which admitted of no doubt, that the court of England was determined to eradicate the Catholic religion out of Ireland, and force them to become Protestants; that he himself, from a concern for their safety, advised them to defend themselves against the threat, until positive assurances would be obtained, that no change would be attempted against their religion. The noblemen present, however, struck with alarm, unanimously replied, that nothing would shake their loyalty to the prince, in whose royal word they reposed every trust, he being their legitimate sovereign.

These protestations of loyalty were not sufficient to protect them against St. Laurence; he accused them to the king, as capable of forming secret designs against his majesty and the state, though destitute of means to attempt any thing, having neither troops on foot nor a hope of receiving succours from Spain. Tyrone and others were summoned before the council. The Catholics declared that the accusation was a calumny; but seeing themselves confronted by St. Laurence, they acknowledged, that they attended the meeting, much less for the purpose of entering into any plot against the king, than to hear what this treacherous man who had brought them together, intended to propose; whose infamy they had unanimously condemned on sufficient causes, of which the present is an illustration. Having been severally examined, and only one witness produced against them, the council did not think prudent to put them under an arrest; but ordered them to appear on the day following. During this short interval, some false friends who were of the council advised them underhand to consult their own safety: stating, that one more witness only, who might be easily suborned, was necessary to convict them. The perfidious advice was but too readily followed by the

* Ireland's case, *ibid*.

† Higgins short view, p. 235. 236. Hume, hist. of the Stuarts, vol. 1.

‡ Sanderson's life of king James. Lond edit. in 1655.

§ Apol. of the Cathol. printed in 1674, p. 399. Osborn, hist. mem. of the year 1658, p. 26, 37, 38.

|| Cron. page 509.

earls of Tyrone and Tirconnel.* Upon this they were proclaimed rebels, and not only their individual estates but six whole counties in the province of Ulster, were confiscated for the benefit of the crown without examination or trial. These counties were divided between several English and Scotch Protestants, under such regulations as were obviously intended to produce ruin both to the people and their religion. Besides the pecuniary fines that were inflicted, and the other penalties that were enacted against Catholics, it was specifically inserted in the patents, that no portion of these lands should be sold, transferred, or farmed, except to and by Protestants exclusively. St. Laurence himself, who had hitherto affected a tendency in favour of the Catholic religion, declared himself a Protestant, and by doing so became a partaker of the spoils.†

This iniquitous proceeding being ended, Hugh O'Neill, earl of Tyrone, Rory O'Donnel, earl of Tirconnel, Maguire of Fermanagh, and some other noblemen, crossed over into France.‡ The English ambassador of that court demanded of Henry IV., that these fugitives should be sent back to the king his master. The French king, however, generously replied, that it was beneath the dignity of a monarch to arrest a stranger who seeks to save himself by flight; upon this the earls took their departure from Flanders, where they were received with distinction by the archduke and archduchess, viz., Albert and Elizabeth, who governed the Low Countries. Thence they proceeded to Rome, where his Catholic Majesty provided abundantly for their support, by pensions proportioned to their rank. O'Donnel and Maguire died after some time, the one at Rome, the other at Geneva, on his way to Spain. Nugent, baron of Delvin, was thrown into prison in Ireland. However, through the intercession of his friends and the influence of money, he obtained his liberty, and was restored to favour. Charles O'Neill and O'Cahan were summoned to appear in Dublin, whence they were sent to England, and confined in the tower of London.

Persecution was becoming more and more violent against the Catholics; and new proclamations were issued against the bishops, jesuits, and seminarians. James was as tenacious of the title of head of the church as any of his predecessors who had usurped it; to deny it being made a capital crime. His

oppressive tyranny at length drove Cahir O'Dogherty, chief of Inishowen to take up arms in defence of the Catholics, A.D. 1608. He was a young nobleman, aged about twenty years, and the most powerful in the north of Ireland, after the earls of Tyrone, Tirconnel, and Maguire had left the country. He raised what forces he was able, and attacked by night the city of Derry, which he took, and put the garrison, together with the commander, George Palet, to the sword, after setting the Catholics at liberty. He then marched against Culmor, which was a strong castle built on the borders of lough Foyle, adjoining the sea. Of this he also became master, and found in it twelve pieces of cannon—he put a garrison into it, and gave the command to Felim MacDavet; after which he ravaged the lands of the English, over whom he gained several battles, and spread terror through the whole province.

O'Dogherty kept up the war for some months; his object was to create a diversion, and occupy the English till the return of O'Neill and O'Donnel, and the arrival of succours which were expected from some of the Catholic princes. In the mean time, Winkel, an English field-marshal, appeared with four thousand men before Culmor, to lay siege to it; MacDavet, the commander, seeing his own inferiority in numbers, and that the place was defenceless, and being without any hope of aid from O'Dogherty, set fire to the castle. He then sailed with his little garrison on board two transport vessels, which he loaded with corn and other provisions, for Derry. He also carried off some of the cannon of Culmor castle, and had the rest thrown into the sea.

Winkel finding the castle of Culmor demolished, marched against the castle of Beart, with the intention of besieging it. Mary Preston, the wife of O'Dogherty, and daughter of viscount Gormanston, was in the place. A monk who had the command of it, either from distrust in its strength, or to save the lady from the frightful effects of a siege, surrendered the castle on condition of the garrison being spared, and suffered to retire: but the English, regardless of the treaty, put every soul to the sword, except those who had means of purchasing their liberty. The wife of O'Dogherty was sent to her brother the viscount, who belonged to the English faction. The taking of this place was of importance to Winkel; it served him for a retreat, from which he made occasional incursions upon the districts of Inishowen, spreading desolation everywhere as he passed.

* Ireland's case, p. 17.

† Ireland's case, p. 18.

‡ Hist. Cathol. Hibern, book 1, k, 4.

The destruction committed by the English caused O'Dogherty to come to the relief of Inishowen, which was, for many centuries, the principality of his house. This nobleman had but fifteen hundred men; he fought several skirmishes with the English, in which he behaved valiantly; but his rashness at length cost him his life, and the victory. His troops seeing themselves without their chief, fled, and some of them surrendered to the conquerors. Thus ended this war, which lasted for almost five months, and excited great alarm to the English.

We must in this place introduce the history of a young heroine of the house of O'Donnel.* When Rory O'Donnel, earl of Tirconnel, had been obliged to fly his country in 1605, on account of a conspiracy of which he was falsely accused, his wife the countess, was in a state of pregnancy. Wishing to accompany her husband to foreign countries, whither he had fled, she strove to leave Ireland secretly, but was prevented by the viceroy, who had her sent to England under a strong guard, where she lay-in of a daughter, who received the name of Mary at her baptism. The king being informed of the circumstances, though he had persecuted the earl of Tirconnel, wished to honour the father in the person of the child, and having taken her under his royal protection, commanded that she should be called Mary Stuart, instead of Mary O'Donnel, which was her real name.

The earl of Tirconnel having died at Rome, the countess his wife, obtained permission of the court to return to Ireland with her daughter. This virtuous mother took care to give her child a Christian education, and had her well instructed in the religion of her ancestors. She often represented to her, that the misfortunes which arose to her father, were produced by his attachment to that religion for which the grandeur of this world must be sacrificed. Mary was twelve years old when she was invited to England by her grandmother, the countess of Kildare, who presented her to the king. This monarch gave her a large sum, intended as her marriage portion, and the countess of Kildare, who was very rich, made her heiress to her fortune, so that the protection of the king towards the young princess, her illustrious birth, and her brilliant fortune, caused many noblemen in England of the first distinction, to seek her in

marriage. Among those who sought the hand of Mary, there was one who had been particularly attentive, and had applied to her relative and guardian, the countess of Kildare; but his being of the reformed religion, made a deep impression upon the mind of the young princess, and estranged her affections from him. Finding herself persecuted by the countess and her other relations in favour of an alliance that she thought incompatible with her honour and religion, this illustrious heroine formed the noble resolution to escape from them, and an unexpected occurrence favoured her design.

A violent persecution was in progress against the Catholics of Ireland. O'Dogherty was up in arms to defend them; some Catholic leaders who were suspected of being concerned, were arrested and brought prisoners to England, to prevent them from joining in the cause of O'Dogherty. Constantine O'Donnel and Hugh O'Rorke, relatives of Mary Stuart, were of the number. In spite of their keepers these two noblemen escaped, and found means to get over to Flanders. Suspicion was immediately set afloat that Mary Stuart assisted in effecting the escape of her friends; a nobleman at court informed her that the only mode of safety for her, was to marry one of those who professed the religion of the state; and also to conform to it herself, as this alone would satisfy the king and her grandmother, the countess of Kildare. After this Mary was summoned before the council to account for her conduct.

Mary saw now that it was time to provide for her safety. She communicated her intentions to a young Catholic lady, who was her companion and attendant, and in whose fidelity and prudence she could confide. Her purpose was to go to Flanders to seek her brother, the young earl of Tirconnel, who was at the court of Isabella, the infanta of Spain, by whom the Low Countries were then governed, and by whom an asylum was afforded to all who were persecuted for their religion. Being obliged to change her apparel, in order to conceal her sex, Mary procured the clothes necessary for herself and the young lady who was to accompany her; she then took the name of Rodolphus Huntly, her companion that of James Hues, and their servant they called Richard Stratsi, by which names they were known during their voyage.

Every thing being prepared, and horses provided, they set out from London before day, and after many adventures, as related

* This history was written by Dom Allert Henriques, in the Spanish language, and printed at Brussels; it was subsequently translated into French by Abbé MacGeoghegan.

by the author of this account, Mary and her companions sailed from Bristol; after a long and dangerous voyage they arrived at Rochelle; where being refreshed from her fatigues, she continued her journey through Paris to Brussels, at which place she met her brother, who presented her to the infant, who received her with all possible marks of distinction. The report of the intrepid conduct of Mary Stuart was soon spread throughout Europe; she was compared to Euphrosine of Alexandria, Aldegonde, and other Christian virgins of antiquity: and Urban VIII., who was then pope, addressed to her the following letter.

"Urban VIII., to our dear daughter in Christ, Mary Stuart, countess of Tirconnell, greeting health and apostolical benediction.

"The sacrilegious mouth must be at length silenced, which has dared to affirm, that the inspirations of Christianity enervate the soul, and check the generous emotions of the heart. You, our dear daughter, have given to the world a proof of the contrary, and have shown what strength and courage are imparted by the true faith, how superior to all dangers, and to the very efforts of hell itself. This heroic courage is worthy the protection of Rome, and the praises which fame confers. Your horrors of an alliance with a Protestant have been nobly displayed, and resemble that terror which an apprehension of fire produces. The allurements of a court and menaces of its sovereign have tended only to excite your abhorrence for both. The sea, and its accompanying terrors, have produced no obstacle to your flight, the honour of which is more glorious than a triumph; even though mountains were overwhelmed and buried in the deep, your confidence in the mercies of the Lord would be still unshaken, that country being yours where religion sits triumphant. You have succeeded in escaping from the persecution of English inquisitors, and protected by angels, you have been preserved from every accident throughout your journey: accompanied by our paternal regards, you have arrived at the court of the infant, where religion hath received you into its bosom. We therefore implore the Lord who has been your support, to reward you as your virtues have merited. We write with a hope of dispelling the remembrance of your fatigues and suffering, which are worthy to be envied, since they have earned for you a crown of glory. Receive our most tender benedictions, and as you have abandoned both relatives and country in obedience to a love for Jesus Christ, and us, receive also our assurance, that instead

of exile you have found a mother that loves you tenderly—you yourself know that such is the name and character of the Roman church; she will cherish you as her worthy daughter, who does honour to the British isles. Given at St. Peter's, under the fisherman's ring, on the 13th February, 1627, the fourth year of our pontificate."

Hume, an author less esteemed at Oxford than in Paris, says in his history of Great Britain, that "James I. considered his government of Ireland a masterpiece of policy." If we examine the subject closely, it will appear, on that head, that his vanity was unfounded.

Hume's assertions may obtain belief among foreigners, but cannot make the same impressions on those who are acquainted with the history of the times; to the Irish, in particular, his history is a paradox.

The king of Scotland, before his accession to the throne of England, encouraged the Irish to rebel, and furnished them secretly with aid against Queen Elizabeth, either for the purposes of securing to himself (by reducing her power) the succession to the crown of England, or to be revenged for the cruelties that had been inflicted upon his mother, Mary Stuart. When seated upon the British throne, he viewed things in an altered position. The revolt of the Irish, which appeared to him in Scotland an act of heroic bravery, seemed to him now when king of England, an act of aggression. The most solemn submission of the Irish, particularly of their leaders in Ulster, was not able to avert the thunder which was ready to crush them. This prince, without any other trial or investigation than the testimony of a vile and obscure character named Lenane, confiscated to the use of the crown, six counties in Ulster, as has been observed, under a pretext of a conspiracy, evidently fabricated by his own ministers. He sent over a body of English and Scotch fanatics, among whom he divided the confiscated estates. He liberally bestowed on indigent favourites, the lands which had belonged, during many centuries, to the O'Neills, O'Donnells, Maguires, MacMahons, O'Reillys, O'Dogharty's, O'Cahans, O'Hanlons, Mac-Canns, Mac-Sweenys, O'Boyles, Mac-Bradys, Mac-Caffrys, O'Flannegans, O'Hagherty's, and several other ancient nobles of Ulster. James had the misfortune of conferring estates on ungrateful men, who were afterwards the most inveterate enemies of his family. It was thus that God, whose ways are inscrutable, made these favourites the instruments of his vengeance for oppressed innocence.

"The whole province of Ulster," continues Hume, "having fallen to the crown, by an act of proscription against the rebels, a new company was established in London, for sending over fresh colonies of English and Scotch to that fertile province. The Irish were removed to the flat country, from the mountains and places that could be defended; they were instructed in agriculture and the arts, and provided with settled habitations. Thus, from being the wildest and most rebellious province in the kingdom, Ulster soon became the most civilized and best cultivated."

This parade does not tell much for the glory of the English monarch; his zealous panegyrist endeavours to make the most flagrant injustice appear a meritorious act, and the ruin of a whole province to have been a glorious performance. Under pretext of civilizing the inhabitants of Ulster, James I. reduced them to beggary, depopulated their country, and dispossessed men of high birth, to enrich needy courtiers whose origin was scarcely known. A certain author says, that, "had the mountains in Scotland been more populous, it is probable a pretext would have been discovered for confiscating six or seven more counties, to enlarge the Scotch colonies in Ireland."*

May we not ask, what good has James done for the Irish, and what gratitude can he claim from them? It will be answered, that James introduced agriculture and the arts; and that he brought them from mountains and places where they would have been able to defend themselves, to inhabit a flat country. What good would a knowledge of arts and agriculture be to men who had no land to cultivate? Were the descendants of noble families to become artizans, labourers, and servants, to cultivate what had been their own estates, for the benefit of adventurers on whom they were conferred by James I.? He boasted of his administration in Ireland; but, in spite of all that Hume can advance, his vanity was groundless; and if gratitude be measured by kindness, the Irish have cause to detest the memory of this prince.

"James I.," says Hume, "introduced humanity and justice among a people who had previously been buried in the most profound barbarism."—Similar phrases are frequently repeated in the works of this learned historian: but a close examination is needed to form a just opinion of them; let us first refer to what has been frequently observed in the course of this history, and remember what has been admitted by all reasonable men, that

a lettered and christian people have never been considered barbarous.

According to the English themselves, the Irish were celebrated in the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries, for their love of religion and literature. "The Irish," says the venerable Bede, "received with kindness strangers who came from every country, at these periods, to be instructed among them, and supplied them with every thing, even with books, gratis."*

The Anglo Saxons, says a celebrated author, went to Ireland at this time, as if to purchase science. "The disciples of St. Patrick," continues he, "made so rapid a progress in christianity, that in the succeeding age Ireland was called the island of saints."†

According to Usher, Ireland took precedence of every nation in Europe, in religion and learning.‡ Every discerning man will give credit to such historical testimony. They were Englishmen who have given these accounts so opposite to Hume, who pretends, that the Irish had remained in a state of barbarism till the reign of James I.

In continuation of this subject, let us examine into the state in which Ireland was in those ages which immediately preceded the arrival of the English. Religion and literature suffered greatly in the ninth and tenth centuries by the frequent invasions of the Danes; but after the total overthrow of these barbarians, in the beginning of the eleventh century, they flourished anew in all their former lustre, and Ireland produced men of the first order for piety and learning; amongst whom were St. Celsus, archbishop of Armagh, and primate of Ireland, in the beginning of the twelfth century,§ who was acknowledged, even by the English cotemporary writers, to have been a man of universal learning; St. Malachy, archbishop of Armagh, so well known from his life written by St. Bernard; St. Laurence, archbishop of Dublin, who was canonized by Pope Honorius III; Christian, bishop of Lismore; Gilbert, bishop of Limerick, and apostolical Legate; and Maurice or Mathew, archbishop of Cashel; who according to Cambrensis|| was a learned and discreet man. We might here mention many others, both prelates and holy persons, who studied in Ireland, without being indebted to a foreign country for their education; they all flourished in the century immediately preceding the invasion of the

* Hist. Eccles. lib. 3, cap. 17.

† Cambd. Britan. page 730.

‡ Usher. primord. Eccles. 17, page 899.

§ War de Archiepis. Ardmach.

|| Topograph. Hib. cap. 32.

* Ancient and modern state of Ireland, page 58.

English, and some of them lived till the coming of these strangers. The Irish were a literary people from the time they received the gospel in the fifth century, till the twelfth: they were consequently polished, as it is allowed that religion and learning are the source of cultivated manners, and that the nation which enjoys this double advantage, is considered civilized, and not barbarous.

Hume has not given the period in which the gross barbarism commenced, from which, according to him, the Irish were rescued by James I. If he were candid he would acknowledge that such a state must be dated from the time of the English invasion. The cruelties practised during four hundred years, particularly throughout the fifteen years of Elizabeth's reign, were sufficient to make the most civilized sink into a state of barbarism and ferocity. The force of truth draws from Hume himself, in spite of his prejudices, a justification of the Irish; the following are his words, "The English carry their ill-judged tyranny too far; instead of inviting the Irish to participate in the most polished custom of the conquerors, they deny them the privileges of the laws, and treat them altogether as strangers and enemies; unprotected on the side of justice, the wretched inhabitants see no security but in force; flying from the vicinity of their towns, which they dare not enter with safety, they seek in the woods and bogs an asylum against the insolence and tyranny of their masters, who have changed them into wild beasts."

The denial of the protection of the laws to the Irish, was productive of the most frightful consequences; from this arose usurpation, rapine, murder, and a violation of all law, human and divine. To kill a mere Irishman, or a wild animal, were crimes of equal import; the murderer was acquitted by saying, "the person killed was a mere Irishman, and not of free blood;" consequently the judge pronounced according to the law, and the criminal was freed. Of this, many examples have been extracted from the archives in the castle of Dublin, by Davis who was himself an Englishman. In the most polished nations there are barbarians and monsters that disgrace humanity by their crimes, but these are individuals only whom the law visits with a severe punishment according to their guilt. But here is a case in which the most inconceivable cruelties are sanctioned by the law against a whole nation. Such has been for many centuries the conduct of the English towards the people of Ireland; they have the hardened audacity to treat as barbarous, men whose only crime has been to defend

their religion and properties against the criminal attempts of usurpers. If the deeds of the two people be weighed in the scale of reason, the English will be found to be the more barbarous.

While the Irish groaned beneath the yoke of English tyranny, they were no longer free. Surrounded on every side by a merciless enemy who kept them in continual alarm, they lost all hopes of being able to cultivate the fine arts. Hostilities and the devastation inseparable from war, with their concomitant attendants, misery, poverty, and famine, have certainly helped to make the Irish people less civilized, without, however, falling into that depth of barbarism, which Hume ascribes to them.

Our author says, that, "Ulster was at this period the wildest province in Ireland." This is the style of the English; they framed their opinion of the Irish according to the opposition they met with from them. The people of Ulster were free and warlike, and would not bend to slavery; they distinguished themselves against the English, particularly during the last fifteen years of Elizabeth's reign; consequently these usurpers considered them more wild and savage than the rest of the kingdom. "But thanks to James I.," says Hume, "Ulster soon became civilized, and was the most highly cultivated part of Ireland."

On account of some of their customs, our author deems the Irish barbarous; "according to the law which they called Brehon, no crime, not even the most enormous, was punished with death; the culprit escaped by paying a fine. As murder itself was liable to no other punishment, every person had a price set on his person, in proportion to his rank. Whoever was inclined to pay the fine, had nothing to fear for assassinating his enemy. The price of each Irishman was called his Eric."

How absurd it is to tax a nation with barbarity, for customs which prevailed amongst the most polished nations. That with which the Irish are reproached, was formerly in use among the Franks, examples of which are to be met with in the Salic law. Athelstan, a Saxon king of England, in the tenth century, one of the legislators and great princes who governed that kingdom, enacted a law, by which he fixed the price of homicide, according to the different ranks of the clergy and laity, which they called *Weregild*; it was the same as the Eric of the Irish.*

"Gavelkinde and Tainistry," continues

* Seld. tit. honor. part 11, cap. 5, page 342.

Hume, "two other customs relating to property, were equally absurd." Gavelkinde prevailed in the county of Kent, and in other parts of England;* instead of the eldest alone inheriting, the lands were equally divided between the brothers, which custom was confirmed by William the Conqueror, in imitation of his predecessors. France, under the first race, was divided into as many kingdoms as there were princes.

The reign of James was considered peaceful, from his having been engaged in no war with his neighbours. His prodigality left him in a state of continual indigence. The court was always the scene of the intrigues of favourites, and of luxury, masquerading, balls, and other similar amusements, so that his love of pleasure, his effeminacy, and perhaps a want of courage, inspired him with that aversion for war, which he was desirous might be thought the result of his talents, prudence, and refined policy. Opinions vary as to this prince's character; some load him with praise, others with abuse; according to some, he was an accomplished, wise, and just king, the friend of his people, and comparable only to Solomon, while others maintain, that he was a monster of impiety and tyranny. The ideas of James respecting religion and government were extraordinary; he thought his own power should be without bounds, and had adopted the system of an indifference in doctrine; he was neither a good Protestant nor a good Catholic, but looked upon any religion to be good, which inculcated implicit obedience to the sovereign. His principal object was the establishment of his despotic authority: he had scarcely ascended the throne of England, when his acts proved the servitude that he intended to establish, whereby he lost the confidence and good will of his new subjects; and so tyrannous was his reign, that his people detested, and foreigners despised him.

James was violent in his persecution of the Catholics; he caused many severe laws to be enacted against them, and made them feel their full force. His weakness was known to the Puritans, who were, in principle, enemies to monarchy; he suffered them to multiply, and this indolence proved fatal to his family. This prince received but a moderate education, little suited to his rank, and what he did know, savoured so much of pedantry, that it was said, he was better adapted to be employed at Oxford than to govern a kingdom.

James died on the 27th March, 1625,

aged 59 years, 22 of which he reigned in England. He was married to Anne, daughter of Frederick II., king of Denmark, by whom he had two sons, Henry and Charles; the former died before his father, and the latter succeeded him upon the throne of England; he had likewise a daughter named Elizabeth, who was married to Frederick V., count Palatine of the Rhine. He had several other children by the same marriage, among the rest was Sophia, who was married to Ernest of Brunswick, duke of Hanover, from whom is descended the present king of England.

Charles I., only son of James I., succeeded him on the throne of England, A.D. 1625. In May following, he married Henrietta, daughter of Henry IV., king of France and Navarre. The high endowments of Charles I. portended a happier reign than that in which this unhappy prince terminated his career; but all his misfortunes arose from the fanaticism of his subjects.

Puritanism, which was a reformation of the English Church, and which produced the melancholy fate of Mary Stuart, made rapid strides in Scotland during the minority of her son James, who, when he became king of Great Britain, endeavoured to check the increase of the sectarians, and unite his English and Scotch subjects in one religion.* For this purpose he composed a liturgy or form of common prayer, with the consent of the general assembly of Aberdeen, which he sent to Scotland to be used in the churches there; but his death, which took place in the interval, prevented the execution of his design.

In imitation of his father, Charles I. ordered the English Liturgy to be adopted in his chapel at Edinburgh, and took measures to establish it throughout the kingdom of Scotland. The bishops and nobles of the king's council in Edinburgh, ordered it to be read in the principal church, on the 23rd of July, and to have it announced to the people on the preceding Sunday. The congregation was immense; the dean of Edinburgh, who was to read the liturgy, ascended the pulpit, but had scarcely opened the book, when he was interrupted by the cries and hisses of the multitude; an old woman called Jane Gaddis, got up in the crowd, and threw the stool upon which she had been sitting, at the preacher, crying out, *begone, perfidious thief, are you going to say mass for us?* The bishop of Edinburgh then mounted the pulpit, to appease the tumult by reminding them of the sanctity of the

* Bak. Chron. reign of William I., p. 21.

* Baker's Chron. of Engl. on the year 1637.

place; but he too met with similar insults. All his remonstrances were in vain; the populace became more outrageous, and threw every thing they could meet with at the prelate, whose life would have been in danger but for the provost and town officers, who succeeded in driving the mob away, after the windows of the church had been broken.

We have now come to the decline of regal authority in England and in Scotland, A.D. 1638. The Scotch openly resisted the king's mandates, and held meetings, in which, under the mask of religion, they shook off the yoke and prepared for war. They applied to the neighbouring states for assistance, and sent to Sweden and Holland some Scotch generals, to take command of their armies. They made themselves masters of the castles of Edinburgh, Dumbarton, and other fortifications. Arms and ammunition were taken from the king's arsenal at Dalkeith, and the command of the Scotch army given to Alexander Lesly, a man of some experience in war.

Charles I., having collected a considerable army, marched towards Berwick, to punish the insolence of his Scotch subjects, and encamped about two miles from that town, A.D. 1639. General Lesly and his forces were at a short distance, but being badly prepared for battle, they sent proposals to the king, which he had the weakness to accept of, on condition of laying down their arms. This pretended peace did not extinguish the rebellion; it broke out anew with increased violence in 1640. The fanatics entered England, defeated the king's troops at Newburn, and seized upon Newcastle.

"The king," says Lord Castlehaven,* "alarmed by this success of the rebels, repaired to York, where he held a council composed of all the peers of the kingdom; a conference was held at Rippon, to treat for a suspension of hostilities, which was concluded, to the disgrace of the English nation, on condition of paying to the Scotch twenty-five thousand pounds sterling a month."

The Scotch fanatics had friends in England, even among the lords of the council, who turned every thing to their advantage.† They carried their insolence so far as to publish an edict at the head of the army, expressive of their determination not to lay down their arms, till the reformed religion (Puritanism) should be established on a firm footing in both nations, and the Protestant bishops and lords who had been opposed to

it punished according to the laws, particularly the archbishop of Canterbury and the earl of Strafford. This seditious declaration was published in London, and in all the principal towns of the kingdom.

The people demanded a parliament. The king, having dismissed the peers, gave orders for the convocation of the *bloody* parliament, as an English author terms it, which met at Westminster on the third of November following. They condemned the king to death, and by an extraordinary revolution overthrew the monarchy and the monarch. The poison of Puritanism having crept into this body, particularly the commons, fanaticism was supported, while the king was contradicted in all his acts. On the opening of the first session, the king represented, that the Scotch fanatics, without any legitimate motive, had entered England sword in hand, and were devastating the country with impunity. His Majesty proposed to the two houses to concur with him in every thing that would be necessary to put down the rebellion and protect his faithful subjects. This proposal was badly received; it tended only to inflame the factions more and more; instead of calling those traitors and rebels, who were armed against their sovereign, they were treated as dear brethren, and three hundred thousand pounds given for their good services. When it was debated in the house how this sum was to be paid, Gervasus Holles,* a member of the assembly, was driven out by a majority of voices, for having said "the better way of paying the rebels was to drive them out of the country with arms." So highly favoured were the Scotch fanatics by those of England, that the friends of the king were despised; while the more this weak prince yielded to their demands, with a hope of bringing them back to their duty, the more insolent and imperious they became, as nothing less than a total subversion of the government could satisfy their ambition. The king granted at first a privilege (till then unknown in the kingdom) of holding triennial parliaments, which afterwards he declared perpetual; by which means he ceased to be any longer their master. The Protestant bishops were sent to the tower, an act which at once lost the monarch twenty-six voices in the parliament, and left the intentions of that body concerning the monarchy no longer doubtful.†

The unfortunate Charles was betrayed on

* Memoirs of Lord Castlehaven, p. 6, 7, et seq.

† Baker, *ibid*.

* Memoirs of Castlehaven, *ibid*.

† Baker's Chronicles of Engl. on 1637.

all sides; every thing portended his misfortunes and the fall of the monarchy. The Scotch fanatics of Ireland, whom his father had loaded with favours at the expence of the Catholics, as has been already observed, conspired with their English and Scotch brethren to destroy him. Seeing that the abolition of episcopacy and the monarchy was determined upon by the Puritans both of England and Scotland, those of Ireland thought that the opportunity would be favourable for destroying Catholicity in their own country. A petition signed by many thousands, was presented for that object to the rebellious parliament of England; its prayer being that the Irish Papists should be obliged either to turn Protestants or quit the kingdom, and that those who would not submit to that law should be hanged at their own doors. So certain were the Puritans in Ireland of carrying their design, that they boasted in public that at the end of the year there would not be a single Catholic in the kingdom.

These Irish fanatics forwarded to Ulster their wicked petition, to have it signed by their partizans in that province; it fell, however, into the hands of some Catholics through a minister named Primrose, who was struck with the horror of their designs. This discovery alarmed the Catholics, who now saw that they must lay before the government their complaints of these violent proceedings, so contrary to the repeated assurances of protection that were held out to them. This, however, was of no avail. Sir William Parsons and John Borlase, chief justices, governed the country in the absence of the viceroy.* These were both rigid Presbyterians; they had openly declared themselves favourable to the parliament that opposed the king, and consequently were averse to listen to any complaints from the Catholics. The king's affairs in England at the time were so embarrassed, that he could afford no remedy to the complaints of the Catholics, particularly in Ireland, while the House of Commons carried so high a hand against the Protestant bishops and clergy of England. Such was the state of things in Ireland before the massacre of 1641. The consternation among the Catholics was great; they saw themselves abandoned to the fury of their enemies, and no remedy or protection to be expected.

While the Catholics of Ireland were deli-

berating among themselves what should be done at so alarming a crisis, the king saw, though too late, that his parliament in England was plotting his destruction. He therefore appointed the marquis of Antrim to proceed to Ireland with orders for the earl of Ormond, who was then lieutenant-general of the royal forces there. Ormond was instructed to concert with the most faithful of the king's subjects in Ireland, the means proper for seizing the chief justices who were parliamentarians, and to declare in favour of his majesty against the proceedings of the English parliament.

The earl communicated his commission to a select number of Catholics and Protestants. After some meetings held upon the subject, the 16th of November, on which day the Irish parliament was to meet, was fixed upon for the execution of their plan.

To avoid a confused recital of facts, we must follow the order of events, and the motives which produced them. The rising of the Irish against the government of the parliamentarians, the attempt to seize the castle of Dublin, the hostilities in Ulster by the forces of Phelim O'Neill, and the horrible massacre that ensued, will be given in course.

The ancient Irish, towards whom the earl of Ormond observed a deep secrecy, were greatly offended as soon as his projects were whispered among them. They thought themselves as well entitled to the confidence of the king as any of his subjects, and therefore such a distinction was unseasonable and injurious to the cause. Sir Phelim O'Neill; Rory O'Morra, to whom Ballina, in the county of Kildare, belonged;* Connor Maguire, lord baron of Inniskillen; MacMahon of Monaghan; Philip O'Reilly, the chief of Cavan, and several other noblemen of Ulster, formed a resolution to anticipate the plans of Ormond. They determined to effect by their services, not only the free exercise of their religion as the Scotch conspirators had some time before obtained for themselves, but likewise the recovery of their properties which had been so unjustly wrested from them about thirty years before, by the English and Scotch Presbyterians, whose predilection for the rebellious parliament was manifest to all.

These noblemen appointed the 23rd of

* The earl of Stafford was viceroy of Ireland till March 12th, 1641. After he was beheaded in England, the lord lieutenancy was given to the earl of Leicester.

* He was descended from the illustrious tribe of the O'Morras of Leix, so celebrated for their attachment to the interests of religion and their country, and by their noble efforts in favour of both, particularly during the reign of Elizabeth. This house is not yet extinct.

October, 1641, for the execution of the measures they had planned, viz., seizing upon the castle of Dublin and the lords justices at the same time, together with some forts in the north.* Lord Maguire and some others of the nobility were appointed to head the attack on Dublin; the plot, however, was betrayed the day before which it was to be carried into effect, by his own servant, named Connelly. This traitor was amply remunerated; and having embraced the Protestant religion, he earned for his descendants, by his perfidy, considerable possessions in Ireland. Maguire and MacMahon were taken prisoners, sent to England, and hanged at Tyburn. Sir Phelim O'Neill was more fortunate in Ulster, where he made himself master of Charlemont, and other forts.

The earl of Castlehaven gives an account of the grievances of these noblemen, and the motives which induced them to rebel.† He says, first, the English governors in Ireland, so far from treating the Irish as free subjects, looked upon them as a conquered people, and adds, that when a nation is dissatisfied, and cruelly treated, the inhabitants will consider themselves bound only to obey, as long as they are constrained, but will feel themselves justifiable in attempting to regain their freedom, on the first opportunity that may arise.

Secondly—These noblemen were indignant in consequence of James I. having confiscated six counties in Ulster, to enrich the Scotch, without in the least indemnifying the old proprietors, several of whom had never been implicated in Tyrone's rebellion, which was the pretended motive for this confiscation.

Thirdly—The tyranny of the earl of Strafford, who was viceroy of Ireland in 1635, alarmed the Irish nobility. In order to enrich himself and his dependants, this nobleman determined to show the titles of many proprietors of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, who had enjoyed their estates for centuries, to be imperfect. One instance will suffice to make the reader acquainted with the injustice of his attempts. The O'Brenans, who were proprietors of an extensive territory called Idough, in the county of Kilkenny, were declared to keep unlawful possession of that district, on the pretence, that Henry II. had claims upon it nearly five hundred years before. This was sufficient to procure the sentence of expulsion against these supposed retainers of the property of others. Sir Christopher Wandesford, a rela-

tive to the viceroy, obtained the whole territory, with letters patent confirming the donation. However, experience shows, that men whose estates have been seized upon and confiscated, will not be restrained by either religion or allegiance, from embracing the means of resisting the power that oppresses them. The following is an example: the Trivernates, who were crushed by the Romans, sent ambassadors to Rome to demand peace. On appearing before the senate they were asked, what peace a people who had so often violated it, could expect from the Romans. The deputies answered with firmness, "if the peace be honourable it will be lasting; if not, it cannot continue long; do not think that a people will submit to terms which oppress them longer than they are forced to do so."

Fourthly—After the meeting of the English parliament, penal laws were enacted against the Catholics of Great Britain, and a great number of petitions were presented to have the Catholics of Ireland treated with the same rigour. It required nothing more to alarm a people so warmly attached to their ancient religion.

Lastly—The Scotch having taken up arms against their lawful prince, under pretext of having their grievances redressed, succeeded not only in obtaining new privileges, (amongst which was the exercise of a new religion,) but also the sum of three hundred thousand pounds, and eight hundred and fifty pounds a day for several months. Is it then to be wondered at, says lord Castlehaven in conclusion, if the Irish were roused by the example of the Scotch; their case was infinitely more deplorable; they took up arms, not against their sovereign, but against his rebel subjects: their endeavours were not to introduce a new religion into the state, but to enjoy in peace that which they had professed for ages.

The conspiracy of Maguire and other Irish Catholics, afforded great satisfaction to the lords justices and council.† They were too deeply interested, and at the same time, too politic, to let so favourable a moment escape them of enjoying the opportunity for confiscation. In order to save appearances, proclamations were issued against the rebels of Ulster, and all the king's faithful subjects were invited to unite in suppressing the rebellion, though in reality they wished it would extend to the other provinces, and involve all in a similar crime of violating the laws.

In the mean time the parliament met on

* Memoirs of Castlehaven, page 9.

† Memoirs, page 10, et seq.

* Livy, book 8.

† Ireland's Case, page 30, et seq.

the 16th of November, 1641, in the castle of Dublin. It was composed of Catholics as well as Protestants. The lords justices, Parsons and Borlase, having laid before the members the horrors of the revolution which had just broken out, and how necessary it was to prevent the consequences which it threatened, both houses protested unanimously against the rebellion, and passed an act, by which they bound themselves to sacrifice life and fortune in defence of his majesty's interests, and of the tranquillity of his government. This, however, did not suit the designs of the lords justices; who were frequently heard to say, "the more rebels the more confiscations."* The parliament was therefore prorogued, to the great disappointment of both houses, and of all good men.

This proceeding raised the courage of the malcontents, who began the tragedy; they flew to arms, and soon became a formidable army, capable of laying siege to Drogheda. Major Roper was sent from Dublin to the relief of that town, at the head of seven or eight hundred men; he was defeated at Gillianstown by the Cavan troops under Philip O'Reilly, chief of the ancient tribe of the O'Reillys of that district. The conquerors put the neighbouring country under a weekly contribution for their support, as the Scotch had done the preceding year, in the north of England; but this act, which was thought pardonable in the Scotch in England, was considered criminal in the Irish.

The refusal of arms by the government to the Catholics, shows that they wished to feed the flames of rebellion in the north, in hopes that it would extend itself to the whole kingdom. Notwithstanding that many made offers of their services to the king, and proposed to enter into security for their allegiance, they were treated more like rebels than as subjects. The violence exercised against them was so great, that the earl of Castlehaven, who ventured to speak against their oppressors, was arrested, and kept several months in prison, where he would probably have spent the remainder of his life, or perhaps have lost his head, if he had not had the good fortune to escape from the hands of his keepers.

The king, who had been kept in profound ignorance of affairs in Ireland, discovered when too late, the cause of the disturbances.† He saw that they emanated from the same source as the revolt of the republican party in England and Scotland, who had formed the project of destroying both himself and

his government. In the twelfth chapter of his *Eikon Basilike*, the king expresses himself in the following words on this subject: "It is certainly the opinion of many sensible men, that the extraordinary rigour and unjust severity made use of by some people in England, caused the discontent which had long existed in Ireland, to degenerate into rebellion; when discontent is turned into despair, and oppression into a fear of extirpation, rebellion will naturally succeed, in order both to escape present tyranny, and to counteract those evils which threaten, through the interested zeal or fanaticism of those who think that it is a proof of the truth of their religion to admit of none but their own." "There is," continues the prince, "a kind of zeal that looks upon compassionate moderation as disinterestedness, some preferring the idea of cruelty to that of indifference; and that to kill a bear for his skin is better than for any injury he has done; the confiscation of estates is more advantageous than that charity which enjoins us to save the lives of those to whom they belonged, and reform their errors. I consider those who have excited rebellion in my other kingdoms highly criminal in not checking the awful effusion of blood in Ireland."

Charles I. himself exculpates the Irish Catholics; he ascribes their revolt to the mad zeal of some who wished to restrain them in the exercise of their religion, and to the cupidity of others who forced them to rebel in order to confiscate their properties. The king was so fully persuaded of this, that he sent orders to the lords justices of Ireland to publish, in his name, a general amnesty to all who would submit within forty days. This order filled with dismay these leeches, who hoped to gain extensive estates by the revolt of the Irish. In obedience to the king, they, however, published his orders; but with certain restrictions; thus, instead of forty days, they allowed the Irish but ten to make their submission; and, instead of extending the monarch's pardon to all ranks and conditions, they excluded, by their own authority, all those who were landed proprietors. The impossibility of repairing from the distant parts of the kingdom to Dublin within ten days, and the unjust exclusion, contrary to the king's commands, of landed proprietors, proved the wicked intentions of the Irish rulers; who, however, finding themselves supported by the fanatics in England and Scotland, permitted nothing to impede their designs. In order to prevent for

* *Memoirs of Castlehaven*, page 31, et seq.

† *Ireland's Case*, page 32, et seq.

* *Memoirs of Castlehaven*, p. 20, 21. *Ireland's Case*, page 32, 33.

the future, the king's interference with the affairs of Ireland, they determined to punish severely, whomsoever would dare to give him any account of them. Sir John Read, who undertook to promise the Catholics that he would make their grievances known to his majesty, was taken by the earl of Ormond, and sent to Dublin; on being questioned by the justices, he avowed everything, and was sent to prison, where he was put to the rack, by order of these tyrants. They persuaded themselves that they would be able to force him by tortures, to accuse even the king and queen, of having encouraged the Irish to rebel.* About the same time Patrick Barnwall, lord of Killbrew, aged 66 years, experienced similar treatment; his crime being that of appearing, on the faith of the amnesty which had been proposed to all who would submit within ten days after the proclamation; not having had any apprehension that landed proprietors could be looked upon as criminal on account of their estates, or should be excluded from the king's amnesty.

The Irish who had taken up arms in Ulster, confined themselves to pillaging and despoiling the Protestants who had not appeared in arms against them, without depriving any man of life. The testimony of Sir John Temple on this subject is conclusive. "The Irish in Ulster," says he, "had killed but few Englishmen in the beginning, and during the first days of the rebellion. They contented themselves with forcing their houses, taking their properties, and seizing upon their flocks."† "The lords justices and council of Ireland wrote to the viceroy, who was then in England, on the subject—this letter is dated October 25th, 1641. In this letter, which is quoted by Sir John Temple in his history of the rebellion, these governors gave the viceroy an account of the rebellion of the Irish, which they had received from some persons of rank in Ulster. They simply mention, "that in the commencement of the revolt the Irish had pillaged and burned the houses of the English." They say nothing of the English being killed, but that acts of pillaging and burning had been committed. Lord Blaney, Sir Arthur Terringham, and other English chiefs, were then in Ulster, and took care to inform the lords justices of what they witnessed; it is therefore very improbable that they would have omitted so dreadful a circumstance as the pretended massacre of several Protestants; nor is it more probable that they could have

been unacquainted with any outrage which had occurred.

After the discovery of the plot to surprise the castle of Dublin, the lords justices finding, that few, except those who had been deprived of their properties in Ulster in the preceding reign, were concerned in the revolt, wished to implicate all those of the natives who still possessed good estates. For this object they despatched troops to different quarters, whilst others hovered around the capital who coincided, but too closely, with the criminal views of their chiefs. In the beginning of November, 1641, they massacred about eighty persons, without distinction of either age or sex, in the villages of Santry, Clontarf, and Bullock, near Dublin. The garrison of Carrickfergus, shortly before this, had massacred in one night, every inhabitant of a peninsula in the county of Antrim called Oilean Magée, amounting to two or three thousand men, women, and children.* This was the signal for the destruction of an unoffending population, who had not taken up arms against the government, and whose only crime was, that they possessed an extensive territory. Similar cruelties were practised by lord Broghill, in the counties of Cork and Waterford, and the neighbouring districts; by Coote, in the county of Wicklow; by captains Peasly, Brown, and others, in the county of Tipperary, and, in general, by all the Protestant garrisons of the kingdom.

It was not till they heard of the cruelties inflicted on their countrymen, that the Irish who had taken up arms in the north, began to revenge the death of their fellow-citizens. Though the chiefs were not so barbarous as to wreak their vengeance on the innocent, they could not restrain their men from making reprisals. These were resolved to treat the Protestants in the north in the same manner as the Catholics of the other provinces had been treated. It was thus that each party, in revenge for the death of friends and neighbours, committed many acts of cruelty in cold blood.

It would be desirable for the honour of the two parties, that these atrocities were buried in oblivion. Though, however, both are without an excuse, still they who began the tragedy are most criminal. The barbarous orders of the Protestant commanders to their soldiery, when sending them in pursuit of the Catholics, are well known; they commanded

* Memoirs of Castlehaven, page 38, 39.

† History of the Rebellion.

* Ireland's Case, page 37, et seq. Account of the troubles in Ireland, page 3. Collection of the massacres committed on the Irish, printed in London, 1662, p. 1, 8, 9, 15, 19, 23, &c. Memoirs of Castlehaven, p. 37.

them to spare neither sex nor age, not even a child, were it but a hand high; which was the expression of Coote, when sending his troops to scour the country.*

The conduct of the Catholic leaders was very different; they saw with horror the cruelties that were practised against Protestants, and those who committed them were disowned, and many put to death for disobedience of orders.† The truth of this statement is supported by the authority of the earl of Castlehaven, who witnessed what was passing in Ireland at that time. It is also confirmed by the remonstrances presented, in the name of the nation, on the 17th March, 1642, by viscount Gormanstown, and Sir Robert Talbot, and also by the offers of the Catholic agents in London, after the restoration of Charles II.; who proposed to have the murders committed on both sides investigated, and the authors punished according to the laws. The uneasiness which this proposal caused to the Protestants, proves how much they had to reproach themselves with on that head. They were not easy until they found that none but a few regicides, and the Catholics of Ireland, were to be excluded from the amnesty.

It cannot be calculated with precision, how many perished, during the twelve years that this cruel scene lasted, with more or less violence. Protestant authors ascribe all the infamous conduct to the Catholics. The absurd and exaggerated catalogue given by Sir John Temple, and others, of three hundred thousand Protestants having been massacred in a single province, is both absurd and impossible.

Hume draws a horrifying, but incorrect, picture of the Irish massacre in 1641,‡ in which the Irish alone are accused. All that he advances is a mere repetition of what had been previously extracted by the republican and fanatic writers of his own country, from Sir John Temple, whose statements had been already refuted.

This part of Hume's history is carefully written: his style is striking, his descriptions are lively, and it is obvious, that he strives to convince; but truth will always triumph by its own eloquence. The energy with which he condemns the Irish, shows the spirit by which he is actuated: according to him, none of them were massacred; the English alone were the sufferers. Were we to resort to

recrimination, how great would be our advantage over Hume? we would discover sufficient matter to confute him in the conduct of his country towards Charles I.; *he that lives in a glass house, ought not to throw stones at his neighbour*; we may be permitted to mention with regard to the remark of Hume, that the Irish never either sold, or put their king to death.

Although we discover, from history, examples of bloody scenes in other nations, the massacre in Ireland was one of the most cruel and barbarous that has been recorded among Christians, both on account of its duration, and the fury of those who were the authors of it. If it be true, as every one believes, that both sides were culpable, it is equally true, that the aggressors were more criminal than those who resorted to retaliation, by revenging the death of their countrymen. Hume ought to have made some distinction between the parties. Different opinions too ought to be quoted on a contested subject, in order that the impartial reader may decide; but the bad faith of this author has made him pass over in silence, respectable writers, by whom his positions would have been refuted.

We will now give the authentic testimony of lord Castlehaven. "In the mean time," says this nobleman, "the justices and council of Ireland sent detachments from Dublin, and other garrisons in Ireland, with orders to kill and destroy the rebels: the officers and soldiers without distinguishing rebels from subjects, killed indiscriminately, in many places, men, women, and children, which exasperated the rebels, and induced them to commit, in turn, the same cruelties upon the English." It is evident, from the assertion of lord Castlehaven, that the English were the aggressors, by order of their commanders, and that the crime of the Irish was, their having followed so barbarous an example.

"I cannot believe," says Castlehaven, "that there were at that time in Ireland, without the walls of the towns, a tenth part of the British subjects, whom Temple and others mention to have been killed by the Irish. It is evident, that he repeats two or three times, in different places, the names of persons, and the same circumstances, and that he puts down some hundreds as having been massacred, at that time, who lived for several years afterwards. It is therefore right, that, notwithstanding the unfounded calumnies which some have circulated against the Irish, I should do justice to their nation, and declare, that it was never the intention of their chiefs, to authorize the cruelties which were practised among them."

* Memoirs of Castlehaven, p. 29. Ireland's Case, p. 53.

† Memoirs of Castlehaven, *ibid.* Ireland's Case, *ibid.*

‡ Reign of Charles I.

The author of the "Catholic Vindication" is in accordance with lord Castlehaven, on this head. This writer, who is an Englishman of discernment, has done every thing to clear up the question, after indefatigable researches he concludes by saying, "all the hundreds of thousands who were represented to have been massacred in the north, did not exceed three thousand."

Sir William Petty, who was an English Protestant, and secretary to the usurper, Cromwell, who appointed him surveyor general of Ireland, assures us, that after the most minute research, the number killed on both sides, either in battle or by massacre, during the civil war, did not exceed thirty-six thousand. After these respectable authorities, we look to the justice of the reader, who will balance the proofs, and not submit to the prejudices of Hume, who is palpably guilty of injustice and partiality.

It is a matter of surprise, that a writer of Hume's merit would descend to be the echo of English tumult and clamour, which have been so often refuted; his character ought to rank above that of *scribblers*, such as lord Castlehaven speaks of, and whom he reproaches with having borrowed their accounts from Temple.

The stranger who cannot be always on his guard against the false insinuations of an accredited author, may be easily imposed upon. He has not the opportunity to discover the truth of what is set forth, by either the prejudiced or the partial historian, and he only who is acquainted with the history of the times, can discover the imposture.

From the manner in which Hume describes the massacre of 1641, it appears, that he was determined to disparage the Irish at the entire expense of truth, which should be ever dear to the historian.

"The astonished English," he says, "living in profound peace and security, were, without opposition or provocation, massacred by their nearest neighbours, with whom they had lived for a long time in habits of mutual friendship and kind offices. Neither tortures, such as refined cruelty could devise, nor the agonies of the soul, or of despair, were sufficient to assuage the people's vengeance, which was excited without cause, nor allay their cruelties, which were inflicted without provocation."

It is not surprising that in so horrible a commotion some innocent people lost their lives on both sides; nothing can be more innocent than a child of a hand high. Still, there were no exceptions in the barbarous orders which Coote and other English officers had

given to their soldiery, who were let loose to make their *bloody hunts* among the Irish Catholics.

We cannot but feel surprised at the air of confidence with which Hume speaks of the massacre the Irish committed upon the English, *without provocation, without injury, or cause given by the latter*; but is Hume's authority alone sufficient to convince the reader?

The example of the Scotch in a great degree caused the Irish Catholics to rebel; who were already dissatisfied at seeing themselves on the eve of either renouncing their religion or quitting their country. A petition to this effect signed by many thousand Protestants of Ireland, and presented to the English parliament, justified their fears. It had been already boasted of in public, that before the end of the year there would not be a single papist in Ireland; this produced its effects in England. The king having, by a forced condescension, surrendered his Irish affairs to the parliament, that tribunal made an ordinance on the 8th December, which promised the entire extirpation of the Irish; it was decreed, that popery would not be any longer suffered in either Ireland, or any other of his majesty's states. This parliament likewise granted, in February following, to English adventurers, in consideration of a certain sum of money, two millions five hundred thousand acres of profitable lands in Ireland, without including bogs, woods, or barren mountains, and this at a time when the number of lauded proprietors implicated in the insurrection was exceedingly small. To satisfy the engagements entered into with the English, as above, many honest men who never conspired against the king or state were to be dispossessed, and the money raised by such means was subsequently applied to make that war against the king which at last brought him to the block.

The Irish, particularly those of Ulster, had not forgotten the unjust confiscation of six whole counties, within the forty years immediately preceding; they looked upon the new possessors as unjust possessors of the property of others, and if the means to drive out these intruders happened to arise, might they not have said what Simon the high priest said to the ambassador of Antiochus? "we have not usurped the lands of others, we are not keeping properties which belong to others; we look only to the inheritance of our fathers, which has been for some time in the unjust possession of our enemies." The ancient Irish proprietors saw with pain

their inheritance, which had been for many centuries in the possession of their ancestors, become the property of a troop of adventurers, taken for the most part from the dregs of the people, whose *prosperity* and *riches*, no doubt, excited the *jealousy* of those at whose expense their fortunes had been raised. These ancient proprietors could say with Jeremiah, "our inheritance and our houses have fallen into the hands of strangers." The grief of these old proprietors was changed into revenge; they seized upon the houses, the flocks, and the furniture of the new comers, whose fine and commodious habitations erected on the lands of the Irish, were destroyed either by force or by the flames.

Such were the hostilities committed against the English by the Irish in 1641. There was not a question about massacre until the English began to set the example, which then indeed was too closely copied by the Catholics of Ulster, and the contagion soon spread itself throughout the kingdom. It was no longer a dispute between two neighbours; it was a national hatred and antipathy between two people, viz., the Irish Catholics and English Protestants; this hatred was founded upon motives of religion and self interest—motives which often stifle every sentiment of *humane and social sympathy* even between the nearest relatives and friends.

Such was the origin of that unhappy war that cost so much blood—such were the motives of the Irish insurrection in 1641, which was accompanied with such horrible consequences. In support of the truth of what has been set forth, writers whose testimony must be conclusive, from their having been witnesses of what they stated, are introduced. Still they are not to Mr. Hume's taste; proofs have no influence on him; he mutilates and decides; and according to him, the Irish Catholics were the sole actors in this tragedy.

To enter more deeply into its causes and effects would exceed the limits of our history; it is, however, manifest, that the number of Catholics murdered during this war was six times greater than that of the Protestants. They, being scattered throughout the country parts, were of course exposed to the rage of a licentious soldiery, while the Protestants, who lived principally within walled towns and castles, were secured from the attacks of the insurgents. After the rebellion had broken out too, a great many Scotch and English returned to their own countries; so that those who were

massacred by detachments sent from the English garrisons, whose orders were, to spare neither sex nor age, must have been infinitely the more numerous. The Catholics who were put to death by the Cromwellians on account of the massacre were not very many; consequently, the number of Protestants who were killed in the beginning could not have been very great. So soon as the war had ended, courts of justice were held to convict the murderers of the Protestants. The whole who were convicted amounted to one hundred and forty Catholics, who were chiefly of the lower classes; though their enemies being the judges, witnesses were suborned to prosecute and several among those found guilty, declared themselves innocent of the crimes for which they were sentenced to suffer. If similar investigations had taken place against the Protestants, and witnesses, from among the Catholics admitted against them, nine parliamentarians out of every ten would have been inevitably convicted (before a fair tribunal) of murder upon the Catholics.

The lords of the English pale took no part as yet in the disturbances: they were generally Catholics, who viewing the dangers which threatened their religion and king, were driven to the sad alternative of rising in their own defence; circulars were sent to the Catholic chiefs of the other provinces, inviting them to assemble at Kilkenny, in the beginning of May, 1642.* It was there that the celebrated association, called the *Catholic Confederates* of Ireland, was formed. From the state of affairs, it was clearly proved, that the remedy must be as violent as the disease: but to avoid precipitancy at so important a crisis, and to act in accordance with religion and justice, the bishops and Catholic clergy who were present were consulted upon the expediency of the war which they were about to undertake: the following was the opinion of the ecclesiastics: "inasmuch as the war which is declared by the Catholics of Ireland, against Sectarians, and particularly against the Puritans, is intended for the defence of the Catholic religion, the preservation of our sovereign, King Charles, his just rights and prerogatives, and her majesty the queen, and the safety of the royal family, so basely persecuted by the fanatics, and also for the defence of our lives and fortunes, and the just liberties of our country, against usurpers and oppressors, particularly the Puritans—we consider and pronounce this war to be just and lawful: if, however, any one engage

* Vindictarum Cath. Hiber. lib. 1, cap. 1.

in it through avarice, hatred, revenge, or other evil views, or from wicked advice, they are guilty of mortal sin, and merit the censures of the church, if, after being admonished, they continue to be guided by the above motives."

The church having declared the war to be lawful, the assembly appointed a council, called the supreme council of Kilkenny, who were invested with authority to govern the state, and whom all the representatives of the nation bound themselves by oath to obey. Orders were then given for the levying of troops, and generals were appointed for the four provinces, viz., Thomas Preston of the house of Gormanstown, for Leinster; colonel James Barry of Barrymore, for Munster; colonel John Burke of the house of Clanricard, for Connaught; and Owen Roe (Eugenius Rufus) O'Neill, for Ulster, while in order to establish the confederacy on a firm basis, laws were enacted, which were admitted, even by their enemies, to be just and equitable.

The second meeting of the confederates was appointed for the 24th of October following; it resembled a parliament, without distinction of houses, in which every act of the council since May was approved of. It was settled, that the council should consist of twenty-four members, six from each province, and that after each general assembly the council should be confirmed or changed according to the will of members. It was also decreed, that each province should have a council, to meet according to the exigency of affairs. In order to sanction the commissions and other public acts, which emanated from this tribunal, a seal was made, called the seal of the council.

The Catholic confederates of Ireland having thus arranged their form of government, wished by a solemn act to secure the fidelity of those who composed the assembly, and at the same time to justify their proceedings, by proving to the world that their intentions were upright, and far from being a rebellion against their lawful prince. An oath, in the following terms, was for this purpose subscribed to by each member of the confederacy.

"I swear in the presence of God, and of his angels and saints, to defend the liberty of the Roman Catholic and Apostolical religion; the person, heirs, and rights of his majesty, King Charles, and the freedom and privileges of this kingdom, against all usurpers, at the peril of my life and fortune.*"

* Vindiclar. Cath. Hib. c. 1, p. 6.

When the general assembly of October had broken up, the council deputed ambassadors to the courts of France, Spain, and Rome.* M. Rochford was sent to France, and was succeeded by Geoffrey Barron; the reverend father James Talbot, of the order of St. Augustin, was sent to Spain; and Sir Richard Belling to the pope: he was succeeded by Nicholas French, bishop of Ferns, and the latter by Sir Nicholas Plunket. These princes received the ambassadors of the confederates favourably, and sent representatives to Ireland as proof of their satisfaction. M. de la Monarie was sent by Louis XIII., king of France; he was succeeded by M. Dumoulin, and the latter by M. Taloon. Philip IV., of Spain appointed M'Fuyssott, a native of Burgundy; O'Sullivan Bearre, earl of Beerhaven, was deputed after him, and lastly, Dom Diego de Los Torres. The envoy of Pope Urban VIII., was Starampo, an ecclesiastic; he continued in Ireland till the arrival of Rinuccini, archbishop and prince of Fermo, who was sent as legate by Innocent X., in 1645.

In the mean time the confederate army commenced their operations.† They were in the beginning badly provided with arms, artillery, &c., necessary for carrying on the war; and for some time their success was doubtful; however they made themselves masters of several towns that had been in the hands of the Protestants, and in less than two years the latter were driven out of the interior of the country, and forced to take refuge in the sea ports.

The king saw that the Irish Catholics had no design to withdraw their allegiance from him, and that they were forced by his own and their enemies, to resort to arms. He therefore immediately recalled the lords justices, and appointed the earl of Ormond viceroy.‡

The Catholic confederates expected a great deal from this change of government. They consented to lay down their arms, and agreed among them to advance thirty thousand eight hundred pounds to the viceroy for the purpose of sending the Protestant army to England.§ The viceroy, a more zealous Protestant than an able minister, refused the services of the Catholics, and would scarcely permit two thousand of them to proceed to Scotland to reinforce the royal party under the marquis of Montrose, where they had a

* Memoirs of Castlehaven, p. 59, 60.

† Vindiclar. Cath. Hib. *ibid.*

‡ Ireland's case, *ibid.* p. 48, et seq.

§ Vindiclarum, Cath. *ibid.* cap. 2.

share in the heroic actions which that great man performed in the services of his king.*

The supreme council deputed lord Muskerry, afterwards earl of Clancarty, Sir Nicholas Plunket, and a few others, to England, to lay their grievances before the king, and solicit his majesty in behalf of their religion and liberty. The king received these deputies with distinction, and sent them back to the viceroy, recommending to him to secure a peace with the Catholic confederates. His majesty afterwards wrote to him to put an end to the war in Ireland; to offer to his Irish subjects the free exercise of their religion, to annul *Poyning's Act*, and to grant a general amnesty for the past; in fine, to make peace on any terms. Charles judged well, that this would enable his Irish subjects to send him assistance against his rebellious parliament. The viceroy, however, neglected all his orders, and would make no peace with the Irish, till the king's affairs became irre-mediabile.†

The Catholic confederates carried on the war with vigour against the Irish parliamentarians.‡ Murrough O'Brien, baron of Inchiquin, was among the number of their enemies. This nobleman had been in the king's service, and sought the presidency of Munster, but the king having given preference to the earl of Portland, he deserted the royal standard, and the towns under his command, and declared for the parliamentarians, from whom he received the command of the province of Munster, with the title of president. It may be observed, that the houses of Thomond and Inchiquin had imbibed, with their English titles, all the malignity of the English against the Irish. Under the auspices of a rebellious parliament, Inchiquin fought against his countrymen, more like a robber than the general of an army; he destroyed every thing with fire and sword in his march through Munster. The holy city of Cashel, where the apostle of Ireland baptized the first Christian king of the province, did not escape his fury; in vain the terrified inhabitants sought safety in the cathedral church, the sanctity of which was no security against the tyrant. Inchiquin having given orders for an assault, commanded his soldiers to give no quarter, so that, between the carnage in and outside of the church, not one escaped. Twenty clergymen, with a vast multitude of people, perished on this occasion. He took pleasure in burning whole villages, houses,

and the properties of the inhabitants, from which he was called *Murrough an toithaine*—that is, Murrough the incendiary, by which name he is still known in that province, where his memory is execrated.

The successes of Inchiquin in Munster, alarmed the supreme council;‡ they despatched the earl of Castlehaven to take the command of that province, instead of Barry, who was unsuccessful and unfit to serve, from his great age. In order to open the campaign early, Castlehaven collected his forces at Clonmel, amounting to five thousand infantry, and one thousand cavalry, with some pieces of cannon. Having set out on his march, he seized upon several towns without reaching Inchiquin. The principal places he took were, Caperquin, Michaelstown, Mallow, Donerail, Liscarrol, Milltown, Rostellan, Castle-Lyons; and, after reducing the country as far as Youghal, he returned to Kil-kenny in November.

After the battle of Naseby, and other battles which the king had lost by means of the English rebels, he was forced in May 1646, to throw himself upon the mercy of the Scotch rebels, who were then at Newark. It was contrary to the interest of these fanatics, that the king should make peace with the Irish Catholics, who might assist him against his enemies; and taking advantage of his misfortunes, they forced him to write to Ormond on the 11th of June, recalling all the authority he had previously given him for making peace with the Irish.

The council of the Catholic confederacy, alarmed at the postponement of the peace which Ormond was commanded to make, sent to demand a final answer. Ormond replied, that he had received counter-orders from his majesty; however, he changed his decision soon afterwards, being determined to deny what he found contrary to his interest, under a pretext, that his power had been annulled before the exchange of the articles.

Peace was at length proclaimed by Ormond; but the pope's legate who had just arrived, having called a meeting of the prelates at Waterford, the latter finding, that his majesty refused to acknowledge the commission of the earl of Glamorgan, as also that nobleman's negotiations with them, on which alone they could rely respecting the affairs of the church, and perceiving that this pretended peace contained nothing to secure freedom of conscience, nor the maintenance of the Catholic religion, they protested openly against it, and pronounced sentence of ex-

* Hist. of the life of Montrose, Lond. edit. in 1652, c. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11,

† Ireland's case, p. 50, et seq.

‡ Memoirs of Castlehaven, p. 96, 98, 114.

* Memoirs of Castlehaven, p. 100, et seq.

communication against all who would agree to it, as guilty of *voluntary perjury*; since in the beginning of the association, they had sworn to accede to *no terms* without the approval of all, in a general assembly, which was held every year for the regulation of public affairs.*

The opposition of the clergy operated powerfully among the officers of the army and nobility throughout the kingdom, and the peace was universally condemned. The council having examined the articles, rejected it, and put the commissioners by whom it had been negotiated into prison. Sir Edward Butler, lord of Graig-Duiske, was created a peer of Ireland by the king about this time, under the title of lord viscount of Galmoy.

The English parliamentarians, and their brethren the Scotch fanatics, were as strongly opposed to any accommodation with the Irish, as the Nuncio and the Catholics had been, but their motives differed. The refusal of the latter to make peace, arose much less from a spirit of revolt than to secure the free exercise of their religion: while the former hoped to build their greatness upon the ruin of others. They were dissatisfied with the conclusion of a war, the continuance of which would be productive of numerous confiscations: while a peace would be contrary to their plans, since it would raise assistance for the king against themselves. With these views, the English parliament took ten thousand Scotch into their pay, A.D. 1642, and sent them to the north of Ireland under major general Robert Monroe, rather to watch the movements of the Irish, than to reduce them completely.† This reinforcement was joined by five or six thousand Scotch, who were already settled in the country under Sir Robert Steward, and some English troops under Sirs Awdly Mervin, Theophilus Jones, and others, who had refused to agree to the truce which had been made with the Irish. Their army amounted to about twelve thousand men. According to the accounts of the lords justices, they consisted of nineteen thousand. The English officers were subordinate to Monroe, who had the chief command according to the agreement with the English parliament.

Monroe landed in Ireland in May. He marched to Carrickfergus, and seized on the castles of Newry and Carlingford, where he placed garrisons. The English commanders represented to him that the opportunity was favourable for continuing the conquest, and

reducing the whole province, but he refused to cross the river Bann, in which refusal he followed the directions of his masters. Having condemned sixty men, eighteen women, and two priests to death in Newry, he returned to Carrickfergus, and on his march laid waste the lands of lord Iveagh and Maccartan. He carried away four thousand head of cattle, and other property; the English forces expected a share in the booty, but the Scotch seized on all during the night: and the English seeing themselves deceived, mutinied, and would no longer join the Scotch in their robberies.

The Scotch general, after refreshing his troops at Carrickfergus, resumed hostilities in Antrim: he drove off with him five thousand head of cattle, burned Glenarne, and devastated the estates of the marquis of Antrim. Instead of going to fight an enemy, he enriched his country (Scotland) with the fruits of his plunder. About the same time, Sir Phelim O'Neill, together with Alexander Mac-Donnell, surnamed Colkittagh, i. e. left-handed, collected some troops; they were attacked the 19th of June by Sir William and Sir Robert Steward. The action was very brisk, but the former were obliged to withdraw after losing five hundred men.

In the mean time the Scotch army in England* treated with the parliament to sell them the person of their king. He was accordingly given up to his enemies for the sum of two hundred thousand pounds sterling,† on the 8th of February, 1646; and in a few months afterwards, the earl of Ormond surrendered to the commissioners from the parliament, the castle of Dublin, with the sword and other appendages of royalty. He, and the others who guarded it for the king, thought the castle was no longer tenable. This act procured for the earl a chain and medal of gold, besides the sum of thirteen thousand pounds sterling, as the earl of Anglesey, one of the commissioners, acknowledged.

Owen O'Neill was commander of the Irish troops in Ulster. He agreed with the pope's nuncio‡ regarding the peace of 1646, and the motives which influenced that minister to oppose it. In the spring of this year he travelled to Kilkenny to consult with that prelate on the state of religion and the country; and having received the succours he expected, he returned to Ulster.

This general collected his forces in the

* Ireland's case, page 5455.

† Commentaries on the English rebellion, by R. Manlius, part 1, lib. 2, p. 175, published in London, A.D. 1686.

‡ Life of Ormond, vol. 1, lib. 4, p. 575.

* Ireland's case, p. 52, 53. Memoirs of Castlehaven, p. 56, 57, 58, 118, 119.

† Memoirs of Castlehaven, p. 81.

month of May, amounting to about five thousand infantry, and five hundred cavalry, with which body he marched towards Armagh. Monroe led his army, consisting of six thousand infantry and eight hundred horse, Scotch and English, and encamped within ten miles of the same place. Being informed that O'Neill was on his march, with a design of taking the city by surprise, the Scotch general decamped on the 4th of June, and advancing towards the city, arrived at midnight with a view of attacking O'Neill. Being informed that O'Neill was encamped at Benburb, Monroe marched the next day to attack him; but though superior in numbers to O'Neill, he sent orders to his brother George Monroe, who commanded a force at Coleraine, to come and join him at Glaslough, near Benburb. O'Neill having information of the time he was to pass, immediately despatched Colonels Bernard MacMahon, and Patrick Mac-Nenay, with their regiments, to meet him and prevent a junction with general Monroe. These two officers performed their trust to the satisfaction of their commander. They cut the enemy, commanded by young Monroe, to pieces, and returned next day to Benburb, where they shared with O'Neill the honour of the victory they had gained over the Scotch and English. O'Neill was favourably posted between two hills, his rear being enclosed by a wood, and his right extending itself along the Blackwater. Being apprized that Monroe was at Glaslough, O'Neill moved his cavalry to a height, from whence he viewed the Scotch army on the opposite banks of the river. In the mean while, the Scotch crossed the river where it was fordable, near Kinard, and were marching to Benburb. O'Neill sent colonel Richard O'Ferrall to occupy a defile through which the enemy had to pass, but their cannon prevented him from keeping it, and he was forced to retire, which he did in good order.

The two armies began to prepare for battle; O'Neill kept the enemy employed for a while with light skirmishing and musketry, while waiting for the sun, which annoyed his troops during the day, to go down. He was expecting also the arrival of a detachment, which he sent the preceding evening against some of the enemy at Coleraine. When Monroe saw this force arrive, he thought that they were coming to join himself from the same place, but found his mistake on seeing them enter O'Neill's camp. O'Neill now commanded his men to advance within reach of the pike, and to begin with close fighting. His or-

ders in this were most valiantly executed. The English regiment commanded by lord Blaney, after a vigorous defence, was cut to pieces; and the Scotch cavalry being broken by those of O'Neill, the rout became general. There was but the one regiment of Sir James Montgomery that retired in a body, the remainder of the army that escaped being thrown into the greatest disorder. Col. Conway, who had two horses killed under him, accompanied by Captain Burke and about forty horsemen, reached Newry. Lord Montgomery was taken prisoner, besides twenty-one officers, and about a hundred and fifty soldiers; three thousand two hundred and forty-three of the enemy fell on the field of battle, and several were killed the day following in the pursuit. The loss on the side of O'Neill amounted to about seventy men killed and two hundred wounded. The whole of the Scotch artillery, arms, tents, baggage, and thirty-two stand of colours were taken. The booty was immense; it consisted of fifteen hundred draught horses, and provisions of every kind for two months. General Monroe saved himself with difficulty on horseback, and fled without either hat or wig. After this defeat he burned Dundrum, and abandoned Portdown, Clare, Galway, Downpatrick, and other strong places. The consternation of his army was so great, that numbers fled to Scotland for safety.

The victory gained by general O'Neill seemed to portend the complete conquest of Ulster. His respect, however, for the orders of the nuncio lost to him the fruits of his success. His excellency wrote to him in June, complimenting him on the victory he had gained, and beseeching him to march into Leinster, to the support of those who opposed the peace. The messenger found O'Neill at Tenrags, ready to fall upon the Scotch. However, in obedience to the nuncio's request, he assembled a council of war, when it was decided to march directly to Kilkenny, in conformity to which decision he issued his commands. His army was considerably increased upon their march. The general that acted with Preston, who commanded the Leinster troops, supported during some time the cause of the nuncio against his opponents. Preston, however, though attached to the cause of religion, did not cease to be a faithful servant to the king, notwithstanding that he lost the battle of Dungan Hill, near Linches-knock, in the county of Meath, against Jones, a general of the parliamentarians; he was created by Charles II. a peer of Ireland, under the title of viscount Tara.

The confederate Catholics, being informed that the king was kept a close prisoner in England, whilst his enemies were seeking his destruction, and that the prince of Wales fled to France, whither the queen had withdrawn some time before, sent a deputation to that princess and her son. The marquis of Antrim and lord Muskerry were commissioned to make known to the queen and the prince of Wales how eager they were to conclude a peace, and to assist in rescuing his majesty from imprisonment. Upon this, the marquis of Ormond, who was then in France, was sent back to Ireland, about the close of September, 1648, and a peace was concluded, January 17th, which was called the peace of 48. This was immediately agreed to by the confederate Catholics, with the exception of a few who were headed by Owen O'Neill. He was offended with Ormond (who was jealous of his merit) for having refused him a post in the army, although allowed by all who knew him to be the bravest and most experienced general in the kingdom.

A scene of cruelty and barbarism of which no history furnishes an example, was now going forward in England. A king sold by his fanatic subjects of Scotland, to their English brethren, for a sum of money; dragged from prison to prison, and at length publicly executed upon a scaffold. Such was the scene, and such the tragical end of Charles I. The limits we have proposed to observe in this concise history of the Stuarts do not permit us to penetrate more deeply into circumstances which perpetuate the infamy of the perpetrators. "I could wish," says Cox,* "to throw a veil over the 30th day of January, that frightful day on which the father of his country suffered martyrdom. O! that I could say they were Irishmen who committed the abominable deed, and that it could be laid at the door of the papists: but though they might have participated indirectly in the crime, it is at least true that others were the actors, and we may say with the poet,

— "Pudet hoc opprobria nobis
Et dici potuisse, et non potuisse refelli."

This exclamation of Cox displays fully his disposition towards a people whose history he attempts to write.

Whilst these proceedings were being carried on against Charles I. by his rebellious subjects, and during his trial and execution, the confederate Catholics drove the war vigorously forward against the parliamenta-

rians.* They reduced every place in the kingdom to the king's power, except Dublin and Londonderry. Ormond, intending to besiege the capital, marched his army in June to Finglass, a village within two miles of Dublin. The garrison, commanded by colonel Michael Jones, was reinforced by some troops from England. These troops consisted of a regiment of horse and two of infantry, under the command of colonels Venables and Hunks, well provided with provisions and warlike stores. The city being difficult of attack from the side of Finglass, Ormond crossed the river above the bridge with his army, and encamped at Rathmines. By the advice of his council he seized upon an old castle at Baginbally, which commanded the entrance to the harbour. This gave him a two-fold advantage, viz., it facilitated his approach, and prevented any succours arriving by sea to the besieged. He next sent workmen to repair the castle, and a force to protect them. This manœuvre greatly alarmed the garrison, and allowed the governor to see into its design and consequences. On the morning of the 2d of August, he made a sally in good order, retook the castle, and put the troops who were guarding it to the sword. This first success animated the garrison; the remainder of which marched against the camp. In vain did Sir William Vaughan oppose the enemy with a body of horse; they were routed and he himself killed, and the panic having reached the rest of Ormond's army, he himself, his cavalry and infantry, were all shamefully put to flight.

The monarchy and house of lords being overthrown in England, the government of Ireland became an object of dispute to all the parties. The Presbyterians were for conferring it on Waller; the Independents were inclined towards Lambert, but after some debating, they all finally agreed that Oliver Cromwell was fittest for that important trust. He was accordingly nominated lieutenant. His departure for that country immediately followed, and accompanied by his son-in-law Ireton, he set out with a powerful army, consisting of seven regiments of infantry, four of cavalry, and one of dragoons.† Cromwell having landed in Dublin, marched straight to besiege Drogheda, of which Sir Arthur Ashton was the commander. A summons to surrender the town being rejected, Cromwell ordered a breach to be

* Baker, Chronicles of England, on the reign of Charles II.

† Flegellum, or the Life of Cromwell, published in London, 1672, p. 48, et seq.

attempted, and a general assault made.* He was, however, twice repulsed with heavy loss: a third attack succeeded, and the city was taken on the 10th September.† Orders being issued to give no quarter, the garrison was accordingly put to the sword. Ashton the commander, Sir Edmond Varney, colonels Wale, Warren, Dunne, Tempest, Finglass, and several other officers of distinction, besides three thousand soldiers, were slain. After this expedition Cromwell returned with his army to Dublin.

The marquis of Ormond who was still lord lieutenant for the royal cause, appealed now to general O'Neill for his assistance, offering to grant him any terms he could wish for, besides those he had previously refused him.‡ Colonel Daniel O'Neill, nephew to Owen Roe O'Neill, was appointed to negotiate the affair with his uncle; but the untimely death of that general, who was alone able to cope with the tyrant Cromwell, rendered the hopes of Ormond, and those of the Catholic confederates, abortive.

Cromwell having refreshed his troops in Dublin, gave the command of the city to colonel Hewson, and marched through the county of Wicklow. On his route he took Arklow, Ferns, Enniscorthy, and some other places, and on the 1st October he arrived before Wexford, and summoned it to surrender. Colonel David Synot, who commanded the town, in order to divert Cromwell, proposed terms of capitulation, which were refused. The delay furnished an opportunity to the earl of Castlehaven to get in a regiment of infantry, and after a few days, a further reinforcement of a thousand men arrived from the marquis of Ormond, under the command of Sir Edmond Butler. The treachery of captain Stafford, however, frustrated all their plans of defence. Being commander of the castle, he surrendered it to Cromwell; and the garrison in their endeavours to escape, were butchered by that tyrant, to the number of about two thousand. Sir Edmond Butler was killed by a musket ball, while swimming to save himself. Every step of Cromwell was marked by the most savage ferocity; two hundred ladies of Wexford, who sought with tears, and upon their knees, to propitiate the tyrant's rage, were massacred at the foot of the cross in the public square.

From Wexford Cromwell marched to Ross,

which was commanded by Luke Taaff: this place being untenable, and a breach effected, terms were given to the besieged, and they were allowed to retire with their arms. Cromwell had not the same success before Duncannon, where colonel Edward Wogan commanded an intrepid garrison; he was forced to raise the siege and return to Ross. Here he had a floating bridge constructed upon the river Barrow, both to watch the movements of Ormond, and keep up a communication with Munster, where he had his spies. Cork, Youghal, and other places garrisoned by Englishmen, who calculated upon receiving rewards and promotion, declared in favour of Cromwell, and deserted in bands, to range themselves under his standard. Martin, the commander of Carrick, also in a cowardly manner surrendered it to him. Ballyshannon was sold to him too, but he was repulsed at Kiltarnan. The garrison of Kilkenny, after making a noble stand, surrendered by capitulation.

The last expedition of Cromwell in Ireland was against Clonmel, which was defended by sixteen hundred Ulstermen, under the command of major-general Hugh O'Neill, nephew to Owen Roe O'Neill. He served under his uncle in foreign countries, and was deemed an able captain.* Cromwell now commenced the siege, and having effected a breach, ordered an assault, contrary to the advice of his council.† The bravery of the besieged defeated his attempts, and he was repulsed with a loss of two thousand five hundred of his best soldiers. The hypocrite was himself the first to perceive his rashness. In accordance with his usual phrenzy he called in religion to aid him in his misfortune, attributing his defeat to too great a confidence in human arms, and to atone for such impiety, he commanded a fast to be observed by the whole army. Hugh O'Neill still defended the place with extraordinary valour, but seeing himself unable to hold out for want of powder, he crossed the river by night with his garrison, and withdrew towards Waterford. According to authors of the day, the failure of powder in the garrison of Clonmel was fortunate for Cromwell, who would have been otherwise obliged to raise the siege. The next day after the garrison retreated, the citizens offered to capitulate, and the besiegers not knowing the state of things within, readily granted their demands. During this siege Cromwell received orders from the parliament to return speedily to England, where his presence was necessary

* Heath's Chron. of the Civil War, part 1, an. 1649, p. 244, et seq. edit. Lond. an. 1676.

† Cox, Hist. of Ireland, reign of Charles II., page 8, et seq.

‡ Ireland's Case, page 56, 57.

* Scourge of Ireland, page 87.

† Heath, part 1, an. 1649, page 252.

to make head against the Scotch royalists. He therefore embarked at Youghal, the 29th May, and left the command of the army to Ireton, his son-in-law.*

Charles, prince of Wales, son of Charles I., and true heir to the crown of Great Britain, was then at Breda. Commissioners were sent to him to treat for his restoration to the throne of Scotland.† The marquis of Montrose, who had laid down his arms by orders of the late king, was at the time travelling through France, Germany, and the Low Countries. It was there he heard of the tragical end of Charles I., and at the same time received from the young king the commission of captain-general of the royal army in Scotland. He then applied to the courts of Denmark and Sweden‡ for assistance, which they gave him in money, and likewise arms for fifteen hundred men. He then sailed for Scotland with five hundred Germans, and after encountering a violent storm, and losing two hundred of his men, and some warlike stores, he landed in the Orkney islands, with the remaining three hundred that escaped shipwreck. The inhabitants of the Orkneys received arms from him, and with this little force he marched to Caithness, in the northern extremity of Scotland.§ The army of Montrose was too small for his enterprise; and he was abandoned and betrayed by those who had promised him their aid: colonels Ogleby and Corkrain wasted the money which he gave them to raise troops in Amsterdam and Poland;|| colonel King who was commissioned to come to his assistance with a body of Swedish cavalry, disappointed him; lord Pluscardy was prevented by the rebels from collecting two thousand men that he had promised, and the Highlanders harassed by the war, were not to be relied upon, so that the ruin of Montrose had now become inevitable.¶

The news of his being in Scotland gave great alarm to the parliament which was then sitting at Edinburgh. An army was immediately despatched against him under the command of Lesley and Holborn, Colonel Straughan being sent first with an advance guard of cavalry. He surprised the royalists who were unable to defend themselves against this unexpected attack, and were all either killed or made prisoners. Montrose striving to escape in a Highland

dress, wandered three or four days among fields, without taking food; till he had the misfortune to fall into the hands of a traitor.*

This man was lord of Aston, formerly attached to the service of Montrose; determined to receive the reward which was offered, he arrested, and dishonourably gave him up to his enemies. The trial of this great man was short; he was condemned, under the name of James Graham, to death, and hung on a gibbet thirty feet high, deeply regretted by the king his master, and all good men.

While the fanatics of Scotland were exercising their rage against the king's best subjects, their deputies were treating at Breda for his restoration; the terms of which were both hard and insolent. First, the king was to banish from court all excommunicated persons;† second, he should affirm by his royal word, that he would accept of the covenant;‡ third, he should bind himself to ratify all the acts of parliament, which decreed the government to be Presbyterian, and confirm the tenor of worship, the profession of faith, and catechism in the kingdom of Scotland, as they had been approved of by the general assembly of the kirk, and by the parliament of the kingdom, and should himself conform to all these matters in his private and domestic habits; fourth, he should admit all civil causes to be decided by the parliament of Scotland, and all ecclesiastical affairs by the kirk.§

Charles was placed in an embarrassing dilemma. His friends were divided in opinion, what plan would be most prudent for him to pursue; some being opposed to such hard and disgraceful terms, while others, who had suffered banishment in his cause, and were desirous of returning to their country, urged him to accept of the conditions. The queen dowager and prince of Orange were of this opinion; he therefore adopted their advice, which was in accordance with his own wishes, and submitted to the terms proposed by the commissioners. A frigate commanded by Van Tromp the younger, was ready to receive him at Terheyden, near the Hague. Van Tromp himself accompanied the prince on board, and enjoined his son to use all skill in his voyage

* Life of Montrose, page 178, 179.

† Those who had exposed their lives in defence of the king were excommunicated.

‡ The covenant signified a solemn compact made by the Puritans or Scotch fanatics for their mutual defence: its object was the extirpation of Popery and prelacy.

§ This was an assembly of ministers of the Presbyterian church.

* Cox's reign of Charles I. p. 17.

† Baker's Chron. Eng. an. 1649.

‡ Bager, *ibid*.

§ Life of Montrose, edit. Lond. an. 652, p. 174.

|| Heath, Chron. part 2, an. 1649, 1650.

¶ Life of Montrose, p. 175.

with the prince; there were but two men of war to escort the frigate, and the English fleet was at sea ready to oppose them. The able commander, however, surmounted every obstacle; and after encountering a heavy gale, which cast them on the coast of Denmark, the prince was landed safe on the 16th of June, 1650, in a place called the Spey, in the north of Scotland.

Charles was received by his unkind subjects of Scotland with much show, but little sincerity: he was obliged to sign the covenant, and dismiss his faithful followers; he submitted, however, in every thing to these fanatics, without security for either his life or freedom. In either spiritual or temporal matters the king was not consulted, so that he was treated more like a school-boy who feared the authority of his master, than as a king who was to govern his subjects.

The news of the arrival of prince Charles soon reached England. The republicans being alarmed, collected an army, the command of which devolved on lord Fairfax; but he refused it, under the plea of infirmity, and thus laid the foundation of Cromwell's greatness. On this general's return from Ireland, where he left the command to Ireton, his son-in-law, he was appointed commander-in-chief of the army intended for Scotland, and about the end of June he marched towards Berwick, in order to be near the frontiers.

The people of Scotland determined to raise an army to oppose Cromwell, and having but a small regular force, ten thousand foot and twenty-seven troops of cavalry were ordered to be levied.* Generals were appointed; the earl of Levan was to command the infantry; Holborn was to act under him as major-general; David Lesley was nominated lieutenant-general of the cavalry, and Montgomery major-general; the chief command was reserved for prince Charles, who was proclaimed king of Scotland, on the 15th July, at the cross of Edinburgh.

Cromwell entered Scotland towards the end of July, at the head of sixteen thousand men, and marched through Mordington, as far as Haddington; the Scotch army, consisting of six thousand horse, and fifteen thousand foot, being encamped between Edinburgh and Leith. Cromwell saw, that besides their superiority in numbers, the Scotch were advantageously posted; he marched therefore towards Mussleburgh, and from thence to Dunbar, closely pursued by the Scotch army. The English forces, to

the number of twelve thousand, arrived at Dunbar on Sunday the 1st of September; the Scotch, amounting to twenty-four thousand men, encamped the same day on a height near the town. The English were at first dismayed, but as despair often inspires courage, they drew up in order of battle, and spent that and the next night under arms; on Tuesday morning the attack began; the engagement was bloody, and the ground bravely disputed; the English remained masters of the field of battle; and the loss of the Scotch amounted to four thousand slain, nine thousand prisoners, with all their arms and baggage. In consequence of this signal victory, Cromwell took possession of Edinburgh, Leith, and other places, but was prevented from continuing his conquests by the approach of winter.

The portion of the Scotch army that escaped withdrew to Stirling. Having determined to crown their king, the ceremony was performed on the 1st of January following, at Scone, with the approbation of all the royalists. Charles supposed he ought to be then his own master, but he soon discovered that he was subject to the most rigid covenanters and capricious fanatics. Weary, therefore, of his subjection, he determined to return to the continent, preferring his freedom to the empty title of king.* For this purpose he withdrew secretly to Middleton, who commanded some royalists in the mountains, but he was persuaded by Montgomery and other friends, to abandon an enterprise which might injure his cause.

The royalist army was still encamped at Torwood, near Stirling, which was an advantageous post, and from which Cromwell strove in vain to dislodge them.† He made different movements, all tending to straiten the royal troops. The prince, in consequence resolved to carry into effect a project he had contemplated for some time. He relied much upon his friends in England, but the tyranny of the parliament entirely obstructed their interference.

While, therefore, Cromwell was besieging Johnston and some places north of Stirling, the king decamped on the last day of July, with his army, amounting to fourteen thousand men, and advanced by forced marches towards England. Having arrived at Carlisle, he was proclaimed king of Great Britain;‡ he then published manifestoes granting a general amnesty to his English sub-

* Higgin's Short View, p. 270. Baker, Chron. ibid.

† Heath's Chron. ibid, p. 292. Baker, ibid.

‡ Heath's Chron. ibid. p. 294.

* Mem. Hist. ibid. Baker's Chron. reign of Charles II.

jects, except Cromwell, Bradshaw, and Cook, being the most criminal in the murder of the king his father. Among the English who accompanied the prince in this expedition, were, the duke of Buckingham, the earl of Cleveland, lords Wentworth and Wilmot, colonels Wogan and Bointon, major-general Massey, and some others.

The king continued his march to Worcester. He was pursued by detachments commanded by Lambert and Harrison, who also proceeded by forced marches from Scotland. They were joined by the militia and some troops newly raised by orders of the parliament. Cromwell having left general Monk and seven thousand men to complete the conquest of the Scotch, marched likewise in pursuit of the king. Worcester was speedily reduced by him, and on September 3rd the royal troops were defeated near that city. The king escaped and fled, and having encountered in disguise a variety of adventures, he found a vessel ready to sail, and by this means got safe to France.

The Irish royalists, among whom were Catholics as well as Protestants, still kept themselves under arms. The marquis of Ormond, who was commander-in-chief, besides being lord-lieutenant, always manifested a distrust of the former, and was displeased that the king had granted them any freedom in their religion. Finding himself unable to oppose Ireton, he surrendered the command of the army to the earl of Clanriccard, and embarked for France A.D. 1650. Ireton, in the mean time, laid siege to Limerick,* but was obliged to abandon it on account of the winter. The English general resumed the siege soon after, but the noble defence made by Hugh O'Neill, who had previously caused a heavy loss to Cromwell's army before Clonmell, made him feel dearly the taking of Limerick.

The parliament of England saw how important it would be to their object to detach the Irish from the cause of the king;† they therefore made them such offers as appeared fair and reasonable; but these zealous royalists rejected them unanimously, at a meeting which was held at Loughreagh. It was debated whether the war should be prolonged, in order to favour the king's march into England.‡ Under this hope, the Irish continued under arms till 1653, when it was found impracticable to protract the war any longer. Most of the Irish army then pre-

ferred to leave their country, rather than to live beneath the rule of regicides who had stained their hands in the blood of their prince. They therefore sought permission to depart from the kingdom, being determined to render those services to their king in a foreign country, that they could not at home. Circumstances favoured their proposal, Cromwell being busily employed in forming a new mode of government called the protectorship. By his own authority he granted the Irish army their request, and in consequence many of them embarked for France and Spain; those, however, whom age and infirmities rendered unable to accompany their countrymen, and share in the fortunes of the prince, were treated with the most savage barbarity; from fourteen to twenty thousand, both soldiers and country people, were sold as slaves and transported to America, as had been previously done with the Scotch prisoners taken at the battle of Worcester. The Catholic officers and nobility were forced to abandon their estates in the other provinces and cross the Shannon into Connaught and the county Clare, where Cromwell enjoined them to remain, under pain of death, without express permission to leave them. Here they were subjected to the insolence, oppression, and cruelty of the tyrants who ruled over them.

Cromwell, in the mean time, either wishing to conciliate the Irish by kindness, or give them a favourable opinion of his benevolence, established at Athlone a court of claims, by which it was decreed to grant in those parts of the kingdom, to the proscribed proprietors of lands, (who would be found not to have been implicated in the rebellion) a portion of land sufficient for their subsistence, and befitting their quality and pretensions. By this regulation it happened that some of these noblemen enjoyed in Connaught and the county of Clare a fourth; others a third; and some one-half of the revenues they possessed at home. Such grants, though moderate, excited the enmity of their persecutors.* They often determined to cut off at a blow the wretched remains of the unhappy Irish, and it was by a peculiar favour of providence that they escaped their wicked designs.

The Catholics of Ireland groaned for many years beneath the yoke of tyranny. Their only consolation was in a hope of seeing their prince restored. They anticipated

* Heath's Chron. part II. an. 1651. p. 305.

† Memoirs of Castlehaven, p. 164.

‡ Ireland's case, part 1, p. 57, 58, 59, 60. part II. p. 68, 69.

* The soldiers of Cromwell, who were put into the possession of the estates and properties of the Catholics, felt, while seeing them exist, self-condemnation and reproach.

from so happy an event the end of their sufferings; and calculating upon his justice, they calculated also upon a restitution of property, so generally sacrificed in his cause; but unhappily the event produced a sorrowful reverse in their hopes.*

Oliver Cromwell, who had been the instrument of abolishing monarchy in the three kingdoms, now turned his arms against his masters. He suppressed, by his own authority, the parliament to which he was indebted for his power; attended by armed men he entered the hall, and after expatiating upon its necessity, and his motives for dissolving them, they were ordered to withdraw, and the doors of the house were closed—guards being stationed at the same time to cut off all communication with the avenues that led to the house. He ordered the mace to be taken away as a mere bauble, and forbade it to be used at any of their ceremonies. The only sensation which this unexpected event produced among the English, was one of railery; it became a subject of amusement at their meetings, and songs were composed, accompanied with the chorus of "*twelve parliament men for a penny*." Cromwell, after this, assumed the title of protector. The English, who would not bear the mild and peaceful government of their lawful king, submitted to the despotism of a tyrant, which continued till his death, September 3, 1658, a day memorable in his history, for the victories he obtained over the king's forces at Dunbar and Worcester.

After the death of the usurper, the proceedings of general Monk seemed to portend the speedy restoration of the prince. Public affairs were in too desperate a state to continue as they stood: at such a crisis, some of course had their fears, some their hopes, according to their respective interests. Among the former were the Cromwellians in Ireland. Broghil and Coote, their leaders, despatched emissaries to England, to sound the disposition of the people, in order that they might act as would best suit their own views. Having found that they were for the most part in favour of general Monk, and inclining towards the restoration, they repaired to Dublin, where they called a meeting of the parliament, which was composed of their own creatures and united by the same interest, (they being all usurpers of the goods of others). They deliberated on the means of sustaining their usurpation, and preventing the Irish nobility from regaining their estates so liberally bestowed upon themselves by

Cromwell. They foresaw that as soon as the king would ascend the throne of his ancestors, he would, or at least ought, to reinstate the ancient proprietors in their rights: they resolved therefore to counteract this by putting in confinement all the Irish, who had any claims; with the view of preventing them from affording succour to their prince, in the event of the parliamentarians forcing him to recur to arms. To give a colour of justice to their proceedings, Sir John Clotworthy, an intriguing character, and very influential among the Presbyterians, was sent to England to excite alarm among the English by insinuating how dangerous it would be to restore the Irish to their ancient possessions to the prejudices of the English Protestants already settled in the country. Clotworthy, who was an ardent persecutor of the Catholics, and opposed to the monarch, acquitted himself ably of his commission. On his arrival in London a report was spread that a rebellion had broken out in Ireland, in confirmation of which, letters of the same import were sent to merchants at the exchange, and copies of them circulated in every quarter of the city. This imposture gave rise to a proclamation against the Irish papists, which the parliament presented to Charles II., on his restoration, though it was well understood that the report of an insurrection was founded only on the eagerness which some Catholics evinced in taking possession of their estates without any formality of law, which they considered as useless in resuming what they had been despoiled of a few years before, by a tyrant who acknowledged no law but that of the strongest.

The writers of this party boast of the exertions which Broghil, Coote, Clotworthy, and other Cromwellians in Ireland, made in favour of the restoration. They sent commissioners to the king at Breda, to assure his majesty of their allegiance and devotedness to his cause. He received them with apparent kindness, but afterwards manifested displeasure towards Broghil, when he went to congratulate him on his restoration. The submission of those traitors was caused by the determination of the English to restore their lawful prince, and was made at a time when they could not oppose his return.

Cox, and other writers of his party, speak in a different tone. "The convention," says Cox, "published a decree on the 12th of March, for a free parliament to assemble on the 14th of May; they consented to the declaration made by the king at Breda, on April 14, and joyfully agreed to his restoration. The Irish papists had no part in this

* Ireland's case, p. 60.

great revolution, but wishing to enjoy the fruit of the labours of other people, many of them took possession of their patrimonies. The evil became so general that the convention was obliged to issue a proclamation on the 20th of May, 1660, for the security of peace and property.* May not we ask these writers, what was the nature of the possessions which the convention was obliged to secure by a decree, and what were the titles of those who held them. The length of possession did not exceed ten or twelve years, and they had been given by Cromwell as a reward to the accomplices of his crimes. The right of the possessors was the same as that which had authorised the tyrant to have his lawful sovereign beheaded. We leave the reader to decide on the right which could be derived from such a title and possession. As to the Irish who resumed their estates, the complaint of Cox is both unjust and absurd; he allows that they were the *ancient patrimonies* of those Irish papists. According to Carte, they were generally Irish noblemen who had been dispossessed by Cromwell, notwithstanding their acquittal by the tribunal, which that tyrant established at Athlone, to investigate the crimes of those who had been concerned in the rebellion.* Having been banished to Connaught, and the county of Clare, continues Carte, they considered themselves authorised to take possession of their estates and expel the usurpers on the death of the tyrant. The only claim of these men on the properties of the Irish was founded on rebellion: they all served against their king under Cromwell, from whom they held their commissions. Broghil was a member of parliament for the county of Cork. He continued the faithful servant of the tyrant, and after his death became a firm supporter of his son Richard Cromwell; he was likewise member of the privy council of the new protector, till the extinction of his power.† No longer supported by the power of the Cromwells, and viewing the dispositions of the English towards their king, he then returned to Ireland, and in union with others of his faction, went over to the strongest side. The prejudice of Cox makes him ascribe the resumption of their properties by the Irish, to the labours of other people.

In the month of May, 1660, Charles, eldest son of Charles I., ascended, by the wise and disinterested conduct of general Monk, the throne of his ancestors, under the name of Charles II. He was received by all states as

lawful heir to the crown of Great Britain. In gratitude Charles restored the house of lords, and had a general amnesty passed which was received with universal applause. The monarch gave his consent that the parliament alone should punish the murderers of his father, and out of so many who had contributed to the catastrophe of Charles I., ten only were executed, the rest being judged worthy of the king's pardon.

Although the majority of the Scotch people were guilty of disloyalty to Charles,* the marquis of Argyle, Guthry, a celebrated minister, and captain Giffan, were the only victims. The marquis sold the king to the English, and consented to the usurpation; Guthry was a preacher of sedition, and known to have been violently opposed to Montrose and the royalist party, and Giffan was entirely devoted to Cromwell. The two last were hanged at Edinburgh.

Charles ascended the throne under very flattering auspices. The people, struck with a conviction of their barbarous treatment to the late king, thought they could not praise the son too much for his clemency; they had groaned also for many years under the sway of tyranny, while now peace, liberty, order, and the laws, were re-established in England and Scotland, so that no prince ever enjoyed more fully the affections of his subjects than Charles II.

The restoration of a legitimate sovereign would seem likely to terminate the misfortunes of Ireland too. Many of her people nobly participated in the sufferings of their prince. From twenty-five to thirty thousand of his faithful Irish subjects having crossed the seas to escape from the tyranny of their rulers, crowded to receive his orders. While the prince remained in France they signalized themselves in the service of that crown. When it became necessary for the English monarch to seek an asylum among the Spaniards, his command to all his Irish regiments to follow him to the Low Countries was instantly obeyed, at a time when all his other subjects had abandoned him. Their fidelity drew upon them in his exile, the admiration and esteem of strangers. The words of the prince himself, in his address to both houses, after his restoration, sufficiently attest these truths so praiseworthy in the Irish people.

On the 27th of July, 1660, king Charles II., thus expressed himself, "I think, it is not necessary to observe, that the people of Ireland deserve to be partakers of our clemency; they have displayed their affection

* Life of the duke of Ormond, vol. 2, lib. 6, p. 205.

† Harris's history of Ireland.

* Heath's Chron. p. 4, ad an. 1661, p. 497.

for us in foreign countries: you will therefore pay a regard to our honour and the promises which we have made to them." On the 30th of November, in the same year, the king's remarks on the affairs of Ireland were as follow: "lastly we are mindful, and shall always remember the deep affection which a great part of that nation had manifested for us during our sojourn beyond the seas: our Irish troops have always received our commands with alacrity and obedience, submitting to the services which have been pointed out to them as beneficial for our interests, which conduct on their part is most worthy of our protection, favour, and justice." It is right now to investigate what was the extent of that *protection, justice, and favour*, which the Irish had merited from the prince's own acknowledgment, and what were the benefits which accompanied their merit. Charles when in possession of the throne, resolved to compensate by his pleasures for the years of his exile. For this end, he reposed all his confidence in a wicked ministry which had its own interests more deeply at heart than the honour and glory of so good a master. The matter to be decided was, whether the Cromwellians who brought Charles I., to the scaffold, and compelled Charles II., to pass twelve years in sorrowful exile, ought to be supported in peaceful enjoyment of those estates conferred upon them for their hostility to the crown; or whether the ancient proprietors who had proved their loyalty to the king, ought to have their estates restored to them, which they had lost for their zeal in the royal cause. The right of the former to properties which they had been in possession of but about twelve years, was founded on regicide; that of the latter, on an uninterrupted possession of many centuries, which was confirmed by the public sanction of a solemn treaty with Charles I., called the peace of 1648, and the repeated promises of Charles II., during his exile; no question therefore could be more easily determined. In the beginning, the king seemed disposed to be just, but through the influence of Clarendon, the prime minister, and a few nobles of the court, his opinions became biassed by degrees in favour of the opposite party; who made him gradually abandon to their enemies, those who had been the faithful adherents of his misfortune. Not content with forgiving his sworn enemies, the murderers of his father, the cruel persecutors of all the royal family, from whom he himself had a miraculous escape, he granted them favours, and loaded them with the estates, honours, and dignities of his most loyal sub-

jects, many of whom had lost both their lives and fortunes in supporting his interests against these new favourites. Such were the *protection, justice, and favour*, with which the zeal and loyalty of the Irish were rewarded, by the king's proclamation for the settlement or regulation of Ireland, at Whitehall, on the 30th of November, 1660.

The declaration of the king for the settlement of Ireland, was, in reality, the settlement of rebels and traitors, and consequently the ruin of his majesty's most faithful subjects:* it was followed by orders to have it put into force; then came the commentary of the parliament, and to crown the whole, the famous explanation act, which was well calculated to complete the destruction of those whose right appeared to be incontestible.

The Irish Catholics who should have been reinstated in their inheritance, were distinguished into three classes;† the first was called innocent, signifying those who had never joined the confederates before the peace of 1648; the second comprised what were called ensignmen, implying such as had served beyond the seas, under his majesty's standard during his exile; the third was composed of the confederates, whom the faith of a solemn treaty authorised to recover their patrimonies. The king appeared determined to do justice to the three classes. With respect to the innocent, even their enemies could not oppose the restitution of their properties. The claims of those who had distinguished themselves in a military capacity in the services of their prince, were so recent and present to the mind, that none would dare to demand their exclusion from his majesty's favours. There remained, therefore, but a third class, viz., the confederates, whose pretensions were founded on the peace of 1648,‡ that could not seek indulgence. The king felt the injustice that would be caused by a dereliction of his engagements to fulfil a peace in which his conscience and his honour were concerned, as he himself had expressed in his declaration. "We cannot," said the prince, "forget the peace which we were ourselves necessitated to make with our Irish subjects, at a time when those who wickedly usurped the government of this country had erected the odious tribunal which took away the life of our dear father. We cannot therefore but consider ourselves bound to the fulfilment of peace towards those who have honourably

* Ireland's Case, *ibid.* page 85.

† Ireland's Case, *ibid.* page 87.

‡ Ireland's Case, page 88.

and faithfully performed what they promised, &c.”

The Cromwellians on the other hand, and the partisans whom they purchased at court, seeing the king so decided on this point, and not daring to oppose in a direct way, such generous and worthy motives, pretended to enter into the opinions of the prince, being convinced that their unjust policy would not fail in the moment of need, and that this would furnish them with the opportunity of bringing the prince into their views. It was first affirmed by his wicked ministers, that there were more confiscated lands in Ireland than ought to satisfy all those whose pretensions were just. It was next advanced, that the Protestant adventurers (which implied those recently established in the country) should be preferred to the other pretenders, or, at least, that they were entitled to the next place after the innocent papists. On the faith of these two articles, which were granted as the foundation of the whole edifice, these sectarians, the most savage and decided fanatics of the three kingdoms, whose principles were always equally fatal to the true religion and monarchical government, became all of a sudden, beneath the mantle of Protestantism, the minions of the church and state—a conversion far too sudden to be sincere.

The Protestants who were to be made secure in their possessions in Ireland,* were also of three sorts; the first consisted of adventurers,† who had been merchants and citizens of London, and relying on acts made in the 17th and 18th years of the reign of Charles I. for the reduction of Ireland, had advanced considerable sums upon the lands of that country, the acquirement of which cost themselves very little. The money thus obtained was never sent to Ireland, but was applied by the rebellious parliament to the raising of an army, which defeated the king's forces at Edgehill; and the application of the money in that way was approved of by the adventurers themselves, assembled at Grocers' hall, in London. This was no secret; Charles I. was not ignorant of it, since he reproached the commissioners of the parliament with the treaty of Uxbridge, and their perfidy was the reason why the prince never mentioned in his different projects for pacifying the Irish confederates, any title which the confederates could advance to the said lands, and that he took care to make no provision for them. Charles II. was equally convinced of the defect of their titles.

His declaration is illustrative of his notions on that head—"In the first place, if to satisfy those who have advanced their money, we examine into the titles by which they enjoy their possessions, they would be found defective and invalid, not being in conformity with the acts of parliament on which they rest; still, as we are strongly inclined to provide," &c. Notwithstanding, however; the enormity of their crimes and the invalidity of their titles, they were to be upheld in their unjust possessions. The claims of these first adventurers being so unfounded, what opinion can we form of those who afterwards advanced their money to excite rebellion, without any other authority than that of the lower house, which usurped the government? According to the laws of the state, the commons had neither the power of effecting loans in the name of the nation, nor of governing without the consent of the king and the other house; the king was in exile at the time, and the upper house suppressed, still the latter class was placed on an equal footing with the former, and both parties—viz., the adventurers and those who lent their money to excite rebellion, made secure in their possessions, acquired in the manner described. Thus have these persecutors of their king been liberally rewarded at the expense of the faithful Irish.

Cromwell's soldiers were the next to receive rewards. The tyrant was, it is true, deeply indebted to them, since, with the assistance of their brethren in England, they had raised him from obscurity to absolute power over the three kingdoms.* His gratitude was equal to their zeal; he divided twelve entire counties between these fanatics, the cruel ministers of his tyranny, and the avowed enemies of the king. It would seem, however, that it was by mortgages he settled with those mercenary miscreants, in payment of arrears due to them, and that he would never grant patents to confirm their possession. These precarious tenures induced several of the new nobility to sell their titles to estates for a trifle, whenever an opportunity occurred; and in the sequel, the purchasers were confirmed for ever in possession of the rewards of their infamy by the king's declaration! It can scarcely be conceived, how Charles II. on being restored to the throne of his ancestors, could bring himself as he did, unfortunately for his family, to reward the murderers of his father, by an unbounded donation of lands, whilst he permitted their true and lawful owners (of

* Ireland's Case, *ibid.* page 90.

† Recit. exacte et fidele, p. 39, &c. *suiv.*

* Ireland's Case, *ibid.* page 92, 93. A correct account, page 46, et seq.

whose fidelity he boasted) to die in want and misery.

Allusion is next made to the officers who had served the king before June 5th, 1649, and whose arrears, according to their own calculations, amounted to one million eight hundred thousand pounds sterling. Though this appears to have been an unfair and an enormous demand, still it was admitted by the adventurers, whose maxim was, "*do us a kindness and we will do you another.*" Under pretence of repaying these arrears, all the confiscated lands in four counties bordering the Shannon, were bestowed upon forty-nine officers, besides houses and other privileges in every town and city of the kingdom. These kindnesses are the more surprising, as they were conferred on men who were during and antecedent to the summer of 1649, in actual rebellion against their king: among them were the earls of Orrery, Mountrath, lords Kingston and Coloony, Sirs Jones, Saint George, Coles, &c. who deserted the king's standard to join the usurper. Those who were principally instrumental in surrendering the towns and fortresses to Cromwell, were singularly included in the act of settlement, as entitled to have their arrears allowed. No distinction was made between the forty-nine officers and the Catholics, in the king's declaration for the payment of arrears; with the exception, however, of the marquis of Clanriccard and Sir George Hamilton, the Catholics (who never deserted the standard of their king, and who were always opposed to the usurper,) were excluded by subsequent acts of parliament, from all favour.

Thus these ministers of iniquity found means to lead the king to commit, against his will, the most crying acts of injustice. He himself, so far from wishing to despoil the Catholics of Ireland of their patrimonies, evinced from the beginning an inclination to do them justice; but he suffered himself to be deceived by those in whom he reposed confidence, and who, under the specious show of loyalty, always preferred their own interests to the glory of their prince.

A court of claims was established in Dublin, after the same plan as that which Cromwell established at Athlone in 1645, in favour of the Catholics transplanted into Connaught and the county of Clare, with this difference, that the court of the usurper was the less partial of the two; for, whether from want of money to suborn false witnesses, or being unacquainted with the art of employing miscreants who live by perjury, it is well known that few or none of such characters were

made use of at Cromwell's court, and that they were seen in crowds, and employed by the court of claims in Dublin. The court at Athlone was not limited as to time, whilst that of Dublin had but from February 15, 1663, till the August following, allowed to any claimant from any part of the kingdom to make his appearance. During that short interval, almost a thousand Catholics were examined, of whom, at least one half were declared innocent, notwithstanding the rigour of the qualifications required, and the unbridled licence of false witnesses. One example out of a hundred will be sufficient to develop the profligacy of both witnesses and judges.

Mr. Francis Betagh of Moynalty, who lived in 1663 at the court of St. Germain-en-Laye,* and whose ancestors possessed considerable landed property in the county of Meath during many centuries, was accused of having, at the head of a company of foot, sacked and pillaged in 1641, his Protestant neighbours,† although in the month of October of the same year, it was well known that he was but nine years old, an age at which he was very unlikely to be concerned in a crime of that nature. Besides this, one of the witnesses produced against him was but three years old in 1641. Neither this obvious perjury, nor the innocence of the gentleman of which the nobles of the country were witnesses, could make any impression upon the judges; and though Sir——Rainsford, one of the commissioners of the court, expressed his conviction of the proceedings being unjust, the marquis of Antrim, the earl of Limerick, and others who were present, restrained him by their rebukes from making reparation. By such abominable proceedings, some hundreds of ancient families, equally eminent for their noble extraction as for their loyalty to their king, have been robbed of their patrimonies, and reduced to the dire necessity of either begging or embracing occupations unsuited to their birth.

The time for examining those interested having expired, Rainsford, the chief commissioner, thought to continue the court till further prorogation would be obtained to do justice to all whose rights could not have been discussed within the time prescribed. There were seven thousand to be still heard, whose claims deserved to be attended to equally with the others, since "every man should be looked upon as innocent till the contrary be proved," particularly when he

* His son is major in the Irish regiment of the chevalier FitzJames, in the service of France.

† Ireland's Case, page 102, 103.

submits to so severe a tribunal. However, Clarendon, the prime minister, refused any further length of time to the court, which was thus forced to cease its functions and to separate. Clarendon then instituted another tribunal, whose members were all usurpers, from whom the lawful proprietors were to seek restitution. When the judges and the party consist of such characters, what hope could there be for a claimant? To shut against him the doors of justice altogether, the parliament next made a law to interdict for the future every appeal for the restoration of property or the recovery of estates.

The Cromwellians, having gained their point, and secured to the adventurers and soldiers the enjoyment of their possession of the estates of the Catholics, began to bestow the confiscated lands upon the earls of Ormond, Anglesy, Orrery, and upon lords Coote, Kingston, and other favourites, who had been bad servants to the crown. To create more friends by the mammon of iniquity, large donations of land were appropriated to pious uses; the revenues of the university of Dublin were increased, and free schools established. Some bishops and ministers were enriched, and extensive holding conferred on many, though they derived no titles from the king's declaration. The estates that were possessed for some time by Miles Corbet and other regicides, were given to the king's brother, the duke of York. Thus were the lands wasted by profuse largesses, whereby resumptions were defeated, and consequently the Cromwellians continued in the enjoyment of their usurpations. Fifty-four persons, called the *denominated*, were not better treated than others, for want of lands to be given them. They were called *denominated*, because a clause was inserted in the *explanation act*, (specifying the names) which entitled them to repossess their baronial houses and two thousand acres of land adjoining. The earl of Orrery sarcastically remarked, that they had a name but not the reality. In order to defeat every future prospect, a law was made, "that when any doubt should arise upon the clauses of said act, it should be explained in favour of Protestants, who it was intended should remain secure and undisturbed.*"

It is incredible to think how the king was influenced to act contrary, not only to justice, but even to the interests of his house.† Princes have been often known, from motives of policy, to pardon rebellious subjects,

after returning to their duty and submission, but to heap upon them the rich patrimonies of faithful subjects, by which the latter are reduced to the extreme of indigence, is unexampled in history.

Policy, it will be said, precluded Charles from acting otherwise, on account of the great number of parliamentarians wickedly disposed towards him, and whom, being at the time possessed of new properties, it might be dangerous to irritate with arms in their hands.

This mode of reasoning was often urged in council by the chancellor Clarendon. Might we not ask the earl, why he did not observe the same conduct towards England and Scotland? Was the party less formidable in these countries than in Ireland? The minister forgot that his political reasoning gave the same ground for confirming the Cromwellians in their usurpations in England. They had usurped the royal authority; they were in possession of the lands of the crown, of the church, and of those of many English nobles and gentlemen; they appropriated to themselves by crime, rebellion, and parricide, the properties of others, and notwithstanding all this, were they not put down without danger or opposition, though they at the time had arms in their hands, possessed likewise all the fortresses of the kingdom, were superior in numbers, well provided with every thing, and consequently more formidable than their brethren in Ireland. If the king, before his departure from Breda, had promised to pay the arrears of the officers and soldiers of general Monk, could they not have satisfied them in Ireland by public taxes as they did in England, without depriving so many widows and orphans of subsistence, and so many gentlemen of their inheritance, who by signal services merited rewards, instead of being stripped of their patrimonies. So crying an injustice could not be the result of a sound policy, nor even of common prudence, which frequently made Clarendon say before the king, "*do good to your enemies, your friends will not injure you.*" To proceed in this way was contrary to sound policy, honour, and justice. The king, however, acted in all this according to the advice of his council and his courtiers.

We cannot find in history the example of a king so generous and beneficent to infamous rebels, as Charles II. has been to the Cromwellians of Ireland—but so far from their gratitude being proportioned to the goodness of their prince, they were continually plotting against him. Conspiracies

* Statutes of Ireland, p. 38.

† Ireland's case, p. 73, 74.

were got up against his person, one in 1663, another in 1671; these were put down in their birth, and three of the meanest of the conspirators put to death, while the principal were pardoned, who were always full of the spirit of republicanism, and were avowed enemies to monarchical government. Such was the fruit of Clarendon's policy, "*do good to your enemies.*"

The injustice, or rather the indolence of Charles II., was felt not only in Ireland, but also in England, where the cavaliers were treated with deep ingratitude. "The foulest stain," says Hume, "attached to the character of Charles II. in the opinion of judges, was his neglect of the cavaliers, whose zeal and sufferings in his cause knew no bounds. Poverty, to which the most zealous royalists were reduced, diminishing their respectability, rendered them less fit to support the measures of the king, and made him look on them as an useless burden. The greatest number of the royalists were still labouring under distress and disappointment, aggravated by the loss of their lawful hopes, and the torment of seeing favours and influence heaped upon their deadly enemies. With respect to the acts of indemnity and oblivion, the first was intended for the enemies of the king, the latter for his friends."* Our author discovers in the character of Charles the cause of his conduct towards his faithful subjects. Some people of penetration, he says, began to remark, that his virtues, by which he had at first dazzled and almost enchanted the nation, possessed less solidity than splendour; that his judgment lost much of its power from want of application; that his goodness appeared rather the effect of an easy disposition than true generosity of character; that although he displayed good-will to all who approached him, his heart was incapable of sincere friendship, and that he secretly nurtured a wicked opinion of, and distrust in mankind. The English cavaliers had less to complain of than the Irish royalists. Some of the principal of them received pensions, and the parliament distributed sixty thousand pounds among the rest, while the Irish were excluded from all favour or consideration.

The reign of Charles II. was moderately long. Though the Catholics of Ireland were loaded with severe oppression, they were always faithful to that prince. Charles, in order to allay somewhat of their sufferings, undertook to indemnify them on

the score of religion, as far as circumstances would permit. During his reign he had the administration of the penal laws suspended, which the parliaments renewed from time to time in all their rigour. The Catholic peers were allowed to sit in parliament; ecclesiastics instructed in public, and taught the youth the principles of their religion, which all were allowed to practice though the penal laws had not been repealed.

Charles II., after a few days illness, died the 6th of February, 1685. It is said that he manifested great indifference for the bishops of the English Church, who displayed their zeal about him by their intense exhortations. Some Catholic priests were brought to him, from whom he received the sacraments according to the rites of the Roman Church; thus making it appear that he dared not to die in that religion which he professed upon the throne. As soon as Charles II. breathed his last, his brother, the duke of York, received the homage of the lords. He was proclaimed king in London and all the provinces, under the name of James II. Public rejoicings were made in all the towns, in which inclination and duty seemed to combine. The news of James II.'s accession to the British throne having reached Ireland, the duke of Ormond, being lord-lieutenant, assembled the council in Dublin, and the day following the king was proclaimed with great solemnity in the city.

The new sovereign convened his council in England; he made a speech to them which delighted all his subjects, and increased their attachment to his person. "I will endeavour," he said, "to preserve the government of church and state, in the manner by law established: I know that the Church of England is favourable to monarchy, and those who are members of it have made it appear on various occasions that they were faithful subjects: I will take particular care to defend and support it. I know, likewise, that the laws of the kingdom are sufficient to make the king as great as I could wish. As I am determined to preserve the prerogatives of my crown, so I will never deprive others of what belongs to them. I have often hazarded my life in defence of the nation: I am still ready to expose it to preserve its rights." These promises were preceded by bitter complaints against the malice of his enemies, who were the authors of impressions that were spread concerning the principles of despotic power with which they asserted him to be imbued.

This address of the king was received with pleasure; it was universally considered

* Hist. of Great Britain. Charles II. chap. 1. p. 158.

condescending, noble, and sublime. Soon after this addresses poured in from every quarter, filled with assurances of loyalty and gratitude for his solicitude respecting the Church of England and the liberty of the people. Cities, corporations, and universities, were all lavish in their praises and congratulations.

The parliament of England and Scotland met at the same time, to the great satisfaction of both nations. That of Scotland, of which the duke of Queensbury was president, having confirmed the acts that had been passed in the preceding reign for the security of the Protestant religion, granted to his majesty the same revenues which his brother had enjoyed: it was enacted, that the duty on all domestic and foreign goods should be annexed to the crown of Scotland. In the same session, the sum of two hundred and sixty thousand pounds a-year, for life, was voted to his majesty.

England vied with Scotland in generosity; the parliament secured to the king, during life, the revenues which his brother had enjoyed at his death, together with the funds which were allowed him while duke of York. It was proposed to take down the names of those who, in the parliaments of the preceding reign, had voted to exclude him from succeeding to the throne; but one of the secretaries having declared, that the king pardoned all who had been opposed to him, the declaration elicited new praises. On receipt of the intelligence of the rebellion of Argyle, and the invasion of the duke of Monmouth, they were both declared guilty of high treason; and being taken in arms, the earl of Argyle was put to death in Edinburgh, and Monmouth in England. The parliament renewed the trial of Oates, who had been brought to justice in the preceding reign, on charge of perjury, and never was a culprit more clearly convicted. He was condemned to pay an exorbitant fine, to be flogged, to stand in the pillory, and to be imprisoned for life.

This auspicious beginning seemed to promise to the king a happy sway. His enemies defeated, a powerful army on foot, his subjects submissive and kind, and foreign princes seeking his alliance, these were happy omens of a peaceful and glorious reign. During the first six months he reigned in the hearts of his people, but the aspect of his affairs was soon changed.

James was a Catholic and protected that religion: he was very partial to those who professed it, and caused mass to be said in the palace. This zeal for the true religion

was contrary to his worldly policy; but his real imprudence was the unbounded confidence he reposed in some members of his council who secretly betrayed him. He considered it an imperative duty to protect his own faith, and he also considered that the Catholics ought to take advantage of his reign to rescue themselves from the oppression to which they had been so long exposed. James had two objects in view—first, to grant the Catholics freedom in the exercise of their religion: and secondly, to enable them to hold public offices, from which they had been unjustly excluded. The English became alarmed, and the last step the king took in favour of his religion was considered by the Protestants as the destruction of their own. Some noblemen busied themselves in fomenting discontent among the people, and James was ruined by a plot which lord Shaftsbury had projected under Charles II.

The duke of Ormond, lord lieutenant of Ireland, having confided the government to the primate and the earl of Granard, set out for London in March, 1685. Shortly afterwards the court sent over to Ireland the earl of Clarendon, the king's brother-in-law, as lord-lieutenant, and Sir Charles Porter as chancellor. Clarendon was recalled in February, 1686, and Richard Talbot, earl of Tircconnel, who already commanded as lieutenant-general, was appointed lord deputy of Ireland. The Catholic religion began to be openly professed, the priests and friars appeared in public in the dress of their order, the ancient proprietors took possession of their estates which had been usurped by the Cromwellian soldiers, and Catholics as well as Protestants were appointed to public offices.

The league against the king gained strength every day in England. The English nobles belonging to the faction, had already crowded to Holland, to the prince of Orange, the king's son-in-law, and the conspirators solicited him to come to their assistance for the defence of their religion and liberty. Henry Sidney, and Sir — Peyton, and Sir — Gwyn, arrived secretly at the Hague, where they were favourably received. The intercourse being free, other noblemen proceeded to Holland under various pretexts.

The prince of Orange well convinced of his finding partisans in England, and conspirators to favour his views, commanded an armament to be got ready, and gave the necessary orders for an expedition to England. Before he embarked he published a manifesto, dated October 1st, specifying his

motives, and what induced him to undertake it. The complaints of the English Protestants against their king were enumerated; the means that were taken, but in vain, to remedy the disorder, were pointed out, and the object of the present enterprise was set forth. Many charges were artfully embodied, in order to prove that the king intended to destroy the religion, laws, and liberty of the nation.

France saw the misfortunes that threatened the king of England. Louis XIV., of glorious memory, apprized him of them often. The French monarch loved dearly the unhappy king of England, and gave proofs of it by offering to assist him. M. Bonrepos was commissioned to propose to send thirty thousand troops, and vessels to carry them to England. This offer was rejected by the advice of the earl of Sunderland; who pointed out, that to introduce a foreign army into England would destroy the confidence of the people: but this was already lost, in as much as bribery and a spirit of revolt pervaded both the troops and other portions of them. Though Sunderland was secretary of state and president of the king's privy council, he was not loyal. He was a determined foe to the policy of his master; and had urged more anxiously than any other, the exclusion of that prince from the throne, when the question was debated in the preceding parliament. He was, however, resolved to follow the ruling power while it would be his interest, and under James II. he professed himself a Catholic, to be enabled to serve the Protestants by betraying his master. All things being prepared for the expedition to England, the prince of Orange took leave of his states, and put to sea with a favourable wind, about the end of October. Fifty ships of war, followed by four hundred transport vessels, besides twenty frigates and some smaller craft, composed the fleet; from twelve to thirteen thousand troops, and arms for twenty thousand men, were on board. Admiral Herbert, an Englishman, commanded the van; in the rear was vice-admiral Evertzen, and the prince was in the centre. All these vessels bore the English flag with the arms of the prince of Orange, around which were these words, "for religion and liberty," and at bottom was the device of the house of Nassau, "I will maintain." A great number of English noblemen were on board the fleet. Among the general officers was count Schomberg, marshal of France,* accompanied by his son count Charles Schom-

berg, Monsieur Caillemotte, son of the marquis of Ruigny, and about three hundred French officers who were refugees in Holland. The fleet had proceeded to sea, when a violent storm, which lasted for twelve hours, dispersed the ships, and forced them to take shelter in their own ports; several foundered with their cargoes; one man only, however, and five hundred horses, perished. This loss being soon repaired, and the wind favourable, they put to sea a second time, on the 11th of November. Admiral Dartmouth, an Englishman, assured the king that he would intercept the enemy, instead of which he did not appear against them, and the prince of Orange having gained Torbay road, landed without opposition.

Immediately after landing the prince began his march; but on arriving at Exeter, he discovered the tardiness of the people to declare for him. The bishop and dean of Exeter, with the inferior clergy, had fled; the magistrates kept aloof; and after the reading of the manifestos, few of the people offered him their aid; and the commissions too, that had been given for the raising of troops, produced but a moderate effect. The appearance of things, however, soon changed. The prince marched to Salisbury, where several noblemen, distinguished for their birth, riches, and the offices they held, flocked to his standard. Amongst them were lords Colchester and Wharton, colonel Godfrey and others, together with some troops. The earl of Abingdon, captain Clarges, and several others, soon followed their example; but that which produced most surprise, was the conduct of lord Cornbury, the earl of Clarendon's eldest son, who having left the royal camp with his regiment of dragoons and three others, under pretence of driving the enemy from an out-post, joined the prince.

The king being determined to oppose the prince of Orange, marched at the head of thirty thousand men towards Salisbury, where his presence was much needed. Here his principal officers sent him a communication by their general, lord Feversham, that their conscience would not permit them to serve in opposition to the prince of Orange, since the security of religion, and the national privileges were his objects. By this conduct of the officers James lost his principal support. Lord Churchill, (afterwards duke of Marlborough,) lieutenant-general and captain of the guards, and one of his most intimate favourites, deserted him. He was followed by the duke of Grafton,* colonel Bar-

* Marshal Schomberg left France on account of his religion, and entered the service of the elector of Brandenburg, in the country of Cleves.

* One of the natural sons of Charles II. and the duchess of Cleveland.

clay, and other officers. Their example was soon imitated by the prince of Denmark, the king's son-in-law, the duke of Ormond, lord Drumlanerick, the duke of Queensbury's eldest son, and many others, who joined the prince of Orange at Sherburn.

So general a desertion made the king look to his own safety; he returned to London, and in order to secure an asylum for himself, the queen, and his son the prince of Wales, he prevailed on the count de Lausun, who was then negotiating some affairs in England, to conduct his family to France. The queen, attended by the earl and countess of Powis, the countesses de Dalmon and Montecuccully, and several other persons of distinction, left Whitehall in the night of December 19; got on board a vessel on the Thames, and having escaped the notice of the English reached Gravesend, where a ship was in readiness to receive them. After a few hours the queen landed at Calais, from whence she proceeded to Versailles. The king continued for some time longer in England; but reflecting on the deplorable state of his affairs, he found it impossible to improve them by force, and saw that he would be compelled either to resign the sceptre, or retain it under severe and disgraceful terms. The English nobility were undecided respecting the treatment they should adopt towards him; some insisted that he had no longer any right to the throne, and ought to be removed from the capital; others were for securing his person and sending him a prisoner to Breda. Protestant historians boast of the generous sentiments of the Prince of Orange on this subject; according to them, he evinced the greatest horror for any attempt against the person of his father-in-law.

In the mean time, the guards of the Prince of Orange took possession of the palaces of Whitehall and St. James, after which some noblemen were deputed to the king to recommend to him to retire to Ham. The king preferring to go to Rochester, was obliged to wait for the permission of William, which arrived at eight o'clock in the morning. He left Rochester for France, in the beginning of January, 1689; and arrived at the port of Ambleteuse, attended by the duke of Berwick, and Messrs. Sheldon and Abbadie. He then proceeded to St. Germain-en-Laye, to join the queen and prince of Wales, where he was received by King Louis with that beneficence and greatness of mind which so eminently characterized that monarch. According to Latrey, bishop of Salisbury, and other English writers, the reign of James II. ended with his flight. They allege that the

king had deserted his kingdom, and thereby had in reality abdicated his crown.

Two documents, written by the king of England, copies of which are given, will sufficiently vindicate his retreat: the first was dated Rochester, 22d December, 1688, and contains the cause and motives of his going. The second is a letter to the members of his privy council in England, dated St. Germain-en-Laye, January, 1689.

The motives which obliged the king of England to withdraw to Rochester, as written by himself, and published by his order.

"It cannot be a matter of surprise that I have retired from my country a second time. I might have expected, that the Prince of Orange would have acted otherwise, from the letter which I wrote to him by lord Feversham. But instead of answering me, he not only had the earl arrested, contrary to the rights of men, but sent his guards at eleven o'clock at night, to seize on all the avenues leading to Whitehall, and without giving me any notice, sent three noblemen, after midnight, when I was in bed, with an order to leave my palace before twelve the next day. How could I think myself secure in the power of a man who could treat me in this manner? he seized upon my kingdom, and in his first proclamation has published the most malicious observations respecting the birth of my son. I appeal to those who know me, and to himself, if in conscience, they could suspect me of such baseness, or that I were so simple as to be imposed upon in a matter of such moment. What then could be expected from a man who has used every means to make me appear to my subjects and the whole world, the most wicked of men, in which he has so well succeeded as to corrupt my army, and stir up my subjects to rebellion?"

"I was born free, and I wish to preserve my freedom; as I have willingly risked my life on many occasions, for the welfare and honour of my country, I am still ready to do the same, with the hope, though advanced in years, to deliver England from the slavery which threatens it, convinced that it would be imprudent to subject myself to a prison, which would prevent me from carrying my plans into execution. I have been therefore induced to withdraw, but shall remain near enough to return, when the nation will have discovered, that it has been deceived, under the specious pretext of religion and liberty; I hope that God will, in his mercy, move the hearts of my people to perceive their unhappy condition, and dispose them to consent to the

convening of a free parliament, in which, amongst other things, liberty of conscience to all sects will be granted; that those of my religion may be permitted to live in peace, as becomes all good Englishmen, and true Christians; and that they will not be compelled to leave their country, to which they are so strongly attached.

"Those who have a knowledge of the present state of things, will admit, that nothing would contribute more to make England prosper, than freedom of conscience, which causes some of our neighbours to fear it would be granted.

"If time would permit, many things could be added in vindication of what I have said.

"Rochester, December 22nd, 1688."

Letter of the King of England to the members of the Privy Council.

"JAMES R.

"My Lords,—So soon as we discovered, that there was no longer any security for us to remain in our kingdom of England, and that we formed the resolution of retiring for some time, our motives for thus acting, were left to be communicated to you and to our other subjects. It was also our intention to leave you our commands respecting what would be best adapted to the present state of affairs. As this, however, could not have been done without danger, we deem it right to inform you now, although it be obvious that since our accession to the crown, all care has been applied to govern our people with such moderation and justice as to remove every pretext for complaint, that we had given to these matters a greater regard since the last invasion. We know that conspiracies have been plotted, and we fear, that our subjects, who could not be destroyed but through themselves, may be drawn, under light and imaginary pretexts, into certain and inevitable ruin. To obviate this evil, we removed not only every cause of complaint but even the smallest pretext for it. For these purposes and to bring to light any thing that could justify this invasion, it had been determined by us to convene a free parliament, wherein the advice and opinion of our subjects can be obtained, and causes for the measures that have been taken assigned. To attain these objects, we granted to the city of London, and to other bodies and communities, their ancient charters and privileges, and our letters were issued for the assembling of a parliament to be held from the 15th to the 25th of January. But the Prince of Orange, finding that the ends of his declaration had been attained, and that

the people began to reflect and return to their duty; and anticipating likewise, that if the parliament met at the time specified, they would in all probability adopt measures necessary for the safety of church and state, which would tend to destroy his ambitious and unjust designs, resolved to prevent by every means the assembling of parliament. To effect this, he considered nothing would be better than to seize our royal person, and deprive us of our liberty. For as a parliament cannot be termed free when either house suffers violence, neither can it be said that it can act if the sovereign, by whose authority it has been assembled and whose sanction alone imparts validity to the laws, be actually a prisoner.

"You need not be reminded with what haste the Prince of Orange obliged us by his guards to leave London, when he discovered the city to be returning to its duty, and that he could not confide in the inhabitants: with what indignity he has insulted us in the person of earl Feversham, whom we deputed to him, and how inhumanly he caused us to be arrested. We doubt not but these matters are already too well known; we hope likewise, that when it is seen how the laws and liberties of England, which he has pretended to secure by his invasion, have been violated, nothing more will be wanting to open the eyes of our subjects, and let them see what each one has to expect, and what treatment they will receive from him, who, to carry his designs into execution, has treated with such indignity a sovereign prince, an uncle, and a father. However the resentment which we feel for these outrages, and our apprehensions that he would drive matters still further, as well as the atrocious calumnies with which he asperses our reputation, bring to our recollection the words of our dear father, that, 'the way from the prison of a prince to his tomb is short,' and convince us that we ought to recover that freedom, which the laws of nature allow, even to our meanest subject; besides, our person being in safety, it will be in our power thereby to contribute our efforts to the peace and tranquillity of our kingdom. As adverse fortune never will influence us to act in any way derogatory to the royal dignity, to which God hath raised us by the legitimate succession, neither shall the rebellion nor the ingratitude of our subjects ever make us act contrary to the true interests of the English nation, which have been and ever will be equally dear to us as our own. It is therefore our will, that you, our privy council, take very special care to make known our favourable intentions to all the

spiritual and temporal lords in our cities of London and Westminster, to the lord mayor and commonalty of London, and to all our subjects generally, and to assure them, that we desire most eagerly to return to our kingdom, and to convene a free parliament, where we may be able to undeceive our people, and convince them of the sincerity of our declarations which have been so often renewed by our avowal to preserve the liberties and properties of our subjects inviolate; to preserve the Protestant religion and church of England, as established by law, and at the same time to obtain for non-conformists, and all our subjects, all the indulgence which justice and a care for the general good of our people, oblige us to require. At the same time, you of our privy council, will communicate to us your opinions and advice respecting the means you will consider best and most prudent to pursue to promote our return, and the success of our good intentions, which you, from being in the country, have in your power to perform. We moreover command you to prevent in our name and by our royal authority, all disorders and commotions which might arise, and to endeavour to preserve the nation and all our subjects against any losses from the present revolution. As we entertain no doubt of your loyalty and obedience to our commands, we bid you farewell. Given at St. Germain-en-Laye, the 4th of January, 1689, and the fourth of our reign.

"By Command of his Majesty,

"MEELFORT.

"To the Lords and others of our Privy }
Council of our kingdom of England." }

In the height of this astonishing revolution, the Prince of Orange being informed of the state of things in Scotland, commanded the peers of that country, several of whom were in London to repair to St. James's. Thirty peers and eighty gentlemen met accordingly. William made them the same offers he had done to the English, and sought their advice in the present conjuncture of affairs, and the means necessary for the protection of religion and the laws. They then withdrew to Whitehall, where, after appointing the duke of Hamilton president of the meeting, they began to discuss the terms they had to propose to the prince. The proposal of the earl of Arran was unanimously rejected; he was son to the duke of Hamilton, and proposed to invite the king to return to Scotland and laid down terms for him to submit to. It was arranged, instead at the meeting, to surrender the government of their kingdom to the Prince of Orange, and to pray that he would

appoint the 14th March for the states of Scotland to meet. In consequence, their address was presented, and a favourable answer received: notwithstanding which, some highland lords continued still devoted to the king.

Ireland was the only part of the three kingdoms that continued faithful to the sovereign, and opposed to usurpation. The earl of Tirconnel was the lord lieutenant. There was, however, a number of wicked characters in Ireland; namely the English and Scotch fanatics whom the king's grandfather, James I., established in the north of Ireland, and on whom he bestowed the estates of the ancient proprietors; and also the parricides and soldiers to whom Cromwell gave the lands of those who supported the royal cause, and whom Charles II., brother to the present king, confirmed in their unjust possessions. These men, incapable of gratitude, on the first news of the Prince of Orange having landed in England, ran to arms and declared in his favour against the grandson and brother of the benefactors, to whom they were indebted for their fortunes. This conduct was different from what the king expected; it was in direct opposition to every sentiment of gratitude which a generous mind ought to manifest for benefits received; and falsified the detestable maxim of Clarendon, "do good to your enemies to gain them, &c." a maxim which that minister of iniquity often applied to Charles II., to secure his protection for the nefarious usurpers of the properties of his faithful subjects. The protégés of Clarendon were the first to raise the standard of rebellion in Ireland,* and favour the usurpation of the Prince of Orange. Major Poole, an officer of Cromwell, opened the scene and began hostilities. He was commander of two companies of cavalry, and wishing to levy contributions on the country, he applied to the tenants of lord Bellew. Under pain of military law, he ordered them to have five hundred pounds sterling made up for him. Lord Bellew, apprized of what was going on, sent his second son, aged eighteen years, to assist the farmers, with a company of dragoons of which he was lieutenant. The two corps having met, they fought with determined bravery, till young Bellew having

* In our history of this war we made use among other memoirs that are in our possession, of a journal which the late Edmond Butler of Kilcop, marshal-general of the Irish cavalry, left after him. He is the more worthy of belief as he was an eye-witness of what he sets forth. He died in 1725, at St. Germain-en-Laye, quarter-master of cavalry, in the service of France.

killed major Poee with a blow of his pistol on the head, his two troops were defeated. Several of whom fell in the action and the rest were put to flight.

Soon after this occurrence, Lord Blaney* made an attempt to surprise the town and castle of Ardee. A troop of cavalry which Dominick Sheldon commanded, and which belonged to the regiment of Tirconnel, was in the place, and the grenadiers of the earl of Antrim's regiment, which was commanded by Henry Fleming, was stationed in the castle. Blaney, finding his project discovered, and the little garrison determined to defend themselves, desisted from the attack. The remainder of the year 1689 was spent in raising troops and preparing for the ensuing campaign.

It was then that the nobility of Ireland raised, clothed, equipped, and armed, partly at their own expense, thirty thousand men for the king's service. There were already some old corps in Ireland, viz., the regiments of Mountcashel, Tirconnel, Clancarty, Antrim, and of some others. The viceroy gave the commissions of colonels to several of the nobles. The country gentlemen raised some companies, which, when united with those of the colonels, were formed into regiments. The regiments of Enniskillen, of Hugh Mac-Mahon, Edward Boy O'Reilly, Mac Donnel, Magennis, Cormac O'Neill, Gordon O'Neill, Felix O'Neill, Brian O'Neill, Connact Maguire, O'Donnell, Nugent, Lutterell, Fitz-Gerald, Galmoy, O'Morra, and Clare, &c., soon appeared in the field. There was no want of soldiers, but the soldiers were in want of almost every thing except courage and good will; and the nobles who underwent the first expense were not able to support it long. There were also but few officers who knew military tactics, and who had time to train and discipline the new levies. In the month of March, the earl of Tirconnel sent Richard Hamilton, lieutenant-general of the king's army, at the head of 2000 men, against Hugh Montgomery, lord Mount Alexander, who had raised a regiment for the prince of Orange, and was at the head of 8000 rebels in Ulster. Hamilton set out from Drogheda on the 8th of

March with the above force. Having passed Dundalk and Newry, he stopped at Lough Bricklan, from whence he despatched Butler of Kilcop, a cornet, to reconnoitre the enemy. This officer performed his commission valiantly. He brought an account to his general, that lord Montgomery was within three miles, at the head of 8000 men, at a place called Dromore-Iveagh. Hamilton set out on his march, and came up with the enemy, who were boldly drawn up in order of battle, at Cladyfort. Notwithstanding the superior number of the rebels, the royalists attacked them so vigorously that they took to flight, and retreated in disorder towards Hillsborough, where Montgomery left two companies of infantry in garrison. He sent the remainder of his forces to Coleraine under Sir Arthur Rydon, and sailed for England from Donaghadee.

In order to follow up his victory, general Hamilton went in pursuit of the rebels, passing through Hillsborough, and taking the troops Montgomery had left there at their own request he dismissed them. He still followed the rebels through Belfast and Antrim, as far as Coleraine, on the river Bann, but without being able to come up with them. Having encamped at Ballimoney, near Coleraine, he remained there three days to refresh his troops after their long march; he then examined into the situation and strength of the town, which in those times was considered to be strongly fortified. Having neither artillery nor ammunition to carry on a siege, he returned to Ballimoney. The day following, which was Good Friday, a strong body of rebels sallied forth to make booty of the cattle in the neighbourhood, and take provisions necessary for a place threatened with a siege; but Hamilton, with his cavalry, drove them back to the gates of the town.

The king was still in France, and saw how favourably disposed his Irish subjects were towards him, the greater part of whom had continued faithful; only three small towns, Londonderry, Coleraine, and Culmor, having rebelled in favour of the prince of Orange. The English pressed him strongly to send the necessary succours to support these towns. The royalists thought his presence might be a check to the enemy; and being encouraged and assisted by France, he set sail with the celebrated Gabaret, and landed at Kinsale in March. At Cork he was joined by the earl of Tirconnel, whom he created duke, and proceeded to Dublin.

The duke of Berwick, accompanied by several officers, arrived in the camp of Ha-

* Edward, father of lord Blaney, was one of those adventurers to whom James I. gave estates in the county of Monaghan; this monarch created him afterwards lord baron. His son, who is introduced here, was one of James II.'s greatest enemies, who was the grandson of his benefactor. He commanded a body of troops in Ulster against his king. He proclaimed every where, William, king of Great Britain, in opposition to his legitimate sovereign.

milton before Coleraine, and the same night the general was informed that the enemy had abandoned the place, after having broken the bridge. The day following he entered Coleraine, and having repaired the bridge and given the command of the place to colonel O'Morra, who commanded a regiment of infantry, he marched to Strabane, where he refreshed his troops and held a council of war. Here it was understood through a letter, that the troops of Enniskillen and Derry, making in the whole about 10,000 men, were collected at Clodybridge, on the river Finn, under the orders of major-general Lundee, for the purpose of opposing the royal army. After the contents of this letter were communicated, the council determined to march and attack the rebels. Hamilton set out with his army, and found on his arrival that the first arch of the bridge was broken, and a fort built on the other side, defended by 2,000 men drawn out in order of battle upon an eminence near the fort. To surmount these difficulties, general Hamilton posted six companies of musketeers, with orders to fire on those who were guarding the fort, for the purpose of covering some workmen sent to repair the bridge. Every thing was done with the greatest order; the arch being repaired with planks and pieces of wood, the infantry passed over without difficulty, while the cavalry was crossing the river in view of the enemy. This intrepid act disconcerted the rebels; not only those who were guarding the fort, but the whole army took to flight, some of whom retreated to Derry, and some to Enniskillen. They were pursued to Raphoe by the royalist troops, who killed many of them without any loss on their own side except that of Robert Nangle, major in the regiment of Tirconnel. After this advantage over the rebels, colonel Dundee who commanded them surrendered at Culmor and embarked for England.

Hamilton found abundance of provisions at Raphoe where he stopped, and was joined by lord Galmoy at the head of eight hundred men from the garrison of Trim. During his stay there, he received some deputies from Derry, who offered to capitulate. This garrison consisted of 6,000 men; and the general, who knew the importance of the place, promised them their lives, properties, and protection, on condition that the city would surrender at twelve o'clock next day, which terms were accepted and ratified on both sides.

The king, who had stopped in Dublin, wishing to benefit by the first moments of

ardour which his presence excited among those of his own communion, marched towards the north. The rebels were not a little alarmed at this, having previously given up Coleraine and Culmor. The prince, accompanied by M. Rose,* lord Melford, and some troops, arrived at Saint-Johnstown, between Raphoe and Derry, the same day Hamilton was in treaty with the deputies. The eagerness of the general to compliment the king on his arrival, made him likewise eager to give him an account of the campaign. The monarch signified to general Hamilton his displeasure at the terms he was about to grant to the rebels of Derry, and marched himself directly for that town with the fresh troops he had with him, and immediately summoned it to surrender at discretion. This change made by the king from the terms previously agreed upon gave great alarm to the garrison. It had been stipulated that the king's troops should not advance till the place would be evacuated, and now they began to doubt his sincerity. It was determined therefore to defend the town to the last extremity, while waiting for succours that were expected from England, and a Protestant minister named Walker took the command of the garrison.

The king ordered Hamilton to begin the siege. Artillery was accordingly sent for in April, and did not arrive till June; it consisted of two bad pieces of cannon, and two mortars, with which came some powder. The insurgents, in the mean time collected in bodies in the county of Down; but they were dispersed by some troops under major-general Bohan.

During the siege of Derry the besieged made several sallies against the besiegers, of which the first remarkable one occurred on a Sunday, with 5,000 men. King James's army, who were but 2,000 in number, received them with such firmness that they were forced to retreat with loss. The besieged made two more sallies, but they were unsuccessful as before.

The royal army was reinforced a few days afterwards by some newly raised troops, who were as yet undisciplined. The whole then amounted to 10,000 men. The trenches were opened before the place, and the garrison was so straitened for provisions that they were forced to eat dogs, cats, and leather. To lighten their numbers, six companies belonging to lord Mountjoy's regiment of infantry were embarked and sent away. It was well provided with warlike stores of

* Deputy Marshal of France.

every kind, and it had forty pieces of cannon planted upon the walls, which annoyed the besiegers considerably. The succours by which the prince of Orange intended to relieve Derry, soon made their appearance. An English fleet of twenty ships of war, and three hundred transport vessels laden with provisions, warlike stores, and six thousand troops, under the command of major-general Kirke, appeared in Loughfoyle in the beginning of August; but as some days were requisite to enter the town with safety, one Roche was despatched to inform the garrison that succours were at hand. Afraid to venture by land, he swam a distance of two miles, and fulfilled his commission to the satisfaction of his employers; for which he was afterwards amply rewarded with the estate of Glinn, within two miles of Carrigashure, which belonged to a gentleman named Everard. Two days after Roche's exploit, Captain James Hamilton entered Derry with two vessels laden with provisions, which enabled it to hold out till the arrival of the aid they were expecting with major-general Kirke. This officer succeeded, in a few days, in breaking through the obstacles which had been placed in the harbour by the royalists to prevent him from entering. Having relieved the besieged, just as they were on the point of surrendering, the royalists were forced to withdraw on the tenth of August, after a siege of seventy-three days. The king then ordered Hamilton to lead the army towards Dublin, in order to oppose marshal Schomberg, who was expected to land with an army in the neighbourhood of that city. Hamilton obeyed the king's orders, after placing a garrison in Charlemont, under captain O'Regan, an officer of high repute.

M. Rose not thinking the king's troops sufficient to oppose Schomberg, advised him to collect his forces about the centre of the kingdom, and invite all his faithful subjects to join him. In consequence of this, he soon had an army of twenty thousand men assembled at Drogheda.

In the mean time, Schomberg landed between Carrickfergus and Belfast, and besieged the former town, which was under the command of Mac-Carty More, nephew to the earl of Antrim, and lieutenant colonel of his regiment which was in the town. Mac-Carty having but one barrel of powder, was forced to surrender the castle after a feeble defence. Schomberg then proceeded towards Dundalk.

The king being arrived at Drogheda, sent two lieutenants, Butler of Kilcop and Garland, each at the head of a detachment, to

reconnoitre the enemy. One took the route to Slane, and advanced through the mountains towards Ardee, the other proceeded on the side of Lurgan Race. They brought back word to the king that Schomberg was encamped; that his right wing was stretched along Castle-Bellew, his centre extended towards Dundalk, and his left towards the sea. Upon this the king marched towards Ardee, where he stopped; and the day following sent general Hamilton with the whole of the cavalry to the village of Aphene, where he was separated from the enemy by a bog and a small river. The king arrived after a few hours with the infantry, and encamped, for some days, in presence of the enemy. The duke of Tirconnel, M. Rose, and other general officers of the army were for attacking the enemy. The opportunity was a favourable one, as sickness had got in among Schomberg's troops and out of twelve thousand men, of whom his army was at first composed, there were not more than three thousand remaining, so that if the proposed attack had been undertaken, Schomberg would have been forced to decamp, and return to his ships, three of which were in the harbour of Dundalk.

The king, by the advice of his general officers, put his army in order of battle, and marched with a design of turning the enemy, on the side of the morass. This proved only an ostentatious parade; as scarcely had they marched a league, when the prince ordered the troops to return to their camp where they continued till October, without making any attempt against the enemy. If it were permitted to censure the conduct of a wise and virtuous king, James II., might be reproached with having committed two egregious oversights, which deeply affected his cause, and eventually caused the loss of Ireland. At Derry he rejected, contrary to sound policy, a capitulation entered into between general Hamilton and the garrison of that city. This would have put into his hands that important place. It was the magazine of the north, and besides being an arsenal, it afforded to his enemies by its situation, an easy entrance into the kingdom. At Dundalk he shewed a weak compassion for the English, and an imprudent clemency towards subjects armed against their sovereign, and ready to tear the sceptre from his hands, after they had violated all the respect due to royalty. It was in these circumstances that Monsieur Rose, according to Larrey, observed to the king, "Sire, if you possessed a hundred kingdoms, you would lose them."

The royal army at Aphene, decamped the

10th October, in view of Schomberg. They marched to Ardee, where they remained till the 25th of the month, after which they went into winter-quarters. The infantry was divided among the garrisons, and the cavalry stopped in the vicinity of Tara and Killeen, in the county of Meath. Schomberg also took up his winter quarters with the small portion of his troops that had escaped the contagion.

In the month of February, 1690, the king being informed that a body of insurgents had assembled near Cavan, sent the duke of Berwick with troops to disperse them. The duke found them much superior to him in numbers—being in fact three to one. A brisk battle was fought between some English cavalry and the king's infantry, the latter of whom retired with loss. Colonel William Nugent* had a leg broken, and died of his wounds after a few days. Conly Mac-Geoghegan,† who was a colonel, and several others, were killed; after this engagement the duke of Berwick returned to Dublin.

Louis XIV., sent, at this time, seven French battalions to Ireland, under the command of Count Lausun, who was to act as general under King James. Six Irish battalions, forming the brigade of Mountcashel, were sent to France in exchange: they embarked on board the fleet of Monsieur Chateauneau, and arrived at Brest in the beginning of May.

The Prince of Orange landed in spring, in the north of Ireland, with a formidable army. King James marched in June to Dundalk. The enemy's forces amounted to forty-five thousand men, well provided with every thing, and well trained, and had with them sixty pieces of heavy cannon. The troops of King James amounted to only

twenty-three thousand men, lately raised; they were badly provided with arms, and not well disciplined; their artillery consisted of but twelve field pieces that were brought from France. This great disproportion of numbers induced the royal army to endeavour to take some posts and prevent the Prince of Orange from advancing, or at least to fight him, under disadvantage. It was therefore proposed to encamp on the heights adjoining Dundalk, which it would be difficult for him to pass. The enemy, however, by making a small circuitous movement, would be able to gain the flat country at the rear of the royal army; and therefore in order to cut off the communication, it was resolved that they should encamp beyond the Boyne river, near Drogheda.

The Prince of Orange followed, and encamped opposite King James, on the 29th June. On the day following, the enemy divided their army. The Prince of Orange with one half marched along the river as far as Slane, where he was opposed by two regiments of dragoons, commanded by Sir Neale O'Neill, who guarded the pass, but these being forced to give way, he advanced towards the royal army. The king, who witnessed this manœuvre, marched also on the same side, with the greatest part of his army, and left eight battalions commanded by lieutenant-general Hamilton, to guard the pass at Oldbridge; the cavalry, which formed the right wing, was commanded by the duke of Berwick. Schomberg, who continued on the opposite side, attacked Oldbridge, and meeting a feeble resistance from some newly raised and inexperienced corps, particularly two regiments of Clare dragoons, commanded by Charles O'Brien, second son of lord Clare, he made himself master of the place. Upon this, Hamilton proceeded down with seven other battalions to drive away the enemy; but their cavalry having discovered another ford which they crossed, advanced upon the infantry with the hope of cutting the royal army into two, whereupon the duke of Berwick moved his cavalry to cover the retreat of the battalions; but he had to begin a very unequal attack, both from the number of their squadrons, and the disadvantage of the ground, which was greatly intersected, and made more embarrassing by the enemy's having slipped some infantry into it. The charge was renewed ten times, and at length, the infantry making an obstinate stand, the cavalry halted: after which they formed again and marched at a slow pace to join the king.

The king in the mean time having reformed his troops, in order to attack the Prince of

* He was brother to the earl of Westmeath; he was an intrepid soldier, but rash.

† He was son of Charles Mac-Geoghegan of Sionan, a branch of the Mac-Geoghegans of Kinalagh, in the county of Westmeath. Conly studied the military art in France, where he served for some time, and passed as a good officer. The father and seven sons, of whom Conly was the eldest, served under King James with distinction in his war against the Prince of Orange. Of the seven brothers, five were killed in this war, the other two followed the fortunes of their king into France, the eldest of whom, named Anthony, was created a chevalier or knight. Charles, the youngest, died while captain of grenadiers in the regiment of Berwick; he left three sons: there is still living one named Alexander, in the regiment of Lally: he distinguished himself in the Indies, September 30th, 1759, at the battle of Vandaviohi, where he commanded in the absence of Lally, and had the honour of defeating the English army, much superior to his in number.

Orange, found himself embarrassed by a bog that separated the two armies; whereupon, fearing that he would be surrounded by the army that had succeeded in taking the pass at Oldbridge, he wheeled to the left, to gain the river at Duleek, called the Nanny Water. The duke of Berwick arrived with the cavalry, at the moment the king had crossed the stream with the troops; but those of the Prince of Orange who were continually advancing, arrived at the same time, which obliged the duke of Berwick to pass a defile, in full gallop and in disorder. The whole army having rallied on the other side of the river, put themselves in order of battle. The enemy did the same opposite to them, but did not dare to attack them. After some pause they began to march, and were followed by a part of the enemy. Upon their reaching a defile, and halting, even the enemy did the same. This inactivity of the latter might have been caused by the death of Schomberg, who was killed at the passage of Oldbridge; he was the best general in the army of the Prince of Orange. Whatever might have been the cause, the enemy suffered the king's army to withdraw, who were now ordered (the night having come on) to march to Dublin. This they effected the following morning, and thence the duke of Tirconnel led his troops to Limerick. Each colonel received orders to lead his regiment by whatever routes they thought best, which they executed in good order. Brigadier Sur-lauben formed the re-re-guard with his brigade, and the French whom Monsieur Lausun brought to Ireland the year before, marched through Cork for Kinsale, and embarked for France.

The king seeing from the ill success he had in the battle of the Boyne, that he could not save Dublin, thought it best to give the command to Tirconnel, and return to France. After this he stopped in the city but one night; he then proceeded direct to Waterford, where he was received by Sir Nicholas Porter, the mayor, and embarked for France.

The dukes of Tirconnel and Lausun arrived in Limerick. They were pursued by the prince of Orange, which obliged Tirconnel to send most of his cavalry across the Shannon, and quarter them in the county of Clare. The infantry he placed in the garrisons of Limerick, Athlone, Cork and Kinsale. It was then that Lausun said, with an oath, while viewing the fortifications of Limerick, "that his master would take it with roast apples." The prince of Orange, in the mean time, having collected his forces, encamped within cannon shot of Limerick,

on the 19th of August. The duke of Tirconnel, having given the necessary orders for its defence, appointed Monsieur Boisseleau, a captain of the French guards, and four Irish officers to act as brigadiers under him, to command the garrison. M. de Lausun proceeded to Galway with the remainder of the French troops, to embark for France. The prince of Orange summoned the commander of Limerick to surrender the city, but the answer of this brave officer soon led him to believe that the siege would be long and obstinate. Heavy artillery therefore was then ordered for carrying it on. Colonel Sarsfield, who commanded a body of 500 cavalry, being informed that the enemy were bringing a part of the artillery by land, crossed the Shannon at Killaloe, and by forced marches arrived before day at Cullin, where he surprised the convoy. He put the soldiers who were guarding it to the sword, and having then spiked the cannon and broken the copper boats that were intended for the construction of a bridge across the Shannon, to facilitate the crossing of troops, he blew up the remaining part of the artillery with the powder taken with the convoy. The explosion was so great that it was heard at the distance of fifteen miles round. Sarsfield after making a great booty in horses and other things, marched through Banaghair, where he crossed the Shannon and returned to his camp.

The expedition of Sarsfield amazed the prince of Orange and considerably deranged his operations; he was heard to say, that he did not imagine that Sarsfield was capable of so able a manœuvre. The prince, however, still continued the siege. The besiegers and the besieged were brave in their attacks and defence. A breach being at length effected by the English artillery, six thousand men supported by an equal number having mounted to the assault, were immediately hurled back, attended with a loss of many lives. Thirty pieces of cannon played incessantly upon the place, and the breach being increased, the enemy returned to the assault but with less success than at first. They were pursued to their very camp to the heavy disappointment of the prince of Orange, who rebuked his soldiers with bitterness. Boisseleau, the commander of the place, made the English feel what the Irish when well disciplined and commanded were able to do. The prince of Orange raised the siege after fourteen days; the army decamped under general Ginkle in great disorder, after setting fire to the houses in which the sick and wounded

lay. They marched from thence to Birr, while in the mean time the prince of Orange had himself escorted to Waterford, and embarked for England.

As soon as the prince of Orange landed in England, lord Churchill, afterwards duke of Marlborough, was sent to Ireland with a reinforcement of troops and artillery, to lay siege to Kinsale and afterwards to Cork. Both towns capitulated. The former was commanded by colonel Scot, the latter by brigadier Mac-Elligot; they and their garrisons surrendered prisoners of war, and the officers were sent to England. The duke of Tirconnel, the count of Lausun and Monsieur Boisseleau went at this time to France, having confided the affairs of the kingdom to the duke of Berwick. A misunderstanding began now to break out between the Catholic leaders of the royal army and the duke of Tirconnel. Without consulting him, agents were deputed to France where king James was residing, to solicit aid, and to know from the prince himself in whom they were to confide. The agents were, colonels Purcell, baron of Luoghne, Lutterel, and Macclesfield; in consequence of this deputation, M. de Saint Ruth* was sent in the Spring to take the command, and the chevalier de Tesse, in quality of field-marshal with warlike stores and provisions.

The campaign began about the end of June, 1691, by besieging Ballymore and Athlone. Colonel Ulick Burke was commander of the former of these two places: the marquis d'Usson, and the chevalier Tesse commanded Athlone. Baron Ginkle, who was commander of the Protestant army, left Mullingar the 6th of June. He marched towards Ballymore, which he summoned to surrender, and having received a doubtful answer from the governor, he ordered an attack. A breach being effected, and the garrison finding themselves unequal to defend the place, surrendered at discretion. The general after this put it into a state of defence, and marched towards Athlone. This place, one of the most important in the kingdom, is situated on the river Shannon, which divides it into two, forming thereby two towns, separated by a bridge; that on the east is called the English; that on the west, the Irish town. The English town, being the weaker, was attacked first—the fire of the cannon and musketry was so well kept up that it surrendered 29th June. Before the attack, the duke of Tirconnel ad-

vised Saint Ruth to destroy the fortifications of the Irish town, and to lead the army to oppose and prevent Ginkle from crossing the bridge over the Shannon, as by this means he would be able to arrest his progress. But his advice being neglected by Saint Ruth, Ginkle had time to erect batteries against the Irish town, and his army having crossed by a ford, in presence of St. Ruth who was encamped near the place, a general assault was made the 10th of July. The place was immediately carried, after a vigorous defence. More than a thousand of the Irish were killed, and three hundred taken prisoners.

After Athlone was taken the army of king James marched to Ballinasloe, where they stopped the day following. It was here that Tirconnel gave up the command. He surrendered it to the marquis de Saint Ruth. This general marched his army the day following, and having crossed the river Suck, he encamped at Aughrim, which was a very advantageous position. The castle of Aughrim, situate at the head of a causeway, being the only place through which the enemy could pass, protected its front; on the other side it was surrounded by a bog of great extent. The enemy, who were in pursuit of the Irish army, appeared on Monday the 22nd, within view of the camp, and began to defile through the causeway. Colonel Walter Burke was posted with his regiment in the castle to oppose their passage, but, through some error fatal to the cause he was engaged in, he was prevented from accomplishing his object. Having ordered the necessary ammunition to be sent for to the camp, four barrels of powder, and as many of ammunition were forwarded; but instead of musket he found cannon balls which were of no use. In consequence of this the enemy's cavalry passed safely through the causeway, while the infantry were crossing the bog, and were drawn up in order of battle before the Irish army. Saint Ruth, like a skilful general, omitted nothing to resist them with effect. The battle began at one o'clock with equal fury on both sides, and lasted till night. James's infantry performed prodigies of valour, driving the enemy three times back to their cannon. It is said that at the third repulse Saint Ruth threw his hat into the air with joy; but immediately after he unfortunately fell by a cannon ball. His death soon changed the fortune of the day; dreadful disorder followed, the soldiers being left without a commander, the infantry, unsupported by the cavalry, were crushed by the enemy's horse, and the

* He was after returning from Savoy, where he commanded with distinction the troops of his master.

rout became general. The flower of the Irish army perished on this unhappy day, and had it not been for the presence of mind of the almoner of a regiment, called O'Reilly, who made a drum-major beat to the charge on a hill near the bog through which James's army was to march, the loss would have been still greater. By this stratagem the vanquished gained sufficient time to take the road for Limerick.

After the defeat of James's army at Aughrim, Galway and Sligo surrendered to the English, and Ginkle laid siege to Limerick on the 5th of September. Monsieur d'Usson had commanded the garrison since the death of Tirconnel, which took place on the 24th of August from excessive grief for the late reverses in the affairs of the king. D'Usson defended himself with a bravery equal to that of Boisseleau, but not with the same success. General Sarsfield attempted in vain to get four thousand horses into the town; the cannon and bombs of the enemy played day and night upon the place, and after a siege of five weeks, the money and provisions of the garrison being exhausted, d'Usson thought it more prudent to accept the conditions proposed by the enemy, and to save what troops he had remaining, than to let all perish by an obstinate resistance. The treaty was entered into, and the capitulation signed on the 13th of October, on terms which could not be more honourable or advantageous to the vanquished.

The treaty of Limerick contained forty-two articles, twenty-nine of which had reference to the military. By this treaty the partizans of James had permission not only to leave Limerick, but also the kingdom, with the most glorious testimony which can be accorded to the brave, that of having made a gallant defence. They were permitted to take with them all they possessed, viz., chattles, plate, jewels, &c. The like privileges were granted to other garrisons, and to every Irish family who wished to go to France. Vessels were also to be provided for the removal of their persons and properties, and nothing was omitted from the stipulation which could contribute to the safety and convenience of their voyage.

After the treaty was concluded, the Irish army collected near Quine Abbey, in the county of Clare, where it was resolved, that, in conformity with the Articles of capitulation, those who wished to go to France should send in their names to Monsieur Tameron, who had been sent to Ireland by the French court. The English generals thought that very few would willingly go

into exile, but they were surprised to witness the numbers who signed for their removal, preferring to share the fate of their king, and enter the service of a foreign prince who had favoured their cause, than to submit to the laws of an usurper at home. Then it was that these generals regretted having consented to their emigration. Four thousand five hundred men marched direct to Cork, under Sarsfield, Lord Lucan, and other general officers, where after remaining about a month they sailed for France, and landed at Brest on the 3rd of December. At the same time d'Usson and Tesse arrived from Limerick, on board the squadron of M. de Chateau Renaud, with four thousand seven hundred and thirty-six Irish soldiers, besides officers. Major general Wachop sailed soon afterwards, with about three thousand men on board English vessels, and these were followed by two companies of the king's body guards. According to the report of the commissioners, the whole of the Irish troops, including the officers, who followed James to France, amounted to nineteen thousand and fifty-nine men. Louis XIV. received them with kindness, and offered them honourable terms which they accepted. They frequently received the most flattering praises from this great monarch for their zeal and attachment. Lord Mountcashel always commanded the Irish brigade, which bore his name.

Louis XIV. having sent seven French battallions to Ireland, in the beginning of the year 1690, whether that he required the same number of Irish troops in return, or that James II., who was at that time in the country, thought proper to send them, three Irish regiments arrived at Brest in the beginning of May, on board French ships, under the command of Justin Mac-Carty viscount Mountcashel, a lieutenant-general in England, and who still retained his rank in France. The regiments composing this brigade were, Mountcashel's—an old regiment of long standing—O'Brien's and Dillon's, each consisting of two battallions, containing one thousand six hundred men, divided into sixteen companies. On their arrival in France, Mountcashel entered into an arrangement for this corps, by which the officers were to be paid as they are at present:* and the soldiers a penny a-day more than the French.

This corps was sent to Savoy, where they distinguished themselves under marshal de Catinat, in the reduction of that province;

* A. D. 1754.

particularly at the battle of Marseilles, gained by the French on the 4th of November, 1693. Daniel O'Brien, colonel of the regiment that bore his name, having inherited his father's title, who had lately died, called it the Clare regiment. He died at Pignerol; monsieur de Lee succeeded to his command. Having quarrelled with Squiddy, the major of the regiment, he had him confined in the castle of Briancon, and expelled the year following, and the majority given to Murrough O'Brien, who, after serving first in Hamilton's regiment, entered that of Greder, a German. He had the rank of captain in Greder's, from which he exchanged into the Clare regiment, still retaining his rank.

Lord Mountcashel having died at Barege, from a wound in the chest which he received in Savoy the year he went to France, his regiment was given to de Lee, and afterwards called Bulkely's regiment. Talbot, brigadier colonel of the Limerick regiment, was appointed to the one de Lee had left. Talbot was natural son of the duke of Tirconnel; he had served in France from his youth, and was deemed an able officer; he went to court in the March following his appointment, where he was arrested and sent to the Bastille, for some inconsiderate observations which were communicated to the king. He remained a year in prison, and his regiment was given to Charles O'Brien, viscount Clare, brother to him who died at Pignerol, after the battle of Marseille.

Charles O'Brien went to France in 1691, after the surrender of Limerick, as captain of James II.'s body guard. It is probable, that his regiment of dragoons, which he commanded at the battle of the Boyne, had been disbanded in Ireland. After the battle of Marseille, he was appointed to the queen of England's regiment of dragoons, O'Carrol, the colonel, having been killed. He revived the name of the *Clare regiment*; he was killed in 1706, at the battle of Ramillies, and his regiment given to lieutenant-colonel Murrough O'Brien, who was descended from the house of Carrigoiniol, a branch of the O'Brien family. When lieutenant-colonel, he distinguished himself at the battle of Ramillies, by taking two stand of colours from the enemy, which were deposited in the house of the Irish Benedictines at Ypres. His skilful manœuvre at Pallue, by which he saved Cambray, is still greater proof of his talents; after it he received the rank of field marshal of the king's army. "If the Marshal de Montesquieu had done him the justice due to him for the affair at Pallue," says Thomond, "he would have had a greater

share in the king's favour than he possessed."* Murrough O'Brien retained the command of this regiment, under the name of O'Brien's regiment till his death, which took place in 1720. He left a son called Daniel, a colonel of foot in the service of King Louis who was created a knight of St. Lazarus, in 1716; a peer of Ireland, under the title of earl of Lismore, in 1747, and received the grand cross of the royal and military order of St. Louis, in 1750. He died at Rome in 1759.

Dillon's was the only regiment of lord Mountcashel's brigade, that retained its name. It was raised in Ireland by lord Dillon's grandfather, and commanded by Arthur Dillon, his second son, lieutenant-general of the king's army. He died at St. Germain-en-Laye, in 1734. This nobleman added to his illustrious birth superior skill in the art of war, and his exploits have been celebrated in the annals of France. He left several sons, the eldest of whom succeeded his uncle lord Dillon. Two were killed at the head of their regiments, at the battles of Fontenoy and Lawfeld, and the last has been lately translated from the archbishopric of Toulouse, to that of Narbonne.

The troops which had lately arrived in France, after the treaty of Limerick, were new-modelled in 1695, and reduced to twelve regiments, the command of which was given to those who had most influence at the court of St. Germain. These regiments, called the troops of the king of England, were,

The king's regiment of cavalry:—Dominick Sheldon, colonel; Edmond Prendergast, lieutenant-colonel; Edmond Butler, major; 4 captains, 6 lieutenants, 6 cornets.

The queen's regiment of cavalry:—lord Galmoy, colonel; René de Carné, a Frenchman, lieutenant-colonel; James Tobin, major; 4 captains, 6 lieutenants, 6 cornets.

The king's regiment of dragoons:—lord viscount Kilmallock (Sarsfield), colonel; Turanne O'Carroll, lieutenant-colonel; de Salles, a Frenchman, major; 5 captains, 14 lieutenants, 14 cornets.

The queen's regiment of dragoons:—Charles Viscount Clare, colonel; Alexander Barnawal, lieutenant-colonel; Charles Maxwell, major; 5 captains, 14 lieutenants, 14 Cornets.

The king's infantry regiment of guards:—William Dorington, colonel; Oliver O'Gara, lieutenant-colonel; John Rothe, major; 12 captains, 28 lieutenants, 28 sub-lieutenants, 14 ensigns.

The queen's regiment of infantry:—Simon

* Memoirs of Thomond, on the year 1712.

Luttrell, colonel; Francis Wachop, lieutenant-colonel; James O'Brien, major; 12 captains, 28 lieutenants, 28 sub-lieutenants, 14 ensigns.

An infantry regiment of marines:—The Lord Grand-prior, colonel; Nicholas Fitzgerald, lieutenant-colonel; Richard Nugent, second lieutenant-colonel; Edmond O'Madden major; 11 captains, 28 lieutenants, 28 sub-lieutenants, 14 ensigns.

The Limerick regiment of infantry:—Sir John Fitzgerald, colonel; Jeremiah O'Mahony, lieutenant-colonel; William Theasy, major; 12 captains, 28 lieutenants, 28 sub-lieutenants, 14 ensigns.

The Charlemont regiment of infantry:—Gordon O'Neill, colonel; Hugh Mac-Mahon lieutenant-colonel; Edmond Murphy, major; 12 captains, 28 lieutenants, 28 sub-lieutenants, 14 ensigns.

Dublin regiment of infantry:—John Power, colonel; John Power, lieutenant-colonel; Theobald Burke, major; 12 captains, 28 lieutenants, 28 sub-lieutenants, 14 ensigns.

The Athlone regiment of infantry:—Walter Burke, colonel; Owen Mac-Carty, lieutenant-colonel; Edmond Cantwell, major; 12 captains, 28 lieutenants, 28 sub-lieutenants, 14 ensigns.

Clancarty regiment of infantry—Roger Mac-Eligot, colonel; Edward Scott, lieutenant-colonel; Cornelius Murphy, major; 6 captains, 16 lieutenants, 16 sub-lieutenants, 8 ensigns.

Out of the regiments which the Irish nobility had raised in 1689, for the service of James II., several were disbanded in Ireland. Most of those who went to France, were embodied with those we have just been enumerating; the colonels descending to the rank of captain, and the captains to that of lieutenants. The regiments of O'Neill, O'Donnel, Mac-Donnel, Maguire, Mac-Mahon, Magennis, were formed into one; Edmond (Bouy) O'Reilly's, (chief of the ancient tribe of the O'Reillys of Cavan,) shared the same fate. He had raised two regiments in Ireland for the king's service—one of dragoons, the other of infantry: the former was disbanded in Ireland, and the latter, which he brought to France, was embodied with others; consequently this nobleman remained without any regiment. His grandson, a captain in the regiment of Dillon, was considered chief of the O'Reillys.

The first change made in the Irish troops continued till the peace of Pyswick in 1697. In 1698, James II.'s body-guard and Galmoy's regiment were disbanded. Sheldon's which was afterwards known as Nugent's,

and then as Fitzjames's, was reduced to two squadrons. The infantry regiments and foot dragoons, consisting of seventeen battalions, were reduced to five, of one battalion each, and the companies which had previously consisted of one hundred men, were reduced to fifty. These regiments were known by the names of Dorington, who had belonged to the foot guards, Rothe, Burke, Albemarle, Fitzgerald, Berwick, and Galmoy, their commanders. The regiments of Lee, Clare, and Dillon, underwent a similar change, in which state they continued till 1701, when a sub-lieutenant was added to each company.

From 1705 to 1711, each company of fifty men had a foot captain, a second captain, a lieutenant, two second lieutenants, a sub-lieutenant and ensign. In 1712, each company was restored with respect to officers, to the footing on which it had been in 1701, and a brigade formed of the half-pay officers.

The regiments of Burke and Dillon were engaged at the battle of Cremona, February, 1702, in which they particularly distinguished themselves, and contributed mainly to the defeat of the enemy. As a mark of his satisfaction, the king increased the pay of the foot captains, not only of these regiments, but of three others which were on a footing with the French, to twenty-five pence a day, and the lieutenants to twelve pence. The pay of the second captains and lieutenants was increased in proportion. The soldiers also received one penny a-day additional. Dillon's regiment received their reward in hand, as they already had high pay.

Sheldon's regiment of cavalry, to which a squadron was added, consisted of three squadrons in the war of 1700. They distinguished themselves at the battle of Spire, on the 24th November, 1703; and the half-pay captains and lieutenants who served with it, received an increase of pay.

In 1708, the king of Spain began to raise two regiments of dragoons, and three Irish battalions, consisting of the prisoners taken from the English army in the battle of Almanza. These corps were officered by the half-pay officers who had served with the Irish regiments in France.

Peace having been concluded at Radstad, on the 6th of March, 1714, between France and the emperor, the regiments of Lee, Clare, Dillon, Rothe, and Berwick, were increased from twelve to fifteen companies, consisting each of forty men. In order to make up the three new companies, the regiments of O'Donnel which had previously belonged to Fitzgerald and Galmoy, and a second battalion which was added to Berwick's, were dis-

banded. O'Donnel's was divided between the regiments of Lee and Clare; Galmoy's and Berwick's second battalions were joined to those of Dillon, Rothe, and Berwick.

From calculations, and researches that have been made at the war-office, it has been ascertained, that, from the arrival of the Irish troops in France, in 1691, to 1745, the year of the battle of Fontenoy, more than four hundred and fifty thousand Irishmen died in the service of France.

Burke applied for, and obtained permission for his regiment, which had often served in Spain, (in order to avoid shifting,) to offer its services to the king of Spain. This being granted, he proceeded to that country, and subsequently served with distinction in Sicily, Africa, and Italy, during the war of 1783, under the king of the two Sicilies, to whom his father the king of Spain, had sent him in 1758. Burke's regiment remained in Naples; it was called the king's corps, and received an addition of two battalions.

Through the changes which took place among the Irish troops in France, the king of Spain was enabled to increase his three Irish regiments of foot by a battalion each, so that he has six made up of the supernumerary men who remained unemployed in France. They served at Oran in Sicily, and in Italy in 1783, 1784, with the highest distinction—four of these battalions, with the Walloon guards, were successful, in 1713, in repulsing the enemy at Veletry, and in saving Don Philip, who was in danger of being taken prisoner.

ARTICLES AGREED UPON THE THIRD DAY OF OCTOBER, ONE THOUSAND SIX HUNDRED AND NINETY-ONE.

Between the Right Honourable Sir Charles Porter Knight, and Thomas Conningsby, Esq., Lords Justices of Ireland; and his Excellency the Baron de Ginkle, Lieutenant-General, and Commander-in-chief of the English army; on the one part, And the Right Honourable Patrick Earl of Lucan, Piercy Viscount Galmoy, Colonel Nicholas Purcel, Colonel Nicholas Cusack, Sir Toby Butler, Colonel Garret Dillon, and Colonel John Brown; on the other part:

In the behalf of the Irish inhabitants in the city and county of Limerick, the counties of Clare, Kerry, Cork, Sligo, and Mayo. In consideration of the surrender of the city of Limerick, and other agreements made between the said Lieutenant General Ginkle, the Governor of the city of Limerick, and the Generals of the Irish ar-

my, bearing date with these presents, for the surrender of the said city, and submission of the said army: it is agreed, That,

I. THE Roman Catholics of this kingdom shall enjoy such privileges in the exercise of their religion, as are consistent with the laws of Ireland; or as they did enjoy in the reign of king Charles the Second: and their majesties, as soon as their affairs will permit them to summon a parliament in this kingdom, will endeavour to procure the said Roman Catholics such farther security in that particular, as may preserve them from any disturbance upon the account of their said religion.

II. All the inhabitants or residents of Limerick, or any other garrison now in the possession of the Irish, and all officers and soldiers, now in arms, under any commission of king James, or those authorised by him, to grant the same in the several counties of Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, and Mayo, or any of them; and all the commissioned officers in their majesties quarters that belong to the Irish regiments, now in being, that are treated with, and who are not prisoners of war, or have taken protection, and who shall return and submit to their majesties' obedience; and their and every of their heirs, shall hold, possess, and enjoy, all and every their estates of freehold and inheritance; and all the rights, titles and interests, privileges and immunities, which they, and every or any of them held, enjoyed, or were rightly and lawfully entitled to, in the reign of king Charles II., or at any time since, by the laws and statutes that were in force in the said reign of king Charles II., and shall be put in possession, by order of the government, of such of them as are in the king's hands, or the hands of his tenants, without being put to any suit or trouble therein; and all such estates shall be freed and discharged from all arrears of crown-rents, quit-rents, and other public charges, incurred and become due since Michaelmas 1688, to the day of the date hereof: and all persons comprehended in this article, shall have, hold, and enjoy all their goods and chattles, real and personal, to them, or any of them belonging, and remaining either in their own hands, or the hands of any persons whatsoever, in trust for, or for the use of them, or any of them: and all, and every the said persons, of what profession, trade, or calling soever they be, shall and may use, exercise, and practise their several and respective professions, trades, and callings, as freely as they did use, exercise, and enjoy the

same in the reign of king Charles II, provided that nothing in this article contained be construed to extend to, or restore any forfeiting person now out of the kingdom, except what are hereafter comprised: provided also, that no person whatsoever shall have or enjoy the benefit of this article, that shall neglect or refuse to take the oath of allegiance made by act of parliament in England, in the first year of the reign of their present majesties, when thereunto required.

III. All merchants, or reputed merchants of the city of Limerick, or of any other garrison now possessed by the Irish, or of any town or place in the counties of Clare or Kerry, who are absent beyond the seas, that have not bore arms since their majesties declaration in February, 1688, shall have the benefit of the second article, in the same manner as if they were present; provided such merchants, and reputed merchants, do repair into this kingdom within the space of eight months from the date hereof.

IV. The following officers, viz., colonel Simon Lutterel, captain Rowland White, Maurice Eustace of Yermanstown, Chievers of Maystown, commonly called Mount-Leinster, now belonging to the regiments in the aforesaid garrisons and quarters of the Irish army, who were beyond the seas, and sent thither upon affairs of their respective regiments, or the army in general, shall have the benefit and advantage of the second article, provided they return hither within the space of eight months from the date of these presents, and submit to their majesties government, and take the above-mentioned oath.

V. That all and singular the said persons comprised in the second and third articles, shall have a general pardon of all attainders, outlawries, treasons, misprisions of treason, premunires, felonies, trespasses, and other crimes and misdemeanours whatsoever, by them, or any of them, committed since the beginning of the reign of king James II. and if any of them are attainted by parliament, the lords justices, and general, will use their best endeavours to get the same repealed by parliament, and the outlawries to be reversed gratis, all but writing-clerks fees.

VI. And whereas these present wars have drawn on great violences on both parts; and that if leave were given to the bringing all sorts of private actions, the animosities would probably continue, that have been too long on foot, and the public disturbances last: for the quieting and settling therefore of this kingdom, and avoiding those inconveniencies which would be the necessary consequence of the contrary, no person or persons what-

soever, comprised in the foregoing articles, shall be sued, molested, or impleaded at the suit of any party or parties whatsoever, for any trespasses by them committed, or for any arms, horses, money, goods, chattles, merchandizes, or provisions whatsoever, by them seized or taken during the time of the war. And no person or persons whatsoever, in the second or third articles comprised, shall be sued, impleaded, or made accountable for the rents or mesne rates of any lands, tenements, or houses, by him or them received, or enjoyed in this kingdom, since the beginning of the present war, to the day of the date hereof, nor for any waste or trespass by him or them committed in any such lands, tenements, or houses: and it is also agreed, that this article shall be mutual and reciprocal on both sides.

VII. Every nobleman and gentleman comprised in the said second and third article, shall have liberty to ride with a sword, and case of pistols, if they think fit; and keep a gun in their houses, for the defence of the same, or for fowling.

VIII. The inhabitants and residents in the city of Limerick, and other garrisons, shall be permitted to remove their goods, chattles, and provisions, out of the same, without being viewed and searched, or paying any manner of duties, and shall not be compelled to leave the houses or lodgings they now have, for the space of six weeks next ensuing the date hereof.

IX. The oath to be administered to such Roman Catholics as submit to their majesties government, shall be the oath abovesaid, and no other.

X. No person or persons who shall at any time hereafter break these articles, or any of them, shall thereby make, or cause any other person or persons to forfeit or lose the benefit of the same.

XI. The lords justices and general do promise to use their utmost endeavours, that all the persons comprehended in the above-mentioned articles, shall be protected and defended from all arrests and executions for debt or damage, for the space of eight months next ensuing the date hereof.

XII. Lastly, the lords justices and general do undertake, that their majesties will ratify these articles within the space of eight months, or sooner, and use their utmost endeavours that the same shall be ratified and confirmed in parliament.

XIII. And whereas colonel John Brown stood indebted to several Protestants, by judgments of record, which appearing to the late government, the lord Tyrconnel, and

lord Lucan, took away the effects the said John Brown had to answer the said debts, and promised to clear the said John Brown of the said debts; which effects were taken for the public use of the Irish, and their army; for freeing the said lord Lucan of his said engagement, past on their public account, for payment of the said Protestants, and for preventing the ruin of the said John Brown, and for satisfaction of his creditors, at the instance of the lord Lucan, and the rest of the persons aforesaid, it is agreed, that the said lords justices, and the said baron De Ginkle, shall intercede with the king and parliament, to have the estates secured to Roman Catholics, by articles and capitulation in this kingdom, charged with, and equally liable to the payment of so much of the same debts, as the said lord Lucan, upon stating accounts with the said John Brown, shall certify under his hand, that the effects taken from the said Brown amount unto; which account is to be stated, and the balance certified by the said lord Lucan in one and twenty days after the date hereof.

For the true performance hereof, we have hereunto set our hands,

CHAS. PORTER, THO. CONINGSBY,
BAR. DE GINKLE.

Present—

Scravenmore, H. Maccay, T. Talmash.

And whereas the said city of Limerick hath been since, in pursuance of the said articles, surrendered unto us. Now know ye, that we having considered of the said articles, are graciously pleased hereby to declare, that we do for us, our heirs, and successors, as far as in us lies, ratify and confirm the same, and every clause, matter, and thing therein contained. And as to such parts thereof, for which an act of parliament shall be found to be necessary, we shall recommend the same to be made good by parliament, and shall give our royal assent to any bill or bills that shall be passed by our two houses of parliament to that purpose. And whereas it appears unto us, that it was agreed between the parties to, the said articles, that after the words, Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, Mayo, or any of them, in the second of the said articles, the words following, viz. "And all such as are under their protection in the said counties," should be inserted, and be part of the said articles. Which words having been casually omitted by the writer, the omission was not discovered till after the said articles were signed, but was taken notice of before the second town was surrendered: and that our said justices, and general, or one of them,

did promise that the said clause should be made good, it being within the intention of the capitulation, and inserted in the fowl draught thereof. Our further will and pleasure is, and we do hereby ratify and confirm the said omitted words, viz. "And all such as are under their protection in the said counties," hereby for us, our heirs and successors, ordaining and declaring, that all and every person and persons therein concerned, shall and may have, receive, and enjoy the benefit thereof, in such and the same manner, as if the said words had been inserted in their proper place, in the said second article; any omission, defect, or mistake in the said second article, in any wise notwithstanding. Provided always, and our will and pleasure is, that these our letters patents shall be enrolled in our court of Chancery in our said kingdom of Ireland, within the space of one year next ensuing. In witness, &c. witness our self at Westminster, the twenty-fourth day of February, anno regni regis & reginæ Gulielmi & Mariæ quarto per breve de privato sigillo. Nos autem tenorem premissor. predict. Ad requisitionem attornat. general. domini regis & dominæ reginæ pro regno Hiberniæ. Duximus exemplificand. per presentes. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Testibus nobis ipsis apud Westmon. quinto die Aprilis annoq. regni eorum quarto.

BRIDGES.

Examinat. per nos

S. KECK.

LACON WM. CHILDE.

} In Cancel
} Magistros.

MILITARY ARTICLES agreed upon between the Baron De Ginkle, Lieutenant General, and Commander in Chief of the English army, on the one side.

And the Lieutenant Generals De Ussoon and De Tesse, Commanders in Chief of the Irish Army, on the other; and the General Officers hereunto subscribing.

I. THAT all persons without any exceptions, of what quality or condition soever, that are willing to leave the kingdom of Ireland, shall have free liberty to go to any country beyond the seas (England and Scotland excepted) where they think fit, with their families, household-stuff, plate, and jewels.

II. That all general officers, colonels, and generally all other officers of horse, dragoons, and foot-guards, troopers, dragooners, soldiers of all kinds that are in any garrison, place, or post, now in the hands of the Irish, or encamped in the counties of Cork, Clare, and Kerry, as also those called Rapparees, or volunteers, that are willing to go beyond

seas as aforesaid, shall have free leave to embark themselves wherever the ships are that are appointed to transport them, and to come in whole bodies as they are now composed, or in parties, companies, or otherwise, without having any impediment, directly or indirectly.

III. That all persons above-mentioned, that are willing to leave Ireland and go into France, shall have leave to declare it at the times and places hereafter mentioned, viz. the troops in Limerick, on Tuesday next in Limerick; the horse at their camp on Wednesday, and the other forces that are dispersed in the counties of Clare, Kerry, and Cork, on the 8th instant, and on none other, before Monsieur Tameron, the French intendant, and colonel Withers; and after such declaration is made, the troops that will go into France must remain under the command and discipline of their officers that are to conduct them thither: and deserters of each side shall be given up, and punished accordingly.

IV. That all English and Scotch officers that serve now in Ireland, shall be included in this capitulation, as well for the security of their estates and goods in England, Scotland, and Ireland, (if they are willing to remain here) as for passing freely into France, or any other country to serve.

V. That all the general French officers, the intendant, the engineers, the commissaries at war, and of the artillery, the treasurer, and other French officers, strangers, and all others whatsoever, that are in Sligo, Ross, Clare, or in the army, or that do trade or commerce, or are otherways employed in any kind of station or condition, shall have free leave to pass into France, or any other country, and shall have leave to ship themselves, with all their horses, equipage, plate, papers, and all their effects whatever; and that general Ginkle will order passports for them, convoys, and carriages by land and water, to carry them safe from Limerick to the ships where they shall be embarked, without paying any thing for the said carriages, or to those that are employed therein, with their horses, cars, boats, and shallows.

VI. That if any of the aforesaid equipages, merchandize, horses, money, plate, or other moveables, or household-stuff belonging to the said Irish troops, or to the French officers, or other particular persons whatsoever, be robbed, destroyed, or taken away by the troops of the said general, the said general will order it to be restored, or payment to be made according to the value that is given in upon oath by the person so robbed or plundered: and the said Irish troops to be

transported as aforesaid; and all other persons, belonging to them, are to observe good order in their march and quarters, and shall restore whatever they shall take from the country, or make restitution for the same.

VII. That to facilitate the transporting the said troops, the general will furnish fifty ships, each ship's burthen two hundred tons; for which, the persons to be transported shall not be obliged to pay, and twenty more, if there shall be occasion, without their paying for them; and if any of the said ships shall be of lesser burthen, he will furnish more in number to countervail; and also give two men of war to embark the principal officers, and serve for a convoy to the vessels of burthen.

VIII. That a commissary shall be immediately sent to Cork to visit the transport ships, and what condition they are in for sailing: and that, as soon as they are ready, the troops to be transported shall march with all convenient speed, the nearest way in order to embark there: and if there shall be any more men to be transported than can be carried off in the said fifty ships, the rest shall quit the English town of Limerick, and march to such quarters as shall be appointed for them, convenient for their transportation, where they shall remain till the other twenty ships be ready, which are to be in a month; and may embark on any French ship that may come in the mean time.

IX. That the said ships shall be furnished with forage for horse, and all necessary provisions to subsist the officers, troops, dragoons, and soldiers, and all other persons that are shipped to be transported into France; which provisions shall be paid for as soon as all are disembarked at Brest or Nants, upon the coast of Brittany, or any other port of France they can make.

X. And to secure the return of the said ships (the danger of the seas excepted) and payment for the said provisions, sufficient hostages shall be given.

XI. That the garrisons of Clare-castle, Ross, and all other foot that are in garrisons in the counties of Clare, Cork, and Kerry, shall have the advantage of this present capitulation; and such part of those garrisons as design to go beyond seas, shall march out with their arms, baggage, drums beating, ball in mouth, match lighted at both ends, and colours flying, with all the provisions, and half the ammunition that is in the said garrisons, and join the horse that march to be transported; or if then there is not shipping enough for the body of foot that is to be next transported after the horse, general

Ginkle will order that they be furnished with carriages for that purpose, and what provisions they shall want in their march, they paying for the said provisions, or else that they may take it out of their own magazines.

XII. That all the troops of horse and dragoons that are in the counties of Cork, Kerry, and Clare, shall also have the benefit of this capitulation; and that such as will pass into France, shall have quarters given them in the counties of Clare and Kerry, apart from the troops that are commanded by general Ginkle, until they can be shipped; and within their quarters they shall pay for every thing, except forage and pasture for their horses, which shall be furnished gratis.

XIII. Those of the garrison of Sligo that are joined to the Irish army, shall have the benefit of this capitulation; and orders shall be sent to them that are to convey them up, to bring them hither to Limerick the shortest way.

XIV. The Irish may have liberty to transport nine hundred horse, including horses for the officers, which shall be transported gratis: and as for the troopers that stay behind, they shall dispose of themselves as they shall think fit, giving up their horses and arms to such persons as the general shall appoint.

XV. It shall be permitted to those that are appointed to take care for the subsistence of the horse, that are willing to go into France, to buy hay and corn at the king's rates wherever they can find it, in the quarters that are assigned for them, without any let or molestation, and to carry all necessary provisions out of the city of Limerick; and for this purpose, the general will furnish convenient carriages for them to the places where they shall be embarked.

XVI. It shall be lawful to make use of the hay preserved in the stores of the county of Kerry, for the horses that shall be embarked; and if there be not enough, it shall be lawful to buy hay and oats wherever it shall be found, at the king's rates.

XVII. That all prisoners of war, that were in Ireland the 28th of September, shall be set at liberty on both sides; and the general promises to use his endeavours, that those that are in England and Flanders shall be set at liberty also.

XVIII. The general will cause provisions and medicines to be furnished to the sick and wounded officers, troopers, dragoons, and soldiers of the Irish army that cannot pass into France at the first embarkment; and

after they are cured, will order them ships to pass into France, if they are willing to go.

XIX. That at the signing hereof, the general will send a ship express to France; and that besides, he will furnish two small ships of those that are now in the river of Limerick, to transport two persons into France that are to be sent to give notice of this treaty; and that the commanders of the said ships shall have orders to put ashore at the next port of France where they shall make.

XX. That all those of the said troops, officers, and others, of what character soever, that would pass into France, shall not be stopped upon the account of debt, or any other pretext.

XXI. If after signing this present treaty, and before the arrival of the fleet, a French packet-boat, or other transport-ship, shall arrive from France in any other part of Ireland, the general will order a passport, not only for such as must go on board the said ships, but to the ships to come to the nearest port, to the place where the troops to be transported shall be quartered.

XXII. That after the arrival of the said fleet, there shall be free communication and passage between it and the quarters of the above said troops; and especially, for all those that have passes from the chief commanders of the said fleet, or from Monsieur Tameron the intendant.

XXIII. In consideration of the present capitulation, the two towns of Limerick shall be delivered and put into the hands of the general, or any other person he shall appoint, at the time and days hereafter specified, viz. the Irish town, except the magazines and hospital, on the day of the signing of these present articles; and as for the English town, it shall remain, together with the island, and the free passage of Thomond-bridge, in the hands of those of the Irish army that are now in the garrison, or that shall hereafter come from the counties of Cork, Clare, Kerry, Sligo, and other places above-mentioned, until there shall be convenience found for their transportation.

XXIV. And to prevent all disorders that may happen between the garrison that the general shall place in the Irish town, which shall be delivered to him, and the Irish troopers that shall remain in the English town and the island, which they may do, until the troops to be embarked on the first fifty ships shall be gone for France, and no longer; they shall entrench themselves on both sides, to hinder the communication of the said garrisons: and it shall be prohibited on both sides, to offer any thing that is offensive; and

the parties offending shall be punished on either side.

XXV. That it shall be lawful for the said garrison to march out all at once, or at different times, as they can be embarked, with arms, baggage, drums beating, match lighted at both ends, bullet in mouth, colours flying, six brass guns, such as the besieged will chose, two mortar-pieces, and half the ammunition that is now in the magazines of the said place: and for this purpose, an inventory of all the ammunition in the garrison shall be made in the presence of any person that the general shall appoint, the next day after these present articles shall be signed.

XXVI. All the magazines of provisions shall remain in the hands of those that are now employed to take care of the same, for the subsistence of those of the Irish army that will pass into France: and if there shall not be sufficient in the stores, for the support of the said troops, whilst they stay in this kingdom, and are crossing the seas, that, upon giving up an account of their numbers, the general will furnish them with sufficient provisions at the king's rates; and that there shall be a free market at Limerick, and other quarters, where the said troops shall be; and in case any provisions shall remain in the magazines of Limerick when the town shall be given up, it shall be valued, and the price deducted out of what is to be paid for the provisions to be furnished to the troops on ship-board.

XXVII. That there shall be a cessation of arms at land, as also at sea, with respect to the ships, whether English, Dutch, or French, designed for the transportation of the said troops, until they shall be returned to their respective harbours; and that, on both sides, they shall be furnished with sufficient passports both for ships and men: and if any sea-commander, or captain of a ship, or any officer, trooper, dragoon, soldier, or any other person, shall act contrary to this cessation, the persons so acting shall be punished on either side, and satisfaction shall be made for the wrong that is done; and officers shall be sent to the mouth of the river of Limerick, to give notice to the commanders of the English and French fleets of the present conjuncture, that they may observe the cessation of arms accordingly.

XXVIII. That for the security of the execution of this present capitulation, and of each article therein contained, the besieged shall give the following hostages..... And the general shall give.....

XXIX. If before this capitulation is fully executed, there happens any change in the

government, or command of the army, which is now commanded by general Ginkle; all those, that shall be appointed to command the same, shall be obliged to observe and execute what is specified in these articles, or cause it to be executed punctually, and shall not act contrary on any account.

In faith of which we have subscribed our names, the 13th of October, 1691. *Signed* —Dussen, le chevalier de Tesse, Lucan, Wachop, and La Tour-Montfort. Charles Porter, Thomas Conningsby, baron Ginkle.

However willing the prince of Orange might have been to support the Irish Catholics in the enjoyment of the privileges which were granted to them by the treaty of Limerick, it is certain that the English government did not fulfil the articles of capitulation. After a disastrous war, in which their chief objects were the interest of their religion and the inviolable fidelity which they thought due to their king, they however had at least the satisfaction of having the freedom of conscience conceded by this celebrated treaty. The honour and good faith of the prince of Orange were the only guarantees of this compact; he had affixed the great seal of England to it; he ratified in the most solemn manner the agreement of his generals with the chiefs of the Irish army, and bound himself and his successors to use every effort to have all the articles of the treaty fulfilled and ratified by the parliament.

According to the first of these articles—The Roman Catholics of this kingdom shall enjoy such privileges in the exercise of their religion, as are consistent with the laws of Ireland; or as they did enjoy in the reign of king Charles the Second: and their majesties, as soon as their affairs will permit them to summon a parliament in this kingdom, will endeavour to procure the said Roman Catholics such farther security in that particular, as may preserve them from any disturbance upon the account of their said religion.

However, numerous acts of parliament were passed by which this article was annulled. By the provisions of the statute called, *An act to prevent the increase of Popery*, it was prohibited under pain of *præmunire** to convert or be converted to the Catholic religion; and also to give children a foreign

* This is a species of law that strips the criminal of all his goods, deprives him of his liberty and the protection of the laws, exposes him to every insult and bad treatment, without any remedy; it renders him infamous, and, in fine, leaves him nothing but the life he is to lose.

education, while the Catholics had neither schools nor colleges to have them instructed at home, and Catholics were prohibited from teaching under the most rigorous penalties.

At almost every meeting of parliament, the Catholics experienced some new proofs of its severity. In 1697, all archbishops, bishops, vicars-general, deans, and other ecclesiastics, as also all monks of whatsoever order they were, were commanded to quit the kingdom before the first of May, 1698: it being ordained that those who should be discovered after the expiration of that time should be closely imprisoned in the public gaol of the place in which they would be taken, till they could be sent beyond the seas, and that, if any who had been thus transported had the boldness to return, they should be punished as guilty of high treason.

By other acts the Irish nobility were deprived of their arms and horses; they were debarred from purchasing land, from becoming members of the bar, or filling any public office; and, contrary to the ninth article of the treaty, they were made subject to infamous oaths.

Thus were the Irish Catholics treated, in violation of a solemn compact, rendered sacred by every necessary formality. But, to the disgrace of mankind, experience proves that power has more influence in the fulfilment of treaties than the good faith of those by whom they are signed.

After the celebrated treaty of Riswick, in 1697, by which peace was restored to all Europe, the greater part of the standing army in England was to have been disbanded, but money was wanting to pay the arrears due to the officers, provision contractors, &c. The English, however, soon discovered means for these purposes, without any cost to themselves. A supply of one million sterling was granted by parliament, to be raised by the confiscation of the estates of the Irish Catholics, who had taken up arms for James II. after the year 1688; commissioners being appointed to inquire into the nature of these estates, and to ascertain what they would produce for the above-mentioned purposes.

The reports of the commissioners to the house of commons on the affairs for which they had been nominated, are subjoined. They were printed in London in 1700, by order of parliament. They contain in all ninety paragraphs; but we pass over here, those from the first to the twelfth, the rest being only accounts of the difficulties which the commissioners had to contend with in the fulfilment of their trust.

By these reports it will be seen that three thousand nine hundred and twenty-one Irishmen, and fifty-seven Englishmen, were proscribed. If the sacrifices made by both were the same, how different has been the number of victims. It will also appear from them, how much those who followed the fortunes of James II. had lost—how their estates were plundered and laid waste; what abuses were committed in the confiscations, by men of the highest rank; what immense fortunes were unjustly acquired at that time by the most obscure characters, and lastly, what inconsiderable advantages accrued to William and to the crown of England by these confiscations. We will also discover the manner in which these proceedings were conducted, and get some knowledge of the forms and customs of the inferior courts of law in Great Britain. An idea, also, may be arrived at of English and Irish parliaments at the time, and of the nature of their deliberations.

Report of the commissioners appointed by the parliament of England to take cognizance of the properties that were confiscated upon the Irish who were concerned in the rebellion of 1688, to the honourable house of commons, December 15, 1699.*

1st. Gentlemen,—In virtue of the power granted to us by a late act of parliament, made in the tenth and the eleventh years of his majesty's reign, styled, An act for the granting to his majesty the sum of one million four hundred and eighty-four thousand and fifteen pounds one shilling and eleven pence three farthings, to enable him to disband the troops, and provide for the maintenance of the fleet, and other necessary expenses, we have inquired into the state of the properties which have been confiscated in Ireland.

12.—On account of the late rebellion, fifty-seven persons have been proscribed in England, since the 13th February, 1688, and three thousand nine hundred and twenty-one in Ireland. The aggregate, with the names of the counties in which they were attainted, is inserted in a book presented with this report, No. 1.

13.—The lands which belonged to the said persons since the 13th February, 1688, with the name of the owners, the number of acres confiscated, the names of the counties and baronies in which they are situated, the annual revenue, and the value of capital, are

* They stigmatize with the name of rebellion the efforts of the Catholics of Ireland in favour of their legitimate king.

contained in a book* presented with this report, No. 2.

14.—We calculate that the confiscated lands in the following counties are of the value and extent as subjoined :

COUNTIES.	R.	A.	Annual Value.			Real Value.		
			£	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Antrim.....	10103	2	1944	18	6	25284	0	6
Armagh.....	4962	0	588	0	0	7644	0	0
Cork.....	244320	0	32133	12	6	417737	2	6
Carlow.....	26303	0	7913	11	6	95872	2	0
Clare.....	72246	0	12060	17	0	156791	1	0
Cavan.....	38320	1	478	12	6	6222	2	6
Dublin.....	34546	0	16061	6	0	208796	18	0
Down.....	9079	0	1016	6	6	13212	4	6
Fermanagh..	1945	0	389	0	0	5057	0	0
Galway.....	60825	0	10225	4	0	83528	18	0
Kildare.....	44281	1	16551	18	6	215175	0	6
King's Co..	30459	3	6870	18	0	89321	14	0
Kilkenny....	30152	2	5243	3	6	68161	5	6
Kerry.....	90116	0	3652	11	9	47483	12	9
Limerick....	14882	3	4728	10	0	61470	10	0
Longford...	2067	2	348	9	9	4530	6	9
Louth and Drogheda }	22508	0	6331	11	0	82310	3	0
Meath.....	92452	0	31546	4	6	410100	18	6
Mayo.....	19294	0	3186	5	0	37598	3	0
Monaghan..	3832	0	558	16	0	7264	8	0
Queen's Co.	22657	0	5002	8	9	65031	13	9
Roscommon	28933	0	5808	15	0	69767	2	0
Sligo.....	5562	0	998	17	6	12985	7	6
Tipperary...	31960	3	8888	12	6	115552	2	6
Wicklow....	18164	0	2719	3	0	35348	19	0
Westmeath..	58083	0	14633	12	6	190237	2	6
Wexford....	55882	2	7551	10	6	98169	16	6
Waterford..	21343	0	4190	0	0	54476	10	0

According to this calculation there were one million and sixty thousand seven hundred and ninety-two acres, producing an annual income of two hundred and eleven thousand six hundred and twenty-three pounds six shillings and three pence sterling; the real value of which amounts to two millions six hundred and eighty-five thousand one hundred and thirty pounds sterling, independently of several other estates confiscated, of which we cannot undertake to give a valuation, from their not having been accurately surveyed. We consider the above to be the value of the estates confiscated since the 13th February, 1688.

15.—We deem it our duty now to inform you of the number of acres that have been restored to their former owners, in virtue of the treaties of Limerick and Galway, or through the particular favour of his majesty.

* Every effort has been used by us to discover that book in which are contained the names of the proprietors, in order to introduce them here in favour of their descendants, many of whom are still living; but our efforts to find it have been in vain.
—J. M^r Geoghegan.

16.—Three letters, one from the late queen Mary, dated March 15th, to lord Sidney, Sir Charles Porter, and Mr. Thomas Conningsby, lords justices and governors of the kingdom of Ireland; another from the same queen, dated 6th May, 1693, to the same lord viscount Sidney, then viceroy and governor-general of that kingdom, and to the privy council; and a third letter from the king, April 24, 1694, to lord Henry Capel, Sir Cyrillwick, and Mr. Duncombe, then lord justice of Ireland, and to the privy council, authorizing them to attend to the representations of those who considered themselves entitled to take advantage of the treaties of Limerick and Galway, and to do them justice. It was therefore decided, that four hundred and ninety-one persons should have the benefit of the above-named treaties. Their names, rank, the time they were put into possession of what they had lost, are contained in the book presented to you, gentlemen, endorsed No 3.

17.—Farther, a commission dated February 25, in the eighth year of his majesty's reign, with the great seal of Ireland affixed to it, empowering the judges of the several courts, or five of them, to inquire into the claims of the proscribed; in consequence of which, seven hundred and ninety-two persons were found entitled to the benefit of the above-named articles. The names of those persons, their rank, and the nature of the estates which have been restored to them, and the periods, are specified in a book added to the report, No. 4.

18.—The estates thus restored, contain two hundred and thirty-three thousand one hundred and six acres, producing an annual income of fifty-five thousand seven hundred and sixty-three pounds six shillings and six pence sterling, and are valued at seven hundred and twenty-four thousand nine hundred and twenty-three pounds and four pence sterling. An account of the rent and value of each, the names of the counties or baronies in which the above-named estates lie, with the names and rank of the owners, are specified in No. 4.

19.—We do not presume to question, if their majesties' letters above named, to the lords justices and council, or the commission to which the great seal has been affixed, could invest any person with a power necessary for summoning his majesty's subjects and oblige them to come from any part of the kingdom, to take an oath and try them without any judicial form, and raise money under the name and pretext of a salary, &c. without any act of parliament to authorize

such proceedings. We humbly submit this observation to your wisdom.

20.—We consider it our duty, gentlemen, to inform you, that in these courts established in the extraordinary manner we have named, exorbitant salaries were required: that Palmer, who held the office of register under Mr. Poultney, with whom he shared the profits, demanded from Mr. Luke Dillon, when his father's property was restored to him, the sum of eighty-six pounds sterling; and Mr. Steel, the crier of the same court, fifteen pounds, besides ten pounds he had given to Palmer at different periods while the trial was pending for two years. This is not an individual instance; many others have paid large sums in similar cases. Previously to our being appointed commissioners, nearly five pounds was paid on presenting the first petition, though it was formally declared, in the articles of the treaty of Limerick, that none but clerks were to receive payment for their writings.

21.—We may add, that complaints became general, and we can say with justice, against the last court that was established for receiving petitions. Many have been tried without their petitions being heard; others; a day or two after they had been received, before the king's counsel or the witnesses had been heard, which is contrary to the rules of the court itself, according to which there should be fourteen days between the admission of the claim and the trial. In general it appears that many abuses have been committed, and that the articles of Limerick and Galway have often been too favourably interpreted towards the proscribed; so that one witness has been often sufficient to determine in their favour; we are, therefore, of opinion, that many have been reinstated in the possession of property, which, if matters were well investigated, should belong to his majesty; for this purpose we sent to Palmer for his minutes, but as he had only written them in notes, we could not obtain sufficient information to lay before you. We will observe one thing which seems singular to us, that, since we received our commission, the court has restored more persons to their properties than they had previously done since the treaty of Limerick.

22.—We have also to inform you, gentlemen, that many ancient proprietors have been reinstated, by the repeal of their sentence, or by a pardon from his majesty.

23.—This is of two kinds; that which has been the result of trial is specified in the books marked 3 and 4, and in separate columns.

24.—The other, granted as favours by his majesty, or letters from the late queen, or by orders, subsequent to the battle of the Boyne, are in a Book joined to this report, No. 5.—The number of these persons is sixty-five. The estates thus restored contain seventy four thousand seven hundred and thirty-three acres, producing an annual income of twenty thousand and sixty-six pounds eight pence three farthings, sterling, and worth two hundred and sixty thousand eight hundred and sixty-three pounds seven pence three farthings, sterling. The names of the counties, baronies, persons, and rank, are specified in a book, No. 2.

25.—We now think it necessary to inform you of what we have discovered in the different provinces, and which appears very probable, that many have obtained favours from his majesty, by giving money, who had enjoyed, and have abused his confidence; but in our endeavours to investigate this matter, we were unable to overcome the difficulty; these arrangements had been made in the most private manner, and between those who are not at present in the kingdom. We shall, nevertheless, lay proofs before you, gentlemen, of money having been the means of restoring many persons to their properties.

26.—Lord Bellew gave Lord Raby* one thousand pounds, besides seven or eight hundred pounds which were due to him, on condition that he would use his influence with the king to obtain his pardon, which he received in consequence. The same lord Bellew gave up to lord Romney the rent of his estate, amounting to about three thousand pounds, which he had enjoyed for nearly three years, on condition that he would not be opposed to him in applying for his pardon.

27.—John Kerdiff, a gentleman of the county of Dublin, gave Mrs. Margaret Uniack two hundred pounds, to induce her to prevail on lord Romney to obtain a letter annulling his proscription, which was granted. However, the particular circumstances of this man merited, in our opinion, the greatest compassion.

28.—Sir John Morris gave two hundred pounds to Mr. Richard Uniack, and three hundred to Mrs. Margaret Uniack, for his pardon, which she obtained through the influence of Lord Romney.

29.—Harvey Morris, Esq. gave Mrs. M. Uniack, one hundred pounds, for having procured him his majesty's pardon.

* He was called Wentworth.

30.—John Hussey, of Leixlip, being informed by Messrs. Bray and Briscoe, agents to Lord Athlone, who had the confiscation of Lord Limerick's estate, that he could not succeed in having his sentence removed, if he did not give the present owner a mortgage of three hundred pounds which he owed on the property of Lord Limerick, was obliged to do so in order to get his pardon.

31.—Edmond Roche gave Richard Darling, Lord Romney's steward, five hundred pounds for having procured him his pardon. This gentleman, who had been proscribed by virtue of the law enacted against those who were guilty of treason in foreign countries, was proved never to have left the kingdom.

32.—John Bourk, commonly called Lord Bophin, agreed to pay seven thousand five hundred pounds sterling to Andrew Card, for the use of Lord Albemarle, on condition that he would procure a letter from the king to remove his sentence of proscription and restore him to his property; three thousand pounds were to be paid on taking possession, and the rest soon afterwards. His majesty therefore wrote a letter to the lords justices in favour of Lord Bophin, to be communicated to the commissioners and court of claims; a decree was accordingly passed, which made it appear that it was to enable this nobleman for bringing up his children in the Protestant religion, and to secure his property to Protestants. The decree specified also, that nine thousand pounds sterling should be raised on the whole estate, for the payment of his debts and the maintenance and education of his children; but, in truth, to pay the seven thousand five hundred pounds to lord Albemarle, and the remainder was to be divided among others concerned in this iniquitous transaction. This decree was presented to the Irish House of Commons, to have it passed into a law, but the secret purposes for the money having transpired, the house determined that their power should not be made use of to authorize such clandestine and unjust proceedings, and, therefore, rejected it. This failure produced another settlement, by which the estates of lord Bophin were mortgaged to lord Ross; the money which was to be given for this should first be raised upon the property, and the rents applied to the payment of debts, and to the wants of the house of Clanriccard. In consequence of this new arrangement a letter was given by his majesty, confirming it, and three thousand pounds were paid to

John Broderick on account of lord Albemarle.

33.—Thus, gentlemen, have we given you an account of the estates which have been confiscated since February 13, 1688, and those that have been restored to the proprietors, either by the treaties of Limerick and Galway, or by the king. We shall now introduce those to whom his majesty has given these confiscated lands, or to whom they have been mortgaged.

34.—Since the battle of the Boyne sixty patents have been given, sealed with the great seal of Ireland, to sixty persons, as grants or mortgages of estates confiscated in Ireland. The dates of the above patents, and the causes that produced them, are contained in a book marked No. 6. The following is a list of the most considerable of these grants, the number of acres which they contain, and the motives for giving them.

35.—Lord Romney received three grants, of which he is in possession, containing forty-nine thousand five hundred and seventeen acres, on account of his services.

36.—Two grants to lord Albemarle, of one hundred and eight thousand six hundred and thirty three acres, on account of his services.

37.—William Bentick, commonly called lord Woodstock, received one hundred and thirty-five thousand eight hundred and twenty acres, for which no motive is assigned in the letters patent.

38.—To lord Athlone, twenty-six thousand four hundred and eighty acres, as a reward for his services in the reduction of Ireland; these grants were afterwards confirmed by an act of the Irish parliament.

39.—To lord Galway, thirty-six thousand one hundred and forty-eight acres, on account of his faithful services.

40.—To lord Rochford, two grants of thirty-nine thousand eight hundred and seventy-one acres, as a reward for his services.

41.—To the marquis of Puizar, three thousand five hundred and twelve acres, for his services.

42.—To lord Conningsby, five thousand nine hundred and sixty-six acres, with the rights of lordships, titles, and houses in Dublin, and a mortgage of one thousand pounds sterling, as a reward for his services.

43.—To lord Mountjoy, eleven thousand and seventy acres, for twenty-one years, on account of his services during the war in Ireland, the losses he had sustained in property, the imprisonment of his father in the Bastille, and his having been killed at the battle of Steinkerque.

44.—To Mr. Thomas Keightly, for ninety-nine years, two grants, containing twelve thousand three hundred and eighty-one acres, as a portion for his daughter, Catherine Keightley, who had been an attendant on the late queen Mary, after whose death she lost a pension of four hundred pounds, and in consideration of her father's losses during the war.

45.—To Colonel Gustavus Hamilton, five thousand, three hundred and eighty-two acres, (nineteen hundred of which were not confiscated lands,) as a reward for his valuable services during the war in Ireland, for having forded the river Shannon, and mounted the breach in the taking of Athlone, at the head of the English grenadiers.

46.—To Doctor John Lesly, sixteen thousand and seventy-seven acres, on account of his active and diligent services in the commencement of the war in Ireland, the expenses he had incurred in arming a numerous body of men, and having fought at their head on many occasions.

47.—To Sir Thomas Pendergast, two grants of seven thousand and eighty-two acres, for having discovered a conspiracy to assassinate the king, to destroy the liberties of Great Britain, and consequently the Protestant religion throughout Europe.

48.—To Mr. John Baker, sixteen hundred and forty-seven acres, as a reward for the memorable services of his father in his defence of Londonderry.

49.—To Mr. James Corry, two grants, one a mortgage of two thousand pounds sterling, on several landed properties in the county of Wicklow, due to Sir Edward Scott by the earl of Tyrone: the other containing seventeen hundred and twenty-five acres, for which the following causes are given, viz., the burning of his house; his having provided the garrison of Enniskillen with provisions and ammunition, to the amount of three thousand pounds sterling, at his own expense; however, it has been proved that, so far from having assisted the garrison of Enniskillen in any manner, he said in public, that he hoped to see all those who had taken up arms in favour of the prince of Orange, hanged. His house was burned by the garrison for this observation.

50.—The remainder of these grants are inserted in book No. 6.

51.—It should be observed that all the lands mentioned in this report are plantation measure, two hundred and sixty-four of which are equal to four hundred and forty-one English acres.

52.—We shall also observe that those es-

tates are not of so much value to the persons to whom they have been granted as we have estimated them: whereas impositions have been practised upon his majesty, by underrating them, from selfish considerations; and their agents, who sold or rented those lands below their value, have practised similar deceptions towards their employers.

53.—The greater part of these estates has been conceded under the seal of the Exchequer, for a limited number of years, or during the king's pleasure, from which his majesty has derived but little profit. Most of the terms have expired; those that have not are contained in book No. 6.

54.—We shall now humbly inform you of the costs that have been incurred on the confiscated lands, which have not been restored to the proprietors; we will point out those only that have been discovered from researches made in his Majesty's Court of Exchequer. This has been done in consequence of his Majesty's letter to the lords justices of Ireland, ordering all the Protestants to prove, in the most expeditious manner, the extent of the costs to which they have been subjected.

55.—All statutes, judgments, mortgages, or other debts on the above-named estates, which have not been restored to the ancient proprietors, amount to one hundred and sixty one thousand nine hundred and thirty-six pounds sterling, an account of which is annexed to this report in book No. 7. It is probable that since our investigation many of these costs have been removed by various arrangements; but we have had neither time nor aid in forming a correct estimate; therefore, we think that sufficient money can be deducted from the latter for the following purposes.

56.—We have mentioned only the first and real sum of costs, not having been able to discover how much interest might have been due by each individual.

57.—We have often thought it probable that the judgment and mortgage were one and the same debt.

58.—It is likewise probable, that many of these judgments were issued only for the execution of private contracts.

59.—In many instances, the Protestants and Papists were equally concerned; however, the whole debt was laid on the lands of the proscribed.

60.—It appears that several contracts and copies of judgments have been issued by inferior courts of law, and no proofs afforded

of their execution, or the reasons why they were granted.

61.—On the other hand, it is obvious, that in many instances, the statutes and judgments have been carried into execution; but there is no proof of it upon record.

62.—Many of those debts have been purchased, either by the donors or their stewards, or small farmers at very low prices, whilst they allowed them to exist nominally, to cover the profits which the possession of such lands produced.

63.—Several persons who got possession of these encumbered estates, in consequence of his majesty's letters, have received the whole, or at least, the greatest portion of the debts.

64.—It is probable, that many of these debts are imaginary, and in favour of the proscribed, for which purpose there have been many secret arrangements entered into.

65.—It is our opinion that nothing has been omitted by the donors and their stewards to make the debts on their estates appear heavy, although we think, that if a correct investigation were made, it would appear, they are very inconsiderable, and that several are liquidated by the profits; but it is our opinion, that they will be more than remunerated by other confiscations, of which the following is an account.

66.—Soon after the battle of the Boyne, as we have already had the honour of informing you, a patent, to which the great seal of Ireland was affixed, was issued, establishing commissioners, with authority to seize upon and dispose of the estates and flocks which were confiscated for his majesty's use. These commissioners appointed deputies in the different counties, subject to the king, who took possession of immense tracts of land and cattle, which they valued at one hundred and thirty-five thousand, five hundred and fifty-two pounds sterling; but the valuation of each article forming the above total was so moderate, that a horse was valued at twenty shillings, a sheep two shillings and six pence, and the rest in proportion; we are therefore of opinion, that if things had been sold at a fair value, they would have produced between two and three hundred thousand pounds sterling; but before this could be effected, the clerks appointed for the collection of his majesty's revenues, furnished accounts, which produced a letter from the king, suspending the power of the commissioners, nine days after they had entered into office, and investing the clerks with power of the revenues; by these means, some time elapsed before the

money, effects, property that had been seized upon by the deputies, could come into the hands of the clerks of the revenue; the accounts also became so complex, added to the plunder made among the small farmers by the troops when going into winter quarters, that from all the above-named spoils, the king received only about forty-four thousand pounds: we have likewise discovered, that several properties have been confiscated, by which the king has gained nothing, and which have been seized upon by many individuals for their own account. It is true, that robbery and plunder were so frequent at that time, men in the highest offices have not escaped the censure of being implicated, which may perhaps have prevented such abuses to have been properly inquired into: as an example, lord Conningsby took three hundred head of horned cattle, and several horses, that were left on the field after the battle of the Boyne, and we do not find that any account of them was given to his majesty. He also seized upon the plate and chattels of Sir Michael Creagh, lord mayor of Dublin, in 1689: these were considered to have been of great value; it is indeed affirmed, that they were given to him by the king. The clerks of the revenue gave up to the lords justices, lords Sidney and Conningsby, many effects of great value, for which his majesty has received no return, nor have any of them been discovered in the castle of Dublin, where they were deposited.

67.—We have likewise discovered, that the clerks of the revenues have delivered great quantities of valuable effects to Sir Charles Porter, major-general Kirk, and several others, who have given no account whatever of them to the king. The officers of the army have likewise pillaged; it is said that his majesty has conferred upon them the fruits of their plunder.

68.—If we can believe general opinion in the country, many persons have derived considerable profits from these confiscations; but as some time has now elapsed, it would be very difficult to bring proofs against them, and even in such case, it is probable we would find it impossible to procure the restitution of what was seized upon so long since; we therefore thought it more prudent to apply ourselves to examine matters of more importance, and confine ourselves to remarks necessary on that head.

69.—From the impossibility of forming a just estimate of the value of these chattels, flocks, and other effects, we shall point out at present some debts which were decreed by the courts, and some mortgages belonging

to the proscribed, to whom restitution of their properties has not been made, which amounted to one hundred and twenty thousand, and thirteen pounds, as appears in a book annexed to this report, No. 8.

70.—We take the liberty to remark here, that those debts are subject to the above-named objections—as to the circumstances, there is this difference only, that on one side they have been, as we think, liquidated by the profits of the receipts, while several of the creditors were, by his majesty's letters, in possession of the encumbered estates; on the other, the principal sum is still due on the estates in question, as it does not appear that any of the interest has been paid since the confiscations; we calculate therefore, that this would bring the accounts to a balance.

71.—Permit us, gentlemen, to observe, that the cases adjudged in these matters, have been found only in the court of exchequer; and that we have been unable to procure them in the other courts of law, as a clause has been omitted in the patent of our commission, to empower us to obtain them; from this we are of opinion, that there is much more due to the proscribed, whose properties have not been restored, than we have been able to discover.

72.—We should also calculate, among the confiscated property, two hundred and ninety-seven houses in the city of Dublin, thirty-six in Cork, two hundred and twenty-six in different towns and villages of the kingdom, sixty-one mills, twenty-eight fairs and markets, seventy-two rectorships, with tithes and rents, six ferries, and a great number of fisheries; producing in the whole two thousand and thirty-eight pounds sterling, per annum, and valued to be worth fifty thousand pounds. If, as we have observed, we add to these the monies due to the proscribed whose properties have not been restored, we are persuaded that there would be sufficient to liquidate the debts, particularly if we count the flocks and chattels of those who have benefitted by the treaty of Limerick, who, according to these articles, had no claim, after having been at first deprived of them.

73.—According to our observations throughout the country, it appears to us that several estates marked down fallow-lands, are now, with the exception of those in the county of Kerry, as highly cultivated, and equal in value to any lands in the kingdom; nevertheless, we have not comprised them in our valuations, though there are many of them to be met with.

74.—We have valued the confiscated properties according to what they would be let for in farms if such were the intention.

75.—We think, that the trees at present on the confiscated estates which have not been restored, may be estimated at sixty thousand pounds sterling.

76.—There were several small portions of land, each under an acre, and of different qualities, according to situation, of which we could form no correct estimate, not finding any thing to guide us, either in the leases of the families, the papers of the commissioners who preceded us, or the rolls of the surveyors—we consider, that these scattered portions of land may contain about seventy or eighty thousand acres, amounting in value to a very considerable sum.

77.—We shall remark in this place, that dreadful havoc has been committed upon the woods of the proscribed, particularly on those of Sir Valentine Brown, in the county of Kerry, in which, trees to the value of twenty thousand pounds have been cut down or destroyed. The loss on the estates of lord Clancarty, now in possession of lord Woodstock, is estimated at twenty-seven thousand pounds. Those on whom the confiscated lands have been bestowed, or their agents, have been so greedy to seize upon the most trifling profits, that several large trees have been cut down and sold for six-pence each. This destruction is still carried on in many parts of the country; at the present moment, Sir John Hely, chief justice of the common pleas, and Peter Goodwin, who together, purchased from lord Conningsby the estate of Feltrim, within six miles of Dublin, are cutting down all the avenues and groves around the castle. Great destruction and waste has been, and is still committed in the forest of Oshogness, in the county of Galway, which has been purchased by Mr. Toby Butler, for two thousand five hundred pounds, which, it is said, was worth twelve thousand. We sent persons to survey and value this forest; but Toby Butler had them summoned and brought to trial for executing the commission with which we had entrusted them.

78.—Besides the above-mentioned confiscations, there are several persons concerned in the last rebellion, who have not been proceeded against, and who are debarred from all benefit of any treaty or article: several of them were summoned to answer for their crimes, and have given bail, which is still in force; a few have been tried at the assizes of last summer but were acquitted.

79.—The death of several of the accused, whose trials and condemnation were delayed,

has deprived the king of many extensive estates.

80.—Nevertheless, we think it likely, from the informations which several persons offered to give, if they were encouraged, and the necessary measures adopted, that a large sum might be derived from the lands subject to confiscation, which are carefully concealed.

81.—The king's interest has been so much neglected, that no research has been made into the number of estates which might or ought to be liable to confiscation in Connaught before the year 1695, by which every indulgence was allowed for the security of such property. There are fifty Catholics for one Protestant in this province, so that it is impossible for the latter to obtain justice, and scarcely does that province seem to be subject to the king, of which the following is a proof. At the last assizes in the county of Galway, nearly forty persons were accused of having been concerned in the late rebellion; but as most of the judges had been officers in the army of James II., and had taken advantage of the treaty of Limerick, it is needless to add, that they were all acquitted.

82.—The house of Clanriccard has an extensive estate in this district, on which there are very few Protestant farmers. This property fell into the king's hands, by the proscription of lord Bophin, to whom his majesty has allowed the proceeds for his life only. We are of opinion, that were these lands sold or rented to Protestants, it would tend greatly to favour the interest of the Protestant religion.

83.—We must also observe, gentlemen, that many of those on whom the confiscated lands have been bestowed, have received immense sums for several estates comprised in these grants. The whole of the money thus received amounts to sixty-eight thousand one hundred and fifty-five pounds three pence farthing: for instance, lord Athlone, whose grant was confirmed to him by an act of the Irish parliament, has sold land to the amount of seventeen thousand six hundred and eighty-four pounds twelve shillings, sterling.

Lord Romney has sold some for thirty-thousand one hundred and forty-seven pounds, eleven shillings. Lord Albemarle, for thirteen thousand pounds. Lord Conningsby, for two thousand two hundred pounds. Mr. Thomas Knightly, for five thousand one hundred and twenty-three pounds ten shillings.

84.—Several proclamations have been issued, offering a quarter of the lands liable to confiscation, to those who would point them out. Some informers have been thus rewarded, as appears in the book No. 6. Others

say they have not been paid their quarter for having informed, which amount, in the whole, to about two thousand pounds per annum.

85.—We must observe here, that the confiscations, however considerable they may appear, have been rather an injury than an advantage to his majesty. This might appear extraordinary, were we not to remark, that several obscure persons, who possessed no property at the time that Ireland was reduced, are at present masters of large estates. It is impossible that they could have acquired them without seizing on confiscated lands, either by intrigue or collusion, from which they have derived considerable advantage, while the king was defrauded. His majesty has been frequently deceived in the value of the grants which he has bestowed.

86.—Nothing seems to have contributed more to this abuse, than the sale of confiscated lands by auction in the city of Dublin exclusively, instead of in the chief towns of the counties in which they were situate. Few people took the trouble of coming to the capital from the provinces, at a heavy expense, and of neglecting their domestic affairs, when they felt persuaded that the agents of men in office would prevail against them, and knowing that these would have the countenance of his majesty.

87.—When they had succeeded by their haughtiness and power, in removing all competition, they placed their rates on the estates they were desirous of having, and gave whatever price they pleased, by an understanding not to oppose each other, of which the following fact is a proof. Thomas Broderick and William Connelly, who acquired vast estates, and were partly masters of these auctions, no one having confidence to enter into competition with them, have been partners in all the lands they obtained, during 1695 and the following years. They have since set them in farms to greater advantage than they had been before. It must be observed, that their conduct appeared very extraordinary, particularly that of Mr. Broderick, who was a privy counsellor, and put in nomination by lord Capel for the office of inspector of the auctions, though he was well aware of the abuses which he had been guilty of.

88.—It was impossible that matters could have been described more correctly, whereas several of these estates were purchased by the receivers and commissioners of the revenues of the crown, under borrowed names. Mr. Culliford, under the name of Fernley, seized upon several estates for the king, which he appropriated afterwards to his own use.

89.—Besides these abuses, we shall take the liberty of observing, that an extensive estate has been let in farms, without being put up for sale, by order of the lords justices, for at least one thousand pounds a year under its value: the lease was drawn for sixty-one years, though by a letter from his majesty, dated March 8th, 1698, it was prohibited to give leases for more than twenty-one years. The above lands belonged to Sir Valentine Brown, and Nicholas Brown, commonly called lord Kenmare, situate in the counties of Kerry and Limerick, and let to John Blenerhasset and George Rogers, members of the Irish parliament.

90.—Having now given an account of the most essential points of our commission, we beg leave, gentlemen, to lay before you an abridgment of our estimates, before we conclude our report.

The whole of the lands confiscated since February 13th, 1688, amount, in real value, according to our calculation, to two millions six hundred and eighty-five thousand one hundred and thirty-five pounds five shillings and nine pence, sterling.

The estates restored, in consequence of the treaties of Limerick and Galway, amount to seven hundred and twenty-four thousand nine hundred and twenty-three pounds four shillings and six pence.

Those restored by favour, are worth two hundred and sixty thousand eight hundred sixty-three pounds seven shillings and three pence.

The debts on the confiscated estates, discovered by researches, or acknowledged as legal by the court of Exchequer, amount to one hundred and sixty-one thousand nine hundred and thirty-six pounds fifteen shillings and six pence.

To the credit of the above debts, we place what is due to the procribed, amounting to one hundred and twenty thousand and thirteen pounds thirteen shillings and ten pence, sterling; as also the houses, tithes, mills, fairs, markets, rights of lordship, ferries, &c., which we estimate at fifty thousand pounds. To counterbalance the proceeds of the leases made as large presents, we put down the fallow lands and forests on the confiscated estates, which we estimate at about sixty thousand pounds, to which we add the flocks of those who have had the benefit of the articles of the capitulation of Limerick, but from whom no accounts have been required.

In order to bring matters to a balance, we shall add those lands (of which the number of acres is not known) according to the valuation of the other estates: these amount to,

at least, one hundred and forty thousand pounds.

If it were known how many estates are subject to confiscation, it would be of considerable importance; but it is impossible to form a correct account of them.

The money received for lands sold by those on whom the confiscated estates were conferred, amounts to sixty-eight thousand one hundred and fifty-five pounds three shillings and a penny. We have made no mention of what is due to the proscribed whose properties have been restored, nor to the encumbrances which affect their estates.

After all that has been observed, there remain still one million six hundred and ninety-nine thousand three hundred and forty-three pounds fourteen shillings, which we deem to be the gross value of the estates confiscated and not restored, since February 13, 1688.

We shall conclude this report, by laying before you another very valuable grant, though it may not immediately come within our commission, but as it contains some of the confiscated lands, we think it prudent to mention the extent of it, lest we should incur the reproach of having been negligent in the discharge of our duty, or in any part of what you and the public expect from us.

All the personal property of king James II., with the exception of a small part given to lord Athlone, was granted by letters patent, under the great seal of Ireland, on the 30th May, 1695, to Mrs. Elizabeth Villiers, at present countess of Orkney; this property consisted of ninety-five thousand six hundred and forty-nine acres, producing an annual rent of twenty-five thousand nine hundred and ninety-five pounds eighteen shillings; the real value of which amounts to three hundred and thirty-seven thousand nine hundred and forty-three pounds nine shillings. An exact account of this property, with the number of acres in each county and barony, is given in a book joined to this report, marked No. 9.

The same property pays an annuity for life of two thousand pounds, to lady Susanna Bellasis, and one thousand yearly to Mrs. Godfrey: all the leases of these estates expire in May, 1701, when they are to be renewed, and will bring, at least, the rents at which we have estimated them.

FRANCIS ANNESLEY, JAMES HAMILTON,
JOHN TRENCHARD, HENRY LONGFORD,
Dublin.

The complaints of the commissioners about the innumerable abuses committed at

the time the lands of the Irish Catholics were confiscated, and the injuries sustained by the king and crown, were not new, as will appear by extracts from the proceedings of the English parliament, in which serious remonstrances were made to William, upon the manner in which these confiscations were squandered and applied; his majesty's answers, and the replies of parliament, are subjoined, by which it will be seen, that these altercations were carried on with acrimony.

Extract from the proceedings of the English parliament, Friday, April 4, 1690.

Resolved,—That a bill be drawn up to banish all those who have been guilty of rebellion in Ireland or elsewhere, against their majesties king William and queen Mary; and their estates shall be confiscated, sold, and applied to the reduction of Ireland. The attorney-general, Trenchard the chief register, Sir Richard Reynell, Sir Thomas Charges, Sir William Poultney, colonel Birch, or any three of them shall see that this decree of parliament be carried into execution.

Extract from the sitting of parliament, January 5th, 1690. The king's speech to both houses.

My Lords and Gentlemen,—Having informed you lately that it would be necessary for me to pass into Holland about this time, I must express myself pleased at the successful issue of those things that have engaged your time, and to find that you are now at liberty to separate, and that it is possible for us to undertake our voyage.

I thank you with all my heart for the supplies which you have granted for continuing the war. I shall take care that they be fitly applied to the purposes for which they have been intended. I think it meet to assure you, that none of the confiscated estates, either in England or in Ireland shall be disposed of, until this affair be regulated by the parliament, in such manner as will be approved of by them.

Sitting of 4th March, 1692.

The very humble address of the house of commons to his majesty.

We, your majesty's very humble and very faithful subjects, and commons in parliament assembled, having taken into our most serious consideration the state of your kingdom of Ireland, think that it is a duty we owe to your majesty, to place, with all possible re-

spect and zeal, before your eyes the great abuses to which the evil administration of affairs in that kingdom has given birth.

Your Protestant subjects are exposed in it to every species of distress that a licentious soldiery and free quarters can produce. In our opinion, the withholding payment from the troops, for which we hoped and calculated that ample provisions had been made, has been the cause of these disorders and oppression.

Your majesty's troops have been recruited and made up from among the Irish Papists and others, who have been engaged in rebellion against your majesty; which circumstance has not only discouraged your good and loyal Protestant subjects, but has likewise exposed them to many imminent dangers.

Your protection has been extended to the Papists, which has debarred the Protestants from resorting to those laws which were favourable to them, and which has suspended the course of justice.

The banishment of many rebels out of the kingdom, who were excluded from benefitting by the articles of the capitulation of Limerick, has been revoked to the great dissatisfaction of your majesty's Protestant subjects.

The confiscated estates have been farmed considerably under their value, to the heavy loss of your majesty's revenue.

The stores and chattels that have been left by king James II. in the garrisons and towns of the kingdom, have been wasted. The same is to be observed of the confiscated lands, chattels, and other effects which they contained, that might have been applied to the security and better preservation of your majesty's kingdom.

We also beg leave very humbly to represent to your majesty, that the clauses in favour of the Catholics, which have been added to the treaty of Limerick after it had been definitively concluded, signed, and the city surrendered, have given great encouragement to them, and have tended to weaken the Protestant interest.

Having with the most humble submission and ardent zeal for your majesty's service, laid open the abuses and illegal practices which have been carried on in your kingdom of Ireland, we submit our representations to your great wisdom, and beseech you with profound respect, to put a stop to them.

Let every soldier be paid the arrears due to him, and let the provinces be reimbursed for what they have suffered, and no Papists be admitted into the army.

And as the reduction of Ireland has cost

England a great deal, we humbly beseech your majesty, which you have had the goodness to promise, to allow none of the confiscated properties in Ireland to be disposed of, until this matter be regulated by parliament in the best manner.

We beseech of you to order a statement of the confiscated estates, stores, and effects, that have been left by James II., to be laid before your house of commons, that the abuses which have been committed, and the waste which has occurred, may be investigated.

We beseech likewise, that in future none of the proscribed Papists shall be suffered to return without the advice of parliament, and that no protection be given to Irish Papists, which might impede the course of justice.

As to the article added to the treaty of Limerick, which gives so great an opportunity to Irish papists to resume possession of the estates which formerly belonged to them, and which they forfeited by their rebellion, we humbly beg of your Majesty to have the articles of the treaty of Limerick, and those that have been added, laid before us, in order that we may learn by what means, and under what pretext they have been granted, and why the said articles have been extended, and the value of the properties to which they are entitled to lay claim.

As your Majesty has most graciously assured us, with that goodness with which you always join in every thing tending to the peace and welfare of the kingdom, we make no doubt of your acting in the same manner towards Ireland, the safety and preservation of which are so important to England.

The King's answer, March 10th, 1692.

Gentlemen,—I have always paid particular regard to any communication from the House of Commons, and shall take care that all abuses shall be reformed.

Sitting of Thursday, 18th January, 1699.

Resolved,—That those by whose advice the confiscated estates in Ireland have been given to individuals, and who have been the cause of granting these gifts, have involved the nation in heavy debts, and made it necessary to lay heavy taxes on the people.

That they have been guilty of a crime which reflects considerable disgrace upon the king; that the officers, or those who had been instrumental in the conferring of these grants, are guilty in the highest degree of having betrayed the confidence that was reposed in them.

Sitting of February 15th, 1699.

Resolved,—That a very humble address be presented to the king, containing the resolutions of the House of the 18th of January last, respecting the confiscated lands in Ireland.

His Majesty's answer, February 26th, 1699.

Gentlemen—I have been induced, not only by inclination, but through a love of justice, to reward faithful services, (particularly in those who assisted in the reduction of Ireland,) out of the properties in that country, the confiscation of which has devolved upon me.

The length of the war which we have maintained has obliged us to levy taxes, and has involved the nation in debt. The just and efficacious measures that shall be adopted to lighten the national burden and support the public credit, will, in my opinion, be more beneficial than any other thing, to the honour, interests, and safety of this kingdom.

Resolved,—That whoever hath advised the king to give the above reply to the address of the House of Commons, has done every thing to create a disunion and jealousy between the king and his people.

We now conclude the history of Ireland with an obvious and convincing remark from a modern author. "The prince of Orange would have thought himself but half king, were he not to rule over Ireland, as well as over England and Scotland; or, rather, he looked upon Ireland as belonging to him by right, and the loyalty of the Irish to James II. as an act of high treason that he should not leave unpunished. Still, what right had this prince to a country which had not called him to her aid? It is admitted that he reigned lawfully over England and Scotland, because these kingdoms had transferred their crown to him, but of which they had no right to dispose, however, could they make an agreement for a distinct people, and against the will of that people? Let William III. govern those parts of Great Britain that no longer acknowledge their king; but if Ireland do not wish to change her sovereign, is this first sovereign to forfeit his claim, and are his faithful subjects to be dealt with like traitors and rebels to their country? It will be said that James II. sapped the foundation of the monarchy by obstinately favouring the papists, and by an arbitrary sway of power. However false this accusation may be, I shall pass it over in silence; it only concerns England and

Scotland, which have taken ample advantages of it. Was Ireland in the same situation? And if then this people wished to continue papists, if they desired to invest their king with an absolute authority, who has a right to prevent them? The world has seen that England and Scotland dethroned James II., and that Ireland refused to follow their example; Ireland would have erred in her allegiance, if the whole of Great Britain had belonged to William III. previously to the revolution. On the contrary, William could not lawfully ascend the throne without an express law calling him to the succession and declaring James to be dethroned: William III., therefore, had no right or claim upon the Irish, who neither sent for him nor dethroned their own king. But, as we have already observed, he did

not consider his kingdom complete without Ireland, where James II. still held out; but it has been the will of Providence that he should succeed in expelling him."

We discover, nevertheless, by the manner in which the Irish are and have been treated, that it is contrary to the principles of Magna Charta, that celebrated code in which the English nation glories, and of which they boast: the Irish are deprived of that liberty which, according even to their oppressors, should be the portion of all mankind. They are forced to submit to a hateful yoke; they have exerted themselves in favour of their lawful prince; their resistance to usurpation is considered as rebellion, and the confiscation of their estates and properties is the consequence.

THE END OF MAC-GEOGHEGAN'S HISTORY OF IRELAND.

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